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AUTHOR:

CICERO, MARCUS
TULLIUS

TITLE:

LETTERS OF MARCUS
TULLIUS CICERO TO...

PLACE:

LONDON

DATE:

1804

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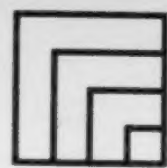
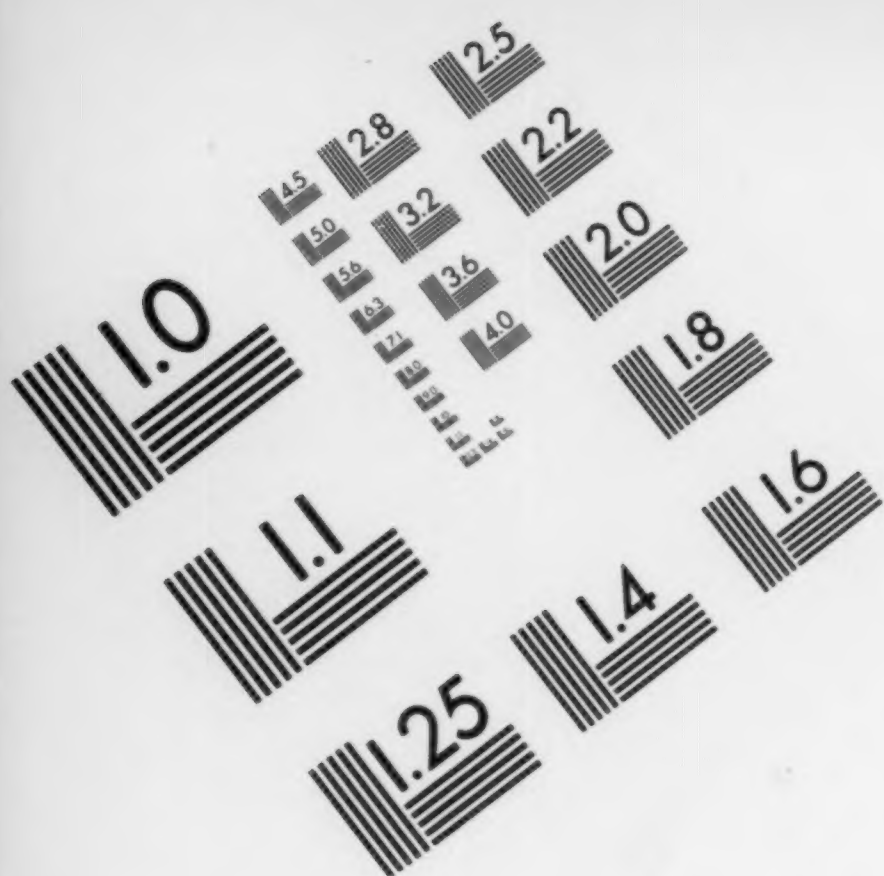
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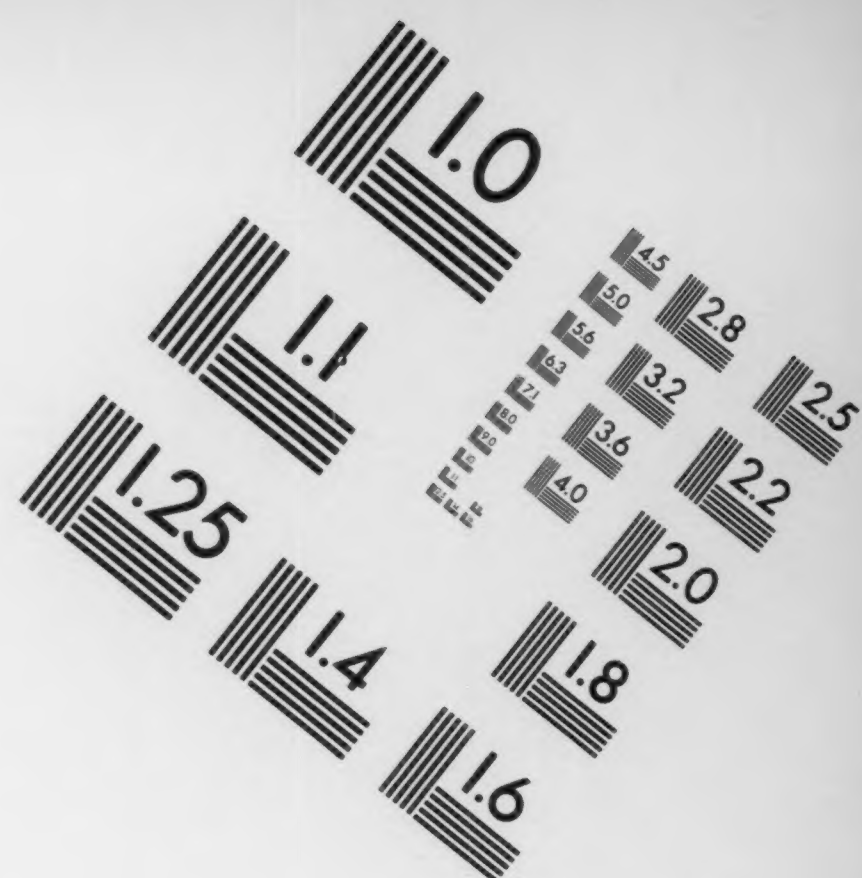
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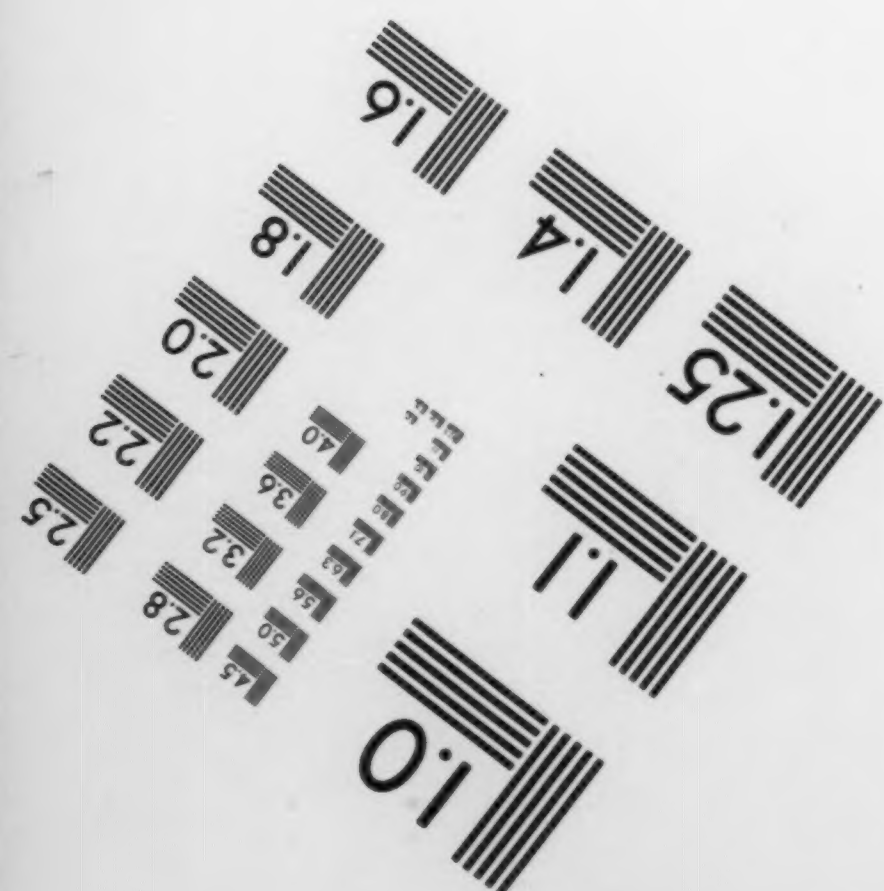
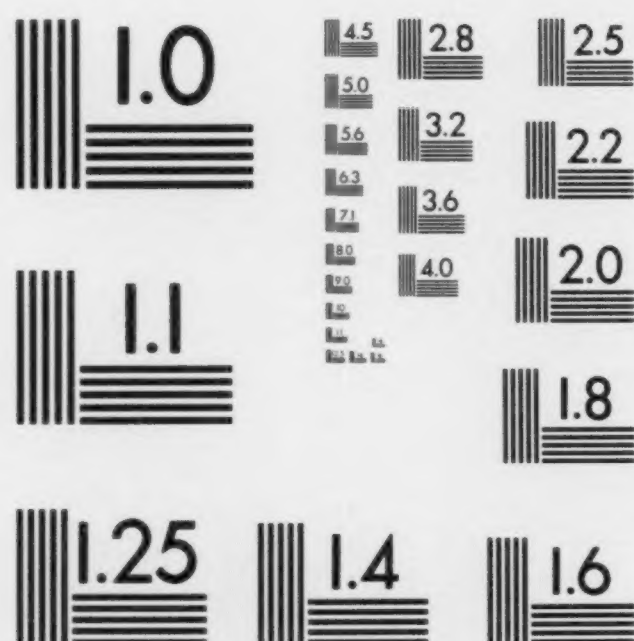
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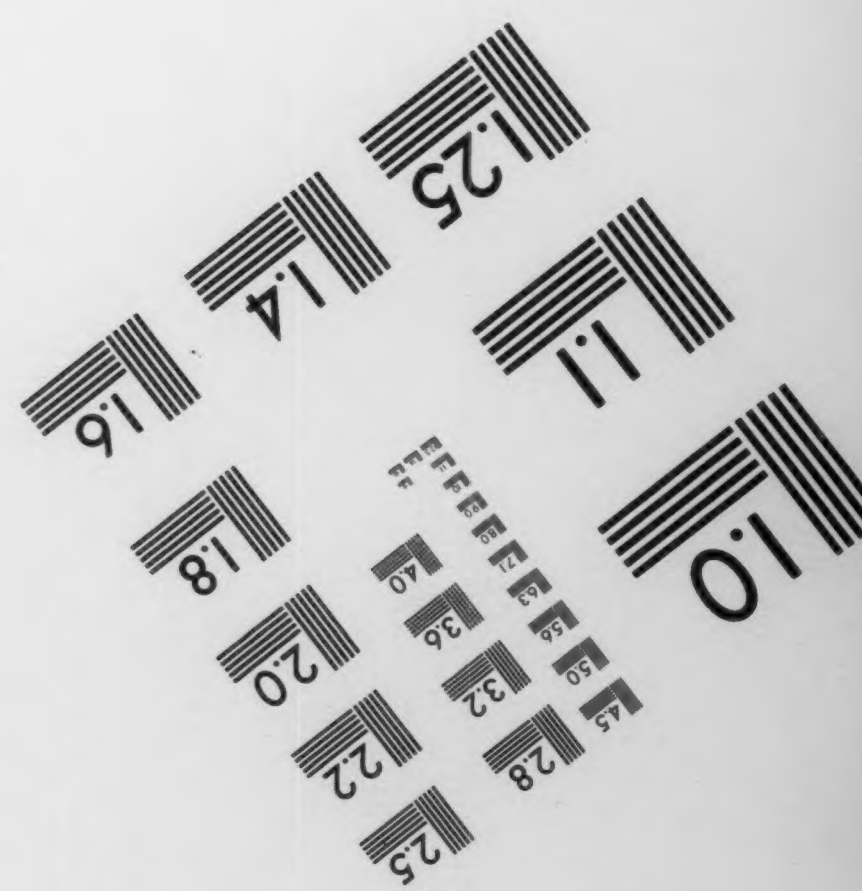
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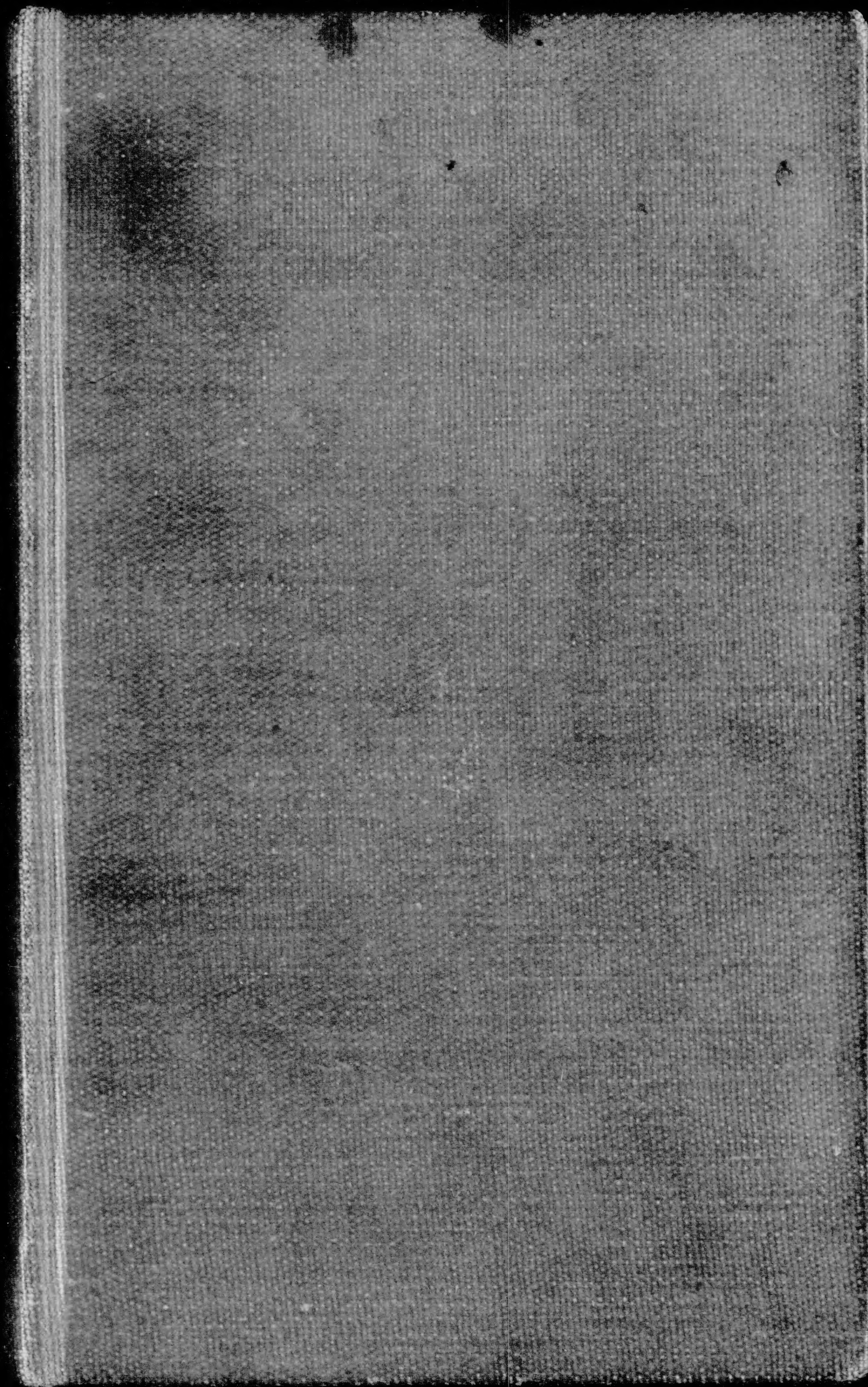


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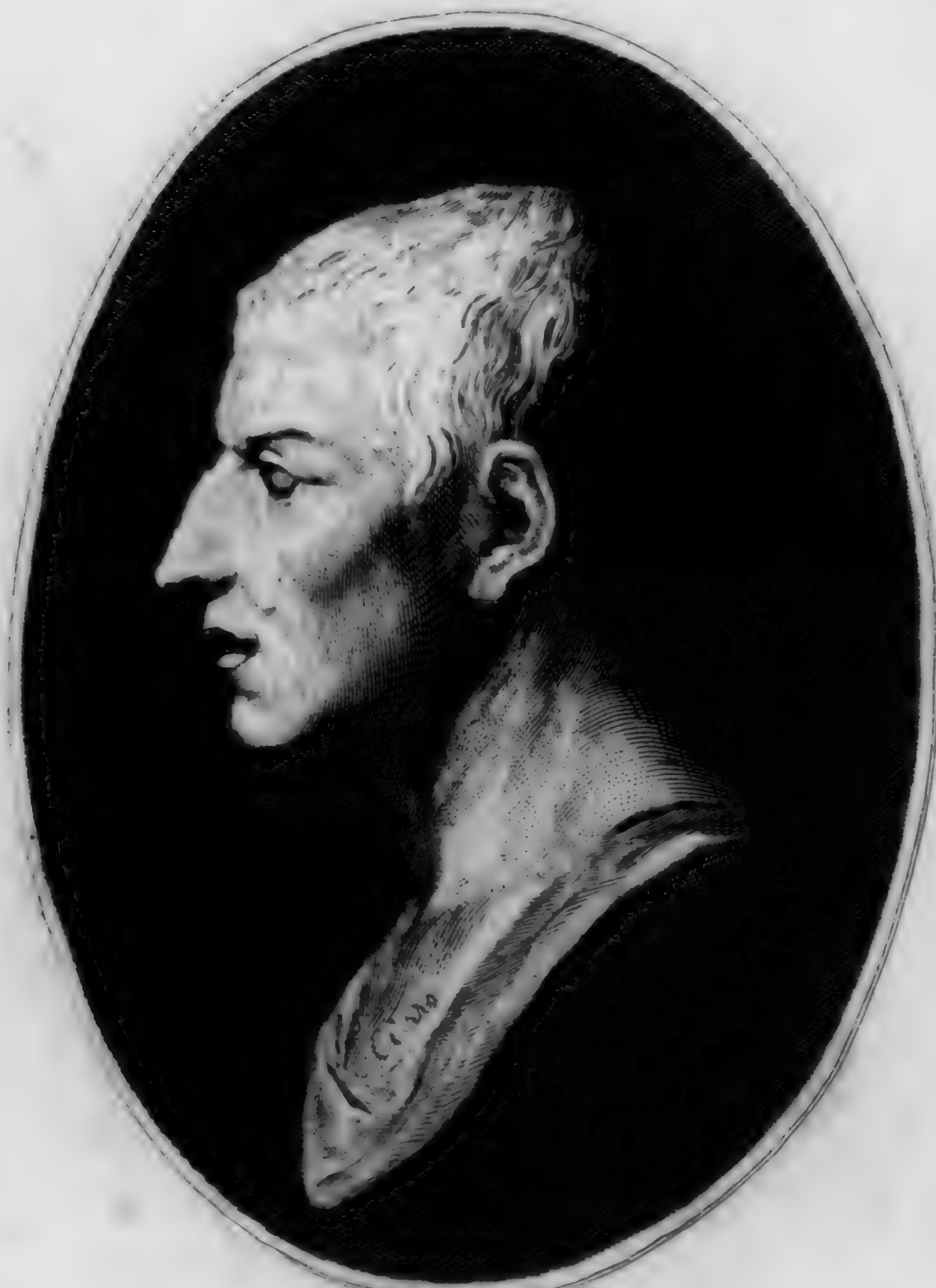
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M.T. CICERO.

THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

WITH REMARKS

BY
WILLIAM MELMOTH, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. Hor.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

To which is now added

A GENERAL INDEX.

VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE principal design of the following attempt, is to trace the conduct and inquire into the character of Cicero. For this purpose the present Letters were preferred to those which are written to Atticus, as they shew the Author of them in a greater variety of connexions, and afford an opportunity of considering him in almost every possible point of view.

This correspondence includes a period of about twenty years; commencing immediately after Cicero's consulate, and ending a few months before his death.

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS*.

BOOK I.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 691.]

To POMPEY the Great: Imperator¹.

YOUR letter to the senate afforded inexpressible satisfaction, not only to myself, but to the public in general: as the hopes it brought

US

* These letters are placed according to their supposed dates: The reader will find at the end of each of these volumes an index, referring to the order in which they stand in the common editions.

¹ The title of *Imperator*, during the times of the republic, did not bear the least relation to that idea which is affixed to it in modern language; but was merely honorary and occasional. It was conferred on the Roman generals by the acclamations of their army in the field, after some signal advantage gained by their courage and conduct; and it was immediately dropped again as soon as they entered into Rome.

VOL. I.

B

us of a peace, are agreeable to those expectations, which, in full confidence of your superior abilities, I had always encouraged the world to entertain². I must acquaint you, however, that it entirely sunk the spirits of that party, who, from being formerly your declared enemies, have lately become your pretended friends: as it utterly disappointed their most sanguine hopes³.

Notwithstanding the letter which you wrote to me by the same express discovered but very slight marks of your affection; yet I read it with pleasure. The truth is, I am always abundantly

² Pompey was at this time carrying on the war in Asia against Mithridates, king of Pontus: and the letter to which Cicero alludes, probably brought an account of the progress of the campaign. Mithridates was a cruel but brave prince, who had given employment to the Roman arms for more than forty years. Pompey, however, had the good fortune to complete what Sylla and Lucullus, his predecessors in this command, were obliged to leave unfinished: and he not only defeated Mithridates, but annexed to the Roman dominions all that part of Asia which is between the Red, the Caspian, and the Arabian seas. *Flor.* iii. 5.

³ It is doubtful to whom Cicero here alludes. Some of the commentators suppose that he points at Lucullus, who, as he had been recalled from the command in which Pompey was now employed, would not, it may well be imagined, be greatly pleased with the success of his rival.—Others think that he had Cæsar in view: and what renders this conjecture extremely probable is, that Cæsar and Pompey, who had been long opposites in politics, were now apparently reconciled; the former (for purposes which shall hereafter be explained) falling in with that party who were for conferring the highest and most unconstitutional honours on the latter.

ly satisfied with the consciousness of having exerted my best offices towards my friends; and if they do not think proper to make me an equal return, I am well contented that the superiority should remain on my side. But if my utmost zeal for your interests has not been sufficient to unite you to mine, I doubt not that our co-operating together upon the same patriot-principles, will be a means of cementing us more strongly hereafter. In the mean time, it would neither be agreeable to the openness of my temper, nor to the freedom of that mutual friendship we profess, to conceal what I thought wanting in your letter. I will acknowledge, then, that the public services I performed during my late consulship, gave me reason to expect, from your attachment both to myself and to the commonwealth, that you would have sent me your congratulations: and I am persuaded you would not have omitted them, but from a tenderness to certain persons⁴. Let me assure you, however, that

⁴ Cicero was advanced to the consular office the year before the date of this letter; that is, An. Urb. 690. He particularly alludes to the part he acted during his administration, with regard to the suppressing of Catiline's conspiracy. [*See rem. 6. p. 13. and rem. 6. p. 25. of this vol.*] And he had undoubtedly cause to complain of Pompey's unexpected coolness in the present instance: the occasion of which seems to have been this. A very powerful party

that what I have performed for the preservation of my country, has received the concurrent applauses of the whole world. You will find, when you return hither, I conducted that important scene with so much spirit and policy, that you, like another Scipio, tho' far superior, indeed, to that hero in glory, will not refuse to admit me, like a second Lælius¹, and not much behind him, I trust, in wisdom, as the friend and associate

was now forming against Cicero by Cæsar and Metellus the tribune: and Pompey was considered as a proper person to support their designs of destroying the great authority which Cicero had lately acquired. It is highly probable, therefore, from Pompey's reserve to our author, that he had received some overtures of this sort: and as he was jealous of every power that might obstruct his own, he was by no means disposed, it should seem, to advance Cicero's credit by gratifying him with those applauses which his conduct deserved. *Plut. in vit. Cicero.*

¹ Scipio Africanus the younger, to whom Cicero here alludes, was consul in the year of Rome 605; as Lælius was in the year 612. The strict intimacy which subsisted between these distinguished Romans, is celebrated by several of the classic writers: but Cicero has paid it the highest honours in his Dialogue upon Friendship. Scipio and Lælius used to retire together from the business of the state, to a villa situated on the sea-shore, near Laurentum; where these illustrious friends did not think it beneath their characters to descend to the humblest recreations. The *virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Læli*, the heroism of Scipio and the wisdom of Lælius could unbend in gathering shells and pebbles on the coast: and perhaps it is some evidence of their merit, that they were capable of being thus easily diverted. Less virtuous minds generally have recourse to more agitated relaxations, and are seldom entertained without carrying their passions into their amusements. *Orat. pro Muran. 36. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. ver. 72. Cic. de Orat. ii. 6.*

associate of your private and public transactions. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 691.]

Quintus Metellus Celer⁶, Proconsul: to Cicero.

As I persuaded myself that our reconciliation and friendship was mutually sincere, I never imagined I should have had occasion to complain of being marked out in my absence as the object of your ridicule⁷. For the same reason I was equally far from supposing that you would have acted with so much bitterness against my relation Metellus⁸, as to persecute him

⁶ Quintus Metellus Celer exercised the office of Prætor, the same year that Cicero was consul. Two years after the date of this letter, he was himself elected to that supreme dignity; and Cicero speaks of his administration with applause. He was at this time governor of Cisalpine Gaul. *Ad Att. ii. 1.*

⁷ The reader will find this explained by Cicero's answer in the following letter.

⁸ The person here alluded to, is Quintus Metellus Cæcilius Nepos, at this time a tribune of the people. He had lately attempted to procure a law for recalling Pompey out of Asia; pretending that his presence was necessary in order to quiet the commotions in the Republic. But his real view was to destroy the great credit and authority which Cicero now possessed, by throwing the whole power into Pompey's hands. Cato, who was likewise tribune at the same time, most strenuously opposed this design of his colleague; and the contests that rose between them, upon this occasion, were attended with great and dangerous disturbances. Metellus, however, being at length obliged to desist, retired in disgust

him even to the loss of his fortunes and his dignities, merely for a single word. If the regard which is due to his own character could not protect him from the unjust resentment of the senate; at least the zeal I have ever shewn for the interests of that illustrious order, the services I have rendered the commonwealth, and the consideration which is owing to our birth⁹, should have powerfully pleaded in his favour. But it has been *his* fate to be oppressed, as well as *mine* to be deserted, by those, who ought to have treated us in a very different manner: and the honour of that important command with which I am invested, cannot secure me, it seems, from having cause to lament the indignities which are offered both to myself and to

gust with his complaints to Pompey. After he had thus withdrawn himself, it was proposed, that the censure of the senate should be passed upon his turbulent conduct, as also that he should be deposed from his office: and it was these proceedings, together with the part that Metellus Celer supposed Cicero to have borne in them, which occasioned the warm remonstrances of the letter before us. Plutarch asserts it was owing to the prudence and moderation of Cato, that the motion against Metellus Nepos was not carried. Suetonius, on the other hand, expressly says that he was actually suspended: and indeed the following answer of Cicero renders it extremely probable that some decree of that kind had been voted, and afterwards repealed. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Suet. in Jul. Cas. 16.*

⁹ Within the space of twelve years, there had been no less than twelve of this family who were either consuls, censors, or distinguished with the honours of a triumph.—*Paterc. ii. 11.*

to my family. Since the senate have shewn themselves to be so little influenced by the dictates of equity, or those principles of moderation which distinguished our ancestors, it will be no wonder, if they should find reason to repent of their conduct. But as to yourself, I repeat it again, I never had the least suspicion that you were capable of acting with so much inconstancy to me and mine. However, neither this dishonour, which has been cast upon my family, nor any injuries which can be done to me, in my own person, shall ever alienate my affections from the republic. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 691.]

To Quintus Metellus Celer, Proconsul.

I HAVE received your letter, wherein you tell me, that, “you had persuaded yourself, you “should never have had occasion to complain “of being marked out as the subject of my “railleries.” I must assure you, in return, that I do not well understand to what you allude. I suspect, however, you may have been informed of a speech I lately made in the senate, wherein I took notice there was a considerable party

B 4

amongst

amongst us, who regretted that the commonwealth should have owed its preservation to my hands. I added, I confess, that, in compliance with the request "of some of your relations, "whose desires you could by no means refuse, "you suppressed the applause with which you "intended to have honoured me in that illustrious assembly. I mentioned, at the same time, "that we had shared between us the glory of "having saved the republic: and that whilst "I was protecting Rome from the wicked designs of her intestine enemies, you were defending Italy from the open attacks and secret conspiracies of those who had meditated our general ruin. But that some of your family, nevertheless, had endeavoured to weaken this our illustrious association, and were unwilling you should make any return on your part, for those high honours with which you had been distinguished on mine." As this was an open confession how much I was mortified in not receiving the applause I expected, it raised a general smile in the house: not indeed at you, but at myself, for ingenuously acknowledging my disappointment. And surely what I thus said cannot but be considered as highly to your credit: since it was an evidence that, amidst the highest honours, I still thought my glory

glory incomplete, without the concurrence of your approbation.

As to what you mention concerning a *mutual affection*, I know not what you may esteem as a mark of that disposition. But, according to my apprehension, it consists in an equal return of those good offices which one friend receives from another. If, as a proof of this gratitude on my part, I were to tell you that I gave up my pretensions to your present government; you might well suspect my veracity. The truth is, I renounced it as being inconsistent with that plan of conduct I had laid down to myself: and I find every day more and more reason to be satisfied with having taken this resolution. But this, with strict sincerity, I can affirm, that I no sooner relinquished my claim to

¹ Cicero here alludes to the resolution he took of not accepting any government at the expiration of this consular office: a resolution, it must be owned, worthy of a generous and disinterested patriot. Accordingly, in a speech which he made in the senate on the day of his inauguration, he declared he would receive no honours at the close of his ministry, which it was in the power of the tribunes to obstruct; and indeed it was in their power to obstruct every honour the senate could decree. As the authority of these popular magistrates could thus disappoint the ambition of the consuls, it had often influenced them in the exercise of their functions. But by this self-denying renunciation which Cicero made, he had nothing to hope from their favour, or to fear from their resentment: and consequently divested himself of every motive that could check a vigorous opposition to their factious measures. *Orat. cont. Rul. i. 8.*

to your province, than I considered how to throw it into your hands. I need not mention the management which was employed in order to secure the lot in your favour: but this much I will say, that I hope you do not imagine the part my colleague acted in that affair was, in any of its circumstances, without my privity and consent. Let me desire you to recollect with what expedition I assembled the senate immediately after the balloting was over, and how fully I spoke upon that occasion in your applause. Accordingly, you then told me, that I had not only paid an high compliment to yourself, but at the same time cast a very severe reproach upon your colleagues. I will add, that so long as the decree shall subsist, which the senate passed at that juncture, there will not be wanting a public and conspicuous monument of my good offices towards you. Remember likewise the zeal with which I supported your interest in the senate; the encomiums with which I mentioned you in the assemblies of the people; and the affectionate letters I wrote to you, after your departure. And when you have laid these several circumstances together, I may safely leave it to your own determination, whether your behaviour to me, upon your last return to Rome, was suitable to these

these instances of my friendship. However, I know not what you mean by our *reconciliation*: an expression, it should seem, which cannot, with any propriety, be applied where there never was any formal rupture.

With respect to your relation, whom I ought not, you tell me, to have persecuted so severely in resentment of a single expression, I have this to say: In the first place, I most highly applaud the affectionate disposition you discover towards him: and, in the next, I hope you would pardon me, if that duty which I owe my country, and to which no man is more strongly devoted, had, at any time, obliged me to oppose his measures. But if I have only defended myself against his most cruel attacks, have you not reason to be satisfied that I never once troubled you with my complaints? On the contrary, when I perceived he was collecting the whole force of his tribunitial power, in order to oppress me, I contented myself with endeavouring to divert him from his unjust purpose, by applying to your wife² and sister;

² Sister to Claudius: a woman of most abandoned lewdness, and suspected of having poisoned Metellus, who died in 694, a few years after this letter was written.—Cicero, who attended him in his last moments, represents them as truly heroic. Metellus saw the approaches of death without the least concern upon his own account, and only lamented that

ter¹; as the latter had often indeed, in consideration of my connexions with Pompey, exerted her good offices in my behalf. Nevertheless (and I am sure you are no stranger to the truth of what I am going to say) upon laying down my consular office, he prevented me from making the usual speech to the people: and thus, what had never been denied to the lowest and most worthless of our magistrates, he most injuriously refused to a consul who had preserved the liberties of his country. This insult, however, proved greatly to my honour; for, as he would only suffer me to take the oath⁴, I pronounced the sincerest and most glorious of asseverations with an uncommon exertion of voice: and the whole assembly of the people as loudly called the gods to witness, that what I had sworn was most religiously true⁵. But tho' I received this signal affront from your cousin, yet I had the very same day sent an amicable

that he should lose his life at a time when his friend and his country would have most occasion for his services. *Pro Catio* 24.

¹ Mucia: she was married to Pompey, but afterwards divorced from him on occasion of her gallantries with Cæsar. *Ad Att.* i. 12. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

⁴ The consuls, at the expiration of their office, took an oath that they had faithfully and zealously discharged their trust. *Manut.*

⁵ Cicero did not confine himself to the usual terms of the oath; but swore that he had preserved Rome and the Republic from destruction. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

cable message to him by our common friends, with the hopes of persuading him into a better temper. The answer he returned was, that all applications of this kind were now too late. He had, indeed, asserted, some days before, in a speech which he made in a general assembly of the people, "that the man who had punished others without suffering them to be heard⁶, ought to be denied the privilege of being heard in his turn." Excellent and judicious patriot indeed! to maintain that the same punishment which had been decreed, and with the approbation too of every honest man in Rome, to those rebels and incendiaries who had attempted

⁶ The principal conspirators concerned with Cataline being taken into custody, Cicero convened the senate; when it was debated in what manner to proceed against the prisoners. Silanus, the consul elect, advised that they should all be put to death. But this was against an express law, which prohibited the taking away the life of any citizen without a formal process. The proposal of Silanus was opposed by Cæsar, as being a stretch of the senate's power which might be productive of very dangerous consequences in a free state. It was his opinion, therefore, that the estates of the conspirators should be confiscated, and their persons closely imprisoned. Cicero, as Dr. Middleton observes, delivered his sentiments with all the skill both of the orator and the statesman; and while he seemed to shew a perfect neutrality, and to give equal commendation to both the opinions, was artfully labouring to turn the scale in favour of Silanus's, which he considered as a necessary example of severity in the present circumstances of the republic. A vote accordingly passed that the conspirators should suffer death; which Cicero immediately put in execution. *Life of Cic. Vol. i.* 219, 221, 230. See *rem.* 6. p. 25. of this Vol.

tempted to involve their country in the most dreadful calamities, was due to him who had preserved the senate, the city, and all Italy in general from destruction. These were the provocations that induced me to oppose your cousin openly and before his face: and accordingly, in a debate on the first of January, concerning the state of the republic, I thought proper to let him see that he had declared war against a man who did not want resolution to return his attack. In a speech which he made a few days afterwards, he was pleased to throw out several menacing expressions against me: and it was evidently his determined purpose to effect my ruin, not by bringing my actions to a fair and impartial trial, but by the most illegal methods of violence. Had I not acted then with spirit in opposition to his ill-considered measures, would not the world have thought (and thought too with reason) that the courage I exerted in my consulate was merely accidental, and not the result of a steady and rational fortitude? If you are ignorant of these instances of your cousin's deportment, he has concealed a very material article of his conduct. On the other hand, if he apprised you of them, you have reason to look upon me as having acted with great temper and forbearance

ance in never interrupting you with my expostulations. In a word, you will find my complaint against him was not founded on a single expression, as you call it, but on a continued series of malevolence. Let me now, therefore, shew you, that my conduct in return was influenced by principles of the greatest good-nature: if good-nature it may be deemed, not to exert a proper resentment against injuries of so atrocious a kind. The truth is, I never once made a motion in the senate to his prejudice; on the contrary, as often as any question arose in which he was concerned, I always voted on the most favourable side. I will add (tho' it is a circumstance, indeed, in which I ought not to have concerned myself) that I was so far from being displeased with the decree which passed in his favour, that, in consideration of his being related to you, I actually promoted it to the utmost of my power.

Thus you see that, far from being the aggressor, I have only acted a defensive part. Nor have I, as you accuse me, betrayed a capricious disposition with regard to yourself: on the contrary, notwithstanding your failure in some amicable offices on your side, I have still preserved the same unvariable sentiments of friendship on mine. Even at this very instant

when

when I have before me, I had almost called it your threatening letter, yet I will tell you that I not only excuse, but highly applaud the generous warmth you express in your cousin's behalf: as I know, by what passes in my own breast, the wonderful force of family-affection. I hope then you will judge of my resentment with the same candour, and acknowledge that if, without the least provocation on my part, I have been most cruelly and outrageously treated, by any of your relations, I had a right, I will not only say to defend myself, but to be supported in that defence, if it were necessary, even by your whole army. Believe me, I have ever been desirous of making you my friend; as I have endeavoured to convince you, upon all occasions, that I was entirely yours: sentiments which I still retain, and shall continue to retain just as long as you desire. To say all in one word, I am much more disposed to sacrifice my resentment against your cousin, to my friendship towards yourself, than to suffer the former, in any degree, to impair our mutual affection. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 691.]

To CAIUS ANTONIUS: Imperator⁶.

I HAD determined not to trouble you with my letters, unless of the recommendatory kind: not that I had reason to expect my solicitations would have much weight with you; but as being unwilling it should appear to those who might apply for them, that any coolness had arisen between us. However, as our common friend Atticus, who has been a particular witness of the warmth with which I have ever promoted your interest, is coming into your province, I cannot forbear conveying a letter to you by his hand; especially as he very strongly importuned me for that purpose.

Were I to claim even your highest services, the demand could by no means be thought unreasonable, after having contributed every thing on my part for the advancement of your ease, your interest, and your honours⁷. But I may

⁶ The person to whom this letter is addressed, was uncle to the celebrated Mark Antony. He had been consul the year before with Cicero, and was now governor of Macedonia.

⁷ The consuls, at the expiration of their office, used to draw lots to which of the provinces they should respectively succeed

may safely appeal to your own conscience, whether you have ever made me the least return: so far from it, indeed, that I have heard (for I dare not say I have been *informed*^a, as it is an expression, it seems, which you frequently, tho' I am sure injuriously, object to me) I have heard then that you have intimated something as if—But I leave it to Atticus to tell you the rest: as the report^a has given him
no

succeed as governors. This which Antonius possessed, one of the most desirable in all the Roman empire, having fallen to Cicero, he resigned it to his colleague.

^a This alludes to an expression which Cicero had often occasion to employ in the affair of Cataline's conspiracy. As his principal intelligence arose from some of the conspirators themselves, who communicated to him from time to time the designs of their associates, he was obliged to conceal the authors of these discoveries: and, therefore, in laying his allegations before the senate or the people, he was under the necessity of speaking only in general terms, and of assuring them that he had been *informed* of the particular articles he mentioned. But tho' the event proved that his informations were true; yet, in general, this method of accusation was extremely odious, and of dangerous example. Cicero's enemies, therefore, did not fail to take advantage of this popular objection, and were perpetually repeating the phrase, *I am informed*, whenever they were disposed to reproach his conduct in this transaction. See *Mong. rem.* 19. on the 19th let. of the first book to Atticus. *Plut. in vit. Cicer. Sallust. Declam. in Cic.* 2.

^a This report was of a very unfavourable kind indeed: for it charged Cicero with having a share in the money which Antonius raised by his exactions on the unhappy people of his province. The very judicious French translator of the epistles to Atticus, seems to imagine there was some foundation for this report; as he thinks it probable that Antonius had agreed to pay Cicero a certain sum in consideration of his

less concern than it gave myself. In the mean time, I will only say, that the senate and the whole Roman people have been witnesses of that uncommon zeal with which I have entered into your interest. What sentiments of gratitude this has impressed upon your mind, you yourself are the best judge; how much you owe me in consequence of it, let others determine. It was friendship that first engaged my good offices in your favour; and I afterwards was induced to continue them merely from a principle of constancy. But, believe me, your present^a affairs

his having relinquished to him the government of Macedonia: but this is a conjecture altogether unsupported by any evidence. Thus much, however, is certain; in the first place, that Cicero had some demands upon Antonius, of a nature which he did not choose should be known; as, whenever he hints at them to Atticus, it is always in a very dark and enigmatical manner: and, in the next place, that he sacrificed his own judgment and the good opinion of the world, in order to support Antonius in his present government. From which facts the reader is left to draw the conclusion that he shall judge reasonable. *Vid. ad Att. l. xii. 13, 14.* See the following remark.

^a Pompey had declared his intentions of very strenuously insisting that Antonius should be recalled from his government, in order to give an account of his administration: which, it seems, had been extremely oppressive. It was upon this occasion that Cicero promised him his service: and it seems, by the following letter, that he kept his word. But if he had not, his honour, perhaps, would not have been the more questionable: for it appears, from a letter to Atticus, that Cicero could not undertake the defence of Antonius without suffering in the opinion, not only of the populace, but of every worthy man in Rome. *Ad Att. i. 12.* See remark 5th on the following letter.

fairs require a much larger proportion of my zeal and pains: the utmost exertion of which shall not be wanting, provided I may have reason to think that they are not entirely thrown away. For I shall never be so absurdly officious, as to employ them where they are not acceptable. Atticus will inform you in what particular instances you may, probably, have occasion for my good offices: in the mean while, I very warmly recommend him to yours. I am well persuaded, indeed, that his own interest with you is his best advocate: however, if you have any remaining affection for me, let me entreat you to shew it (and it is the most obliging manner in which you can shew it) by your services to my friend. Farewel.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 692.]

TO PUBLIUS SESTIUS, Quæstor¹.

I COULD scarce credit your freedman Decius, as highly as I think of his fidelity and attachment to your interest, when he requested me in

¹ Every proconsul, or governor of a province, had a quæstor under him, who acted as a sort of paymaster-general to the provincial forces, and as superintendant likewise of the public revenues. Sestius was at this time exercising that office under Antonius, in Macedonia. Some further account will be occasionally given of him in the progress of these remarks.

in your name to use my endeavours that you may not at present be recalled. Remembering, indeed, the very different strain in which all the letters I had before received from you were written, I could not easily be induced to think that you had so greatly altered your mind. But after Cornelia's visit to my wife, and the discourse which I had myself with Cornelius, I could no longer doubt of this change in your inclinations: and accordingly I never failed to attend in your behalf, at every subsequent meeting of the senate. The question, however, did not come on till January last, when we carried it without much opposition: tho' I found some difficulty in persuading Quintus Fusius², and the rest of your friends, to whom you had written upon this subject, to believe me rather than your own letters.

I had not agreed with Crassus for his house, when you wished me joy of the purchase: but I was so much encouraged by your congratulations, that I soon afterwards bought it at thirty-five hundred thousand sesterces³. I am now, therefore, so deeply involved in debt as to

² One of the tribunes of the people.

³ About 28,000l. Cicero, it is said, borrowed a considerable part of this sum from a man whose cause he had undertaken to defend. But eloquence was not as yet professedly venal in Rome; and it was looked upon as highly dishonourable

to be full ripe, you must know, for a plot, if any malecontent will be so charitable as to admit me into one. But the misfortune is, this sort

honourable for an advocate, not only to receive any reward, but even a loan of his client. Cicero, therefore, being publicly reproached with this transaction, most confidently denied the charge; declaring at the same time that he had not the least intention of making this purchase. However, he soon afterwards completed his bargain: when being taxed in the senate with this unworthy falsehood, he endeavoured to laugh it off, by telling his censurers, that *they must know very little of the world indeed, if they imagined any prudent man would raise the price of a commodity, by publicly avowing his intentions of becoming a purchaser.* It is Aulus Gellius who gives us this story, which Dr. Middleton supposes he might have picked up from some spurious collection of Cicero's jokes: and many such, it is certain, were handed about, even in Cicero's life-time. As every reader of taste and learning must wish well to the moral character of so invaluable an author as Cicero, one cannot but regret that neither his own general regard to truth, nor the plea of his ingenious advocate, seem sufficient to discredit this piece of secret history. That Cicero was capable of denying facts, where it was not for his advantage they should be discovered, will appear, perhaps, beyond controversy in the progress of these remarks. In the mean time a very strong instance of this may be produced from one of his letters to Atticus. Cicero had written an invective against some person whose interest he had occasion to make use of in the affair of his restoration. This piece of satire had stolen into the world, it seems, without his knowledge; but as he never had any formal quarrel with the man against whom it was levelled, and as it was drawn up in a style by no means equal to the usual correctness of his performances, it might easily, he tells Atticus, be proved not to have come from his hand: *puto posse probari non esse meam.* The truth of it is, sincerity does not seem to have been the virtue upon which Cicero was very solicitous of establishing his character. Thus, Plutarch assures us, that our author having made a speech in public, full of the highest encomiums on Crassus, he did not scruple a few days afterwards to reverse the panegyric, and represent

sort of patriots are all disposed to exclude me from their society: and whilst I am the aversion of some of them, as the avowed avenger of conspiracies, others suspect that I only plead poverty with a view of gaining their confidence, in order to betray them. They think it incredible, indeed, that the man who rescued the bags of all the usurers in Rome from a general attack, should ever be in distress for money*. The truth of the matter is, there is enough to be raised at six per cent. and I have gained this much, by the services I have done my country, that I am considered by your money-lenders, at least, as a *good* man.

I must not forget to mention that I have lately looked over your house and buildings, and am much pleased with the improvements you are making.

Notwith-

represent him before the same audience in all the darkest colours of his invective. Cicero being reminded, upon this occasion, of his former harangue, very gravely replied, "it was only by way of an oratorical exercise, and in order to try the force of his eloquence upon so bad a subject." *Aul. Gell. xii. 12. See Life of Cic. i. 259. 8vo. Ed. Ad Att. iii. 12. Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

* The chief of those who engaged in Cataline's rebellion, were men of the same desperate fortunes as himself: *Quicunque bona patria laceraverat*, says the historian of this conspiracy, *quicunque alienum æs grande confluverat*, were the worthy associates of Cataline in this infamous enterprise: and though liberty was, as usual, the pretence; the true motive of their taking up arms was, in order to make war upon their creditors. *Sallust. Bell. Cat. 14.*

Notwithstanding all the world is sensible that Antonius has by no means acted towards me with the gratitude he ought, yet it did not prevent me from being his advocate lately in the senate: when, by the influence of my authority, and the force of what I said, I greatly disposed the house in his favour⁵. I will only add my wishes that you would write to me oftener. Farewel.

LETTER

⁵ The question in this debate probably turned on the recal of Antonius: a question, which seems either to have been carried in his favour, or to have been dropped during a considerable time. For it appears, by a letter to Atticus, written two years after the date of the present, that Antonius was still in his government: and Dion Cassius assures us, that he was not brought upon his trial till the consulate of Cæsar; that is, not till the year of Rome 694. He was then arraigned for his ill-conduct in Macedonia, and as being concerned likewise in Cataline's conspiracy. This last article of the impeachment could not be proved; but the truth of it, nevertheless, was generally believed; however, he was convicted of the former, and condemned to perpetual banishment. Cicero appeared as his advocate upon this occasion; and it was an occasion which contributed more, perhaps, than any other, to his future misfortunes. For, in the warmth of his speech, he indiscreetly threw out some reflections upon Cæsar; which, although that great master of his passions did not think proper at that time openly to resent, it is probable he never forgave. Dion Cassius, at least, informs us, that it was upon this account he secretly instigated Clodius to those violent measures which soon afterwards terminated in Cicero's exile. *Ad Att. ii. 2. Dio xxxvii.* See the last remark on the preceding letter, p. 19.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENCE, to my dearest TULLIA, and to my Son⁶.

If you do not hear from me so frequently as you might, it is because I can neither write to you, nor read your letters, without falling into a greater passion of tears than I am able to support: for though I am at all times, indeed, completely miserable, yet I feel my misfortunes with a particular sensibility upon those tender occasions. Oh!

⁶ There is an interval of two years between the date of this and the foregoing letter; the correspondence which Cicero carried on during the intermediate period being entirely lost, except that which he held with Atticus. The following letters to Terentia, were written in our author's exile, and will prove, either that Cicero was a philosopher only in speculation, or that philosophy itself pretends to more than it has power to perform. Perhaps, they will prove both; for, as on the one hand they discover the most unmanly dejection of spirit; so it is certain, on the other, that much weaker minds have been able, with the assistance of better principles, to support with fortitude far severer trials. Those in which Cicero was at present exercised, were occasioned by Clodius, who procured himself to be elected tribune with the single view of destroying this his avowed adversary. It has already been observed in the sixth remark, on the third letter of this book, that Cicero, in his consulate, had put to death some of the conspirators concerned with Cataline, without any formal trial, and upon no other authority than a decree of the senate. And it was upon this charge that Clodius founded his impeachment. Cicero's conduct upon this occasion, has also been arraigned by a late very accurate and judicious historian; and it must be acknowledged that, as far as we can be competent judges of it at this distance from the time and scene of action, it seems to have been attended with some circumstances not easily

Oh! that I had been more indifferent to life! Our days would then have been, if not wholly unacquainted with sorrow, yet by no means thus wretched. However, if any hopes are still reserved to us of recovering some part at least of what we have lost, I shall not think that I have made altogether so imprudent a choice. But if our present fate is unalterably fixed---Ah! my dearest Terentia, if we are utterly and for ever abandoned by those gods whom you have so religiously adored, and by those men whom I have so faithfully served; let me see you as soon as possible, that I may have the satisfaction of breathing out my last departing sigh in your arms.

I have spent about a fortnight at this place⁷, with my friend Marcus Flaccus. This worthy man did not scruple to exercise the rites of friendship and hospitality towards me, notwithstanding the severe penalties of that iniquitous law against those who should venture to give me reception⁸. May I one day have it in my power

easily reconcileable to the principles either of justice or good policy. See *Hook's Rom. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 316.

⁷ Brundisium: a maritime town in the kingdom of Naples, now called *Brindisi*. Cicero, when he first withdrew from Rome, intended to have retired into Sicily, but being denied entrance by the governor of that island, he changed his direction, and came to Brundisium, in his way to Greece. *Pro Planc.* 40, 41.

⁸ As soon as Cicero had withdrawn from Rome, Clodius procured

power to make him a return to those generous services, which I shall ever most gratefully remember.

I am just going to embark, and purpose to pass thro' Macedonia in my way to Cyzicum⁹. And now, my Terentia, thus wretched and ruined as I am, can I entreat you, under all that weight of pain and sorrow with which, I too well know, you are oppressed, can I entreat you to be the partner and companion of my exile? But must I then live without you? I know not how to reconcile myself to that hard condition; unless your presence at Rome may be a mean of forwarding my return; if any hopes of that kind should indeed subsist. But should there, as I sadly suspect, be absolutely none, come to me, I conjure you, if it be possible: for never can I think myself completely ruined, whilst I shall enjoy my Terentia's company. But how will my dearest daughter dispose of herself? A question which you yourselves must consider: for, as to my own part, I am utterly at a loss what to advise. At all events, however, that dear unhappy girl must not take any measures that

procured a law, which, among other articles, enacted, that "no person should presume to harbour or receive him on "pain of death." *Life of Cic.* i. 354.

⁹ A considerable town in an island of the Propontis, which lay so close to the continent of Asia, as to be joined with it by a bridge.

that may injure her conjugal repose', or affect her in the good opinion of the world. As for my son---let me not at least be deprived of the consolation of folding him for ever in my arms. But I must lay down my pen a few moments: my tears flow too fast to suffer me to proceed.

I am under the utmost solicitude, as I know not whether you have been able to preserve any part of your estate, or (what I sadly fear) are cruelly robbed of your whole fortune. I hope Piso¹ will always continue, what you represent him to be, entirely ours. As to the manumission of the slaves, I think you have no occasion to be uneasy. For, with regard to your own, you only promised them their liberty as they should deserve it; but, excepting Orpheus, there are none of them that have any great claim to this favour. As to mine, I told them, if my estate should be forfeited, I would give them their freedom, provided I could obtain the confirmation of that grant: but if I preserved my estate, that they should all of them, excepting only a few whom I particularly named, remain in their present condition. But this is a matter of little consequence.

With

¹ Tullia was at this time married to Caius Piso Frugi; a young nobleman of one of the best families in Rome. See remark 9th, on letter ix. p. 42. of this book.

² Cicero's son-in-law, mentioned in the last note.

With regard to the advice you give me of keeping up my spirits, in the belief that I shall again be restored to my country, I only wish that I may have reason to encourage so desirable an expectation. In the mean time, I am greatly miserable, in the uncertainty when I shall hear from you, or what hand you will find to convey your letters. I would have waited for them at this place; but the master of the ship on which I am going to embark, could not be prevailed upon to lose the present opportunity of sailing.

For the rest, let me conjure you in my turn to bear up under the pressure of our afflictions with as much resolution as possible. Remember that my days have all been honourable; and that I now suffer not for my crimes, but my virtues. No, my Terentia, nothing can justly be imputed to me, but that I survived the loss of my dignities. However, if it was more agreeable to our children that I should thus live, let that reflection teach us to submit to our misfortunes with cheerfulness; insupportable as upon all other considerations they would undoubtedly be. But, alas, whilst I am endeavouring to keep up your spirits, I am utterly unable to preserve my own!

I have sent back the faithful Philetærus, as
the

the weakness of his eyes made him incapable of rendering me any service. Nothing can equal the good offices I receive from Sallustius. Pescennius, likewise, has given me strong marks of his affection: and I hope he will not fail in his respect also to you. Sica promised to attend me in my exile, but he changed his mind, and has left me at this place.

I entreat you to take all possible care of your health, and be assured, your misfortunes more sensibly affect me than my own. Adieu, my Terentia, thou most faithful and best of wives! adieu. And thou, my dearest daughter, together with that other consolation of my life, my dear son, I bid you both most tenderly farewell.

Brundisium,
April the 30th.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENCE, to my dearest TULLIA, and to my Son.

IMAGINE not, my Terentia, that I write longer letter to others than to yourself: be assured, at least, if ever I do, it is merely because those I receive from them require a more particular

particular answer. The truth of it is, I am always at a loss what to write; and as there is nothing in the present dejection of my mind, that I perform with greater reluctance in general; so I never attempt it with regard to you and my dearest daughter, that it does not cost me a flood of tears. For how can I think of you without being pierced with grief, in the reflection, that I have made those completely miserable whom I ought, and wished, to have rendered perfectly happy? And I should have rendered them so, if I had acted with less timidity.

Pisó's behaviour towards us in this season of our afflictions, has greatly endeared him to my heart; and I have, as well as I was able in the present discomposure of my mind, both acknowledged his good offices, and exhorted him to continue them.

I perceive you depend much upon the new tribunes; and if Pompey perseveres in his present disposition, I am inclined to think that your hopes will not be disappointed; though, I must confess, I have some fears with respect to Crassus. In the mean while, I have the satisfaction to find, what, indeed, I had reason to expect, that you act with great spirit and tenderness in all my concerns. But I lament it should

should be my cruel fate to expose you to so many calamities, whilst you are thus generously endeavouring to ease the weight of mine. Be assured, it was with the utmost grief I read the account which Publius sent me, of the opprobrious manner in which you were dragged from the temple of Vesta, to the office of Valerius⁴. Sad reverse indeed! that thou, the dearest object of my fondest desires, that my Terentia, to whom such numbers were wont to look up for relief, should be, herself, a spectacle of the most affecting distress! and that I, who have saved so many others from ruin, should have ruined both myself and my family by my own indiscretion!

As to what you mention with regard to the area belonging to my house, I shall never look upon myself as restored to my country, till that spot of ground is again in my possession⁵. But this is a point that does not depend upon ourselves. Let me rather express my concern for what does, and lament that, distressed as
your

⁴ Terentia had taken sanctuary in the temple of Vesta, but was forcibly dragged out from thence by the directions of Clodius, in order to be examined at a public office, concerning her husband's effects. - Mr. Ross.

⁵ After Clodius had procured the law against Cicero already taken notice of, he consecrated the area where his house in Rome stood, to the perpetual service of religion, and erected a temple upon it to the goddess Liberty. *Life of Cic.*

your circumstances already are, you should engage yourself in a share of those expences which are incurred upon my account. Be assured, if ever I should return to Rome, I shall easily recover my estate: but should fortune continue to persecute me, will you, thou dear unhappy woman, will you fondly throw away in gaining friends to a desperate cause, the last scanty remains of your broken fortunes! I conjure you then, my dearest Terentia, not to involve yourself in any charges of that kind: let them be borne by those who are able, if they are willing, to support the weight. In a word, if you have any affection for me, let not your anxiety upon my account injure your health: which, alas! is already but too much impaired. Believe me, you are the perpetual subject of my waking and sleeping thoughts: and as I know the assiduity you exert in my behalf, I have a thousand fears lest your strength should not be equal to so continued a fatigue. I am sensible, at the same time, that my affairs depend entirely upon your assistance: and therefore that they may be attended with the success you hope and so zealously endeavour to obtain, let me earnestly entreat you to take care of your health.

I know not whom to write to, unless to those who first write to me, or whom you particularly mention in your letters. As you and Tullia are

of opinion that I should not retreat farther from Italy, I have laid aside that design. Let me hear from you both as often as possible, particularly if there should be any fairer prospect of my return. Farewel, ye dearest objects of my most tender affection, Farewel!

Thessalonica⁶, Oct. the 5th.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA, to my dearest TULLIA, and to my Son.

I LEARN, by the letters of several of my friends, as well as from general report, that you discover the greatest fortitude of mind, and that you solicit my affairs with unwearied application. Oh, my Terentia, how truly wretched am I, to be the occasion of such severe misfortunes to so faithful, so generous, and so excellent a woman! And my dearest Tullia too!—That she who was once so happy in her father, should now derive from him such bitter sorrows! But how shall I express the anguish I feel for my little boy! who became acquainted with grief as soon as he was capable of any reflection⁷. Had these afflictions happened, as you tenderly represent them, by an unavoidable fate, they would

⁶ A city in Macedonia, now called *Salonichi*.

⁷ Cicero's son was at this time about eight years of age. *Manut.*

would have sat less heavy on my heart. But they are altogether owing to my own folly in imagining I was loved where I was secretly envied⁸, and in not joining with those who were sincerely desirous of my friendship⁹. Had I been governed, indeed, by my own sentiments, without relying so much on those of my weak or wicked advisers, we might still, my Terentia, have been happy¹. However, since my friends

⁸ The persons to whom he alludes are, Hortensius, Arrius, and others of that party, who (if we may believe Cicero's complaints to Atticus) took advantage of his fears, and advised him to withdraw from Rome on purpose to ruin him. But persons under misfortunes are apt to be suspicious, and are frequently therefore unjust: as Cicero seems to have been with respect to Hortensius at least, who does not appear to have merited his reproaches. *Ad Att.* iii. 9. 14. *Ad Q. F.* i. 3. See *Mongault's* remarks, vol. ii. p. 44.

⁹ Caesar and Crassus frequently solicited Cicero to unite himself to their party, promising to protect him from the outrages of Clodius, provided he would fall in with their measures. *Life of Cic.* i. 288. 315. 8vo. *Ed.*

¹ Cicero is perpetually reproaching himself in these letters to Terentia, and in those which he wrote at the same time to Atticus, for not having taken up arms and resolutely withstood the violences of Clodius. He afterwards, however, in several of his speeches, made a merit of what he here so strongly condemns, and particularly in that for Sextius, he appeals to Heaven, in the most solemn manner, that he submitted to a voluntary exile in order to spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, and preserve the public tranquillity. *Te, te, patria, testor, (says he) et vos penates patrique Dii, me vestrarum sedum templorumque causa, me propter salutem meorum civium, quæ mihi semper fuit mea carior vita, dimicationem cademque fugisse.* But Cicero's veracity, in this solemn asseveration, seems liable to be justly questioned. It is certain that he once entertained a design of taking up arms in his own defence: and the single motive that appears to have determined him in the change of this resolution was, his finding himself

friends encourage me to hope, I will endeavour to restrain my grief, lest the effect it may have upon

most perfidiously deserted by Pompey, *Si—quisquam fuisset* (says he, in a letter to Atticus) *qui me Pompeii minus liberali responso perterritum, a turpissimo consilio revocaret;—aut occubuissem honeste, aut victores hodie viveremus.* iii. 15. Dion Cassius asserts, that Cicero, notwithstanding this unexpected desertion of Pompey, was preparing to put himself in a posture of defence; but that Cato and Hortensius would not suffer him to execute his purpose: *επεχειρησε μὲν σὺν λαῷ ἀρσῆσαι, ἀνελυθείς δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ τῷ Κατονῶς καὶ τῷ Οὔρτησιδ &c.* Lib. 38. Perhaps this author may be mistaken as to his having actually made any formal preparations of this kind: but that he had it in his intentions seems clear beyond all reasonable contradiction. The French historian of our author's banishment has relied, therefore, too much upon Cicero's pompous professions after his return, when he maintains that nothing could be farther from his thoughts than a serious opposition. *Hist. de l'exil de Cicér.* p. 148. The contrary appears most evidently to have been the case; and that the patriot-motive which he so often assigns in his subsequent orations for leaving his country, was merely an after-thought, and the plausible colouring of artful eloquence. Why else, it may be asked, is there not the least hint of any such generous principle of his conduct, in all the letters he wrote during this period? Why else is he perpetually reproaching his friends for having suffered him to take that measure? And why, in a word, does he call it, as in the passage above-cited, *turpissimum consilium*, the effect of a most ignominious resolution? But were it to be admitted that a regard to his country determined him to withdraw from it; still, however, he could not, with any degree of truth, boast of his patriotism upon that occasion; for the most partial of his advocates must acknowledge, that he no sooner executed this resolution, than he heartily repented of it. The truth is, how unwilling soever he might be to hazard the peace of his country in maintaining his post, he was ready to renounce all tenderness of that kind in recovering it; and he expressly desires Atticus to raise the mob in his favour, if there were any hopes of making a successful push for his restoration: *Oro te ut, si quæ spes erit posse studiis bonorum, auctoritate, multitudine comparata, rem confici, des operam ut uno impetu serfringatur.* Ad Att. iii. 23.

upon my health should disappoint your tender efforts for my restoration. I am sensible, at the same time, of the many difficulties that must be conquered ere that point can be effected: and that it would have been much easier to have maintained my post, than it is to recover it. Nevertheless, if all the tribunes are in my interest; if Lentulus is really as zealous in my cause as he appears; and if Pompey and Cæsar likewise concur with him in the same views, I ought not, most certainly, to despair.

With regard to our slaves, I am willing to act as our friends, you tell me, advise. As to your concern in respect to the plague which broke out here, it is entirely ceased; and I had the good fortune to escape all infection. However, it was my desire to have changed my present situation for some more retired place in Epirus, where I might be secure from Piso and his soldiers². But the obliging Plancius was unwilling

² Lucius Calphurnius Piso, who was consul this year with Gabinus: They were both the professed enemies of Cicero, and supported Clodius in his violent measures. The province of Macedonia had fallen to the former, and he was now preparing to set out for his government, where his troops were daily arriving. Cicero has delineated the characters at large of these consuls in several of his orations: but he has, in two words, given the most odious picture of them that exasperated eloquence, perhaps, ever drew, where he calls them *duo reipublicæ portenta ac pæne funera*: an expression for which modern language can furnish no equivalent. *De prov. consul.* See remark 21. p. 174. of this vol. and remark 2. p. 102. vol. 2.

willing to part with me; and still indeed detains me here in the hope that we may return together to Rome³. If ever I should live to see that happy day; if ever I should be restored to my Terentia, to my children, and to myself, I shall think all the tender solitudes we have suffered, during this sad separation, abundantly repaid.

Nothing can exceed the affection and humanity of Piso's⁴ behaviour towards every one of us: and I wish he may receive from it as much satisfaction, as, I am persuaded, he will honour.—I was far from intending to blame you with respect to my brother: but it is much my desire, especially as there are so few of you, that you should live together in the most perfect harmony.—I have made my acknowledgments where you desired, and acquainted the persons you mention, that you had informed me of their services.

As to the estate you propose to sell; alas! my dear Terentia, think well of the consequence: think what would become of our unhappy boy, should fortune still continue to persecute us. But my eyes stream too fast to suffer me to add more: nor would I draw the same tender flood from

³ Plancius was, at this time, Quæstor in Macedonia, and distinguished himself by many generous offices to Cicero in his exile. *Pro Planc. passim.* See remark 1. on letter 2. B. viii.

⁴ Cicero's son-in-law.

from yours. I will only say, that if my friends should not desert me, I shall be in no distress for money: and if they should, the money you can raise by the sale of this estate will little avail. I conjure you then, by all our misfortunes, let us not absolutely ruin our poor boy, who is well-nigh totally undone already. If we can but raise him above indigence, a moderate share of good fortune and merit will be sufficient to open his way to whatever else we can wish him to obtain. Take care of your health, and let me know by an express how your negotiations proceed, and how affairs in general stand.—My fate must now be soon determined. I tenderly salute my son and daughter, and bid you all farewell.

Dyrrachium⁵,
November. 26.

P. S. I came hither, not only as it is a free city⁶ and much in my interest, but as it is situated, likewise, near Italy⁶. But if I should find any inconvenience from its being a town of such great resort, I shall remove elsewhere, and give you due notice. LETTER

⁵ A city in Macedonia, now called *Durazzo*, in the Turkish dominions. This letter, though dated from Dyrrachium, appears to have been wholly written, except the postscript, at Thessalonica.

⁶ That is a city which had the privilege, though in the dominions of the Roman republic, to be governed by its own laws.

⁶ Besides the reasons here mentioned, there was another and much stronger, which induced Cicero to leave Thessalonica:

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA.

I RECEIVED three letters from you by the hands of Aristocritus, and have wept over them till they are almost defaced with my tears. Ah! my Terentia, I am worn out with grief: nor do my own personal misfortunes more severely torture my mind, than those with which you and my children are oppressed. Unhappy indeed, as you are, I am still infinitely more so; as our common afflictions are attended with this aggravating circumstance to myself, that they are justly to be imputed to my imprudence alone. I ought, most undoubtedly, either to have avoided the danger by accepting the commission⁷ which was offered me; or to have repelled force by force, or bravely to have perished in the attempt. Whereas nothing could have been more unworthy of my character, or more pregnant with misery, than the scheme I have

nica: for he had received intelligence that Piso's troops were approaching towards that city. *Ad Att.* iii. 22.

⁷ As it answered Cæsar's purposes either to gain Cicero, or to ruin him, he artfully laid his measures for both. And accordingly, after having instigated Clodius to pursue Cicero, he offered to take him into Gaul in the quality of his lieutenant, as a means of protecting him from that vengeance he had secretly inflamed. But Cicero being more disposed to try his strength with his adversary, imprudently declined the proposal. *Dio*, xxxvii. *Ad Att.* ii. 18. 19.

have pursued⁸. I am overwhelmed, therefore, not only with sorrow, but with shame: yes, my Terentia, I blush to reflect that I did not exert that spirit I ought for the sake of so excellent a wife and such amiable children. The distress in which you are all equally involved, and your own ill state of health in particular, are ever in my thoughts; as I have the mortification, at the same time, to observe, that there appear but slender hopes of my being recalled. My enemies are many; while those who are jealous of me are almost innumerable: and though they found great difficulty in driving me from my country, it will be extremely easy for them to prevent my return. However, as long as you have any hopes that my restoration may be effected, I will not cease to co-operate with your endeavours for that purpose; lest my weakness should seem, upon all occasions, to frustrate every measure in my favour. In the mean while, my person (for which you are so tenderly concerned) is secure from all danger: as, in truth, I am so completely wretched, that even my enemies themselves must wish, in mere malice, to preserve my life. Nevertheless, I shall not fail to observe the caution you kindly give me.

I have

⁸ See remark 1. on the preceding letter.

I have sent my acknowledgments by Dexippus to the persons you desired me, and mentioned, at the same time, that you had informed me of their good offices. I am perfectly sensible of those which Piso exerts towards us with so uncommon a zeal: and, indeed, it is a circumstance which all the world speaks of to his honour. Heaven grant I may live to enjoy, with you and our children, the common happiness of so valuable a relation!

The only hope I have now left, arises from the new tribunes; and that, too, depends upon the steps they shall take in the commencement of their office: for if they should postpone my affair, I shall give up all expectations of its ever being effected. Accordingly I have dispatched Aristocritus, that you may send me immediate notice of the first measures they shall pursue, together with the general plan upon which they propose to conduct themselves. I have likewise

² He had the great misfortune to be disappointed of this wish: for Piso died soon after this letter was written. Cicero mentions him in several parts of his writings, with the highest gratitude and esteem. He represents him as a young nobleman of the greatest talents and application, who devoted his whole time to the improvements of his mind, and the exercise of eloquence: as one whose moral qualifications were no less extraordinary than his intellectual, and, in short, as possessed of every accomplishment and every virtue that could endear him to his friends, to his family, and to the public. *Pro Sext.* 31. *De clar. orator.* 271, *Ad Quirites*, iii.

wise ordered Dexippus to return to me with all expedition, and have written to my brother to request he would give me frequent information in what manner affairs proceed. It is with a view of receiving the earliest intelligence from Rome, that I continue at Dyrrachium: a place where I can remain in perfect security, as I have, upon all occasions, distinguished this city by my particular patronage. However, as soon as I shall receive intimation that my enemies are approaching, it is my resolution to retire into Epirus.

In answer to your tender proposal of accompanying me in my exile, I rather choose you should continue in Rome; as I am sensible it is upon you that the principal burthen of my affairs must rest. If your generous negotiations should succeed; my return will prevent the necessity of that journey: if otherwise——But I need not add the rest. The next letter I shall receive from you, or at most the subsequent one, will determine me in what manner to act. In the mean time, I desire you would give me a full and faithful information how things go on: though, indeed, I have now more reason to expect the final result of this affair, than an account of its progress.

Take

¹ The troops of Piso. See remark 2. on the former letter.

Take care of your health I conjure you; assuring yourself, that you are, as you ever have been, the object of my fondest wishes. Farewel, my dear Terentia! I see you so strongly before me whilst I am writing, that I am utterly spent with the tears I have shed. Once more, farewell¹.

LETTER

Dyrrachium,
Nov. the 30th.

¹ "This great man, who had been the saviour of his country, who had feared, in the support of that cause, neither the insults of a desperate party, nor the daggers of assassins; when he came to suffer for the same cause, sunk under the weight. He dishonoured that banishment which indulgent Providence meant to be the means of rendering his glory complete. Uncertain where he should go, or what he should do, fearful as a woman, and froward as a child, he lamented the loss of his rank, of his riches, and of his splendid popularity. His eloquence served only to paint his misery in stronger colours. He wept over the ruins of his fine house, which Clodius had demolished; and his separation from Terentia, whom he repudiated not long afterwards, was, perhaps, an affliction to him at this time. Every thing becomes intolerable to the man who is once subdued by grief. He regrets what he took no pleasure in enjoying, and, overloaded already, he shrinks at the weight of a feather. Cicero's behaviour, in short, was such, that his friends, as well as his enemies, believed him to have lost his senses. Cæsar beheld, with a secret satisfaction, the man, who had refused to be his lieutenant, weeping under the rod of Clodius. Pompey hoped to find some excuse for his own ingratitude in the contempt which the friend, whom he had abandoned, exposed himself to. Nay, Atticus judged him too nearly attached to his former fortune, and reproached him for it. Atticus, even Atticus blushed for Tully, and the most plausible man alive assumed the style of Cato." *Boling. Reflect. on Exile*. p. 253.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 696.]

TO QUINTUS METELLUS NEPOS, the
Consul².

THE letters I received both from my brother and my friend Atticus strongly encouraged me to hope, that you were not less disposed than your colleague to favour my recal. In consequence of this persuasion, I immediately wrote to you in terms suitable to my present unfortunate circumstances: acknowledging my grateful sense of your generous intentions, and entreating your future assistance. But I afterwards learned, not indeed so much by any hint of this kind from my friends, as from the report of those who passed this way, that you did not continue in the same favourable sentiments³: for which reason I would not venture to importune you any farther. My brother, however, having transmitted me a copy of the speech

² This is the same person, who, when he was tribune, gave occasion, by his ill-treatment of Cicero, to the second and third letters of this book. He was now consul with Publius Cornelius Lentulus.

³ Whilst the friends of Cicero were exerting their endeavours to procure his restoration, Clodius was opposing their designs by every method of artifice and violence: in which he was protected by Metellus, notwithstanding he had given intimations of a disposition to favour Cicero's interest. *Life of Cic.* i. 408. 8vo. Edit.

speech you lately made in the senate, I found it animated with such a spirit of candour and moderation, that I was induced to write to you once more. Let me earnestly request you then to consider rather the interests than the passions of your family⁴, lest, by falling in with their unjust and cruel opposition to me, you should open a way by which they themselves may be oppressed in their turn. Is it possible, indeed, that you, who gained such a glorious conquest over yourself, as to sacrifice your own private enmities⁵ to the welfare of the republic, should be prevailed upon to add strength to a resentment in others which evidently tends to its destruction? If you think proper then to afford me your assistance in this conjuncture, you may, upon all occasions, depend on my utmost services in return. On the other hand, should that lawless violence, which has wounded the commonwealth through my side, be suffered still

⁴ Clodius was cousin to Metellus. *Post red. in sen.* 10.

⁵ The first step that Lentulus took when he entered upon the administration of his office, was to move the senate that Cicero might be recalled. Upon which occasion, his colleague Metellus made the concession to which Cicero seems here to allude; declaring that he was willing to sacrifice his private resentment against Cicero, to the general inclinations of the senate and the people. Nevertheless, he still continued to support Clodius, as has been already observed in the note above. *Pro Sext.* 32. *post red. in sen.* iv. See remark 26. on letter 17. p. 178. B. ii.

still to prevail, it imports you to reflect, whether, if you should hereafter be inclined to recal the opportunity of preserving our general liberties, you will not have the misfortune of finding it much too late⁶. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 696.]

TO FABIVS GALLVS⁷.

I HAVE been attacked with a disorder in my bowels, which continued with great violence during ten days: but as it was not attended with a fever, I could not persuade those who had

⁶ Notwithstanding that Pompey, Cæsar, and indeed all the principal persons of the republic now concurred in favouring Cicero's return, yet the practices of Clodius prevented a decree for that purpose, till the first of June. Nor was it till the 4th of August following, that this decree passed into a general law: in consequence of which, Cicero soon afterwards made his triumphant entry into Rome. Metellus joined in procuring this decree: a change of sentiments which Cicero imputed to a most pathetic speech which Servilius Isauricus delivered in the senate upon this occasion, and which so softened Metellus, it seems, that he melted into tears. But the true cause is more probably to be ascribed to the influence of Cæsar and Pompey: who, in order to mortify Clodius, whose power now began to be troublesome to them, thought it convenient, for their purposes, that Cicero should be restored. *Pro Sext.* 31. 62. *Ad Quir.* 7.

⁷ Gallus is only known by three or four letters which Cicero has addressed to him: from which, however, nothing particular can be collected concerning his history or character.

had occasion for my services, that I was really indisposed. In order, therefore, to avoid their importunities, I retired to Tusculanum; having observed so strict an abstinence for two days before, as not to have tasted even a drop of water. Reduced then as I am by my illness and my fasting, I had more reason to hope for a visit from you, than to imagine you expected one from me.

Distempers of every kind I greatly dread, but particularly of that sort for which the Stoics have censured your favourite Epicurus, where he complains^b of being violently afflicted with the dysentery and the strangury; as the former, they assert, is the consequence of table indulgencies, and the latter of a more shameful intemperance. I had, indeed, great reason to apprehend a dysentery: but whether it be from change of air, or a relaxation from business, or that the distemper had almost spent itself, I know not; but I am somewhat better since I came hither. You will wonder, perhaps, what excesses I have been guilty of, to bring upon myself this disorder. I must inform you then, that I owe it to the frugal regulations

^b In a letter which he wrote during his last sickness: a translation of which is given us by Cicero, in his treatise. *De finibus*, ii. 31.

tions of the sumptuary law^c. The products of the earth being excepted out of the restrictions of that act; our elegant eaters, in order to bring vegetables into fashion, have found out a method of dressing them in so high a taste, that nothing can be more palatable. It was immediately after having eaten very freely of a dish of this sort, at the inauguration feast of Lentulus^d, that I was seized with a diarrhœa, which has never ceased till this day. Thus you see, that I, who have withstood all the temptations that the noblest lampreys and oysters could throw in my way, have at last been overpowered by paltry beets and mallows: but it has taught me, however, to be more cautious for the future. As Anicius found me in one of my sick fits, you must undoubtedly have heard of my illness; I was in hopes, therefore, you would not have contented yourself with inquiring after my welfare, but would have given me the satisfaction

^c Manutius conjectures, that the law alluded to is one which is ascribed by Aulus Gellius to Marcus Lucinius Crassus, and which passed in the year of Rome 643. By this law the expences of the table were regulated both in regard to ordinary and extraordinary occasions, with the express exception mentioned by Cicero in the next sentence, concerning the article of vegetables. *Vid. Aul. Gell. ii. 24.*

^d He was son of Publius Cornelius Lentulus, one of the consuls of the present year, to whom the next letter and several of the following ones in this and the subsequent book are written. He gave this entertainment on occasion of his being chosen a member of the college of augurs. *Manut.*

faction of a visit. I purpose to continue here, till I shall have re-established my health: for I am extremely weakened and emaciated. But if I can once get the better of my disorder, I hope I shall find no difficulty in recovering all the rest. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 697.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, PROCONSUL.

I FIND it much easier to satisfy the world than myself, in those sacred offices of friendship I exert in your behalf. Numberless, indeed,

¹ Publius Lentulus, was consul together with Quintus Metellus Nepos, A. U. 696, the year before this letter was written. During his administration of that office, he distinguished himself by his zeal in promoting Cicero's recall from banishment; which, after many difficulties thrown in the way by Clodius, he at length effected. At the expiration of his consulate, he succeeded to the government of Cilicia, one of the most considerable provinces in Asia minor, now called Carmania; and the following correspondence was carried on with him whilst he continued in that province. Cæsar had, upon many important occasions, given him very signal instances of his friendship, particularly in gaining him an entrance into the pontifical college; in procuring him the province of lower Spain, after he had passed through the office of prætor; and by assisting him in obtaining the consulship. Yet these obligations were not so powerful in the sentiments of Lentulus, as to supersede those more important ones which he owed to his country. Accordingly he opposed the illegal and dangerous demands of Cæsar, with great warmth and indignation in the senate; and, upon the breaking out of the civil war, joined himself with Pompey. He steadily persevered in following the cause and the fortune of that

deed, are the obligations you have conferred upon me, and as you persevered with unwearied zeal, till you had effected my recall from exile, I esteem it the greatest mortification of my life, that I cannot act in your affairs with the same success. The truth is, Ammonius, who resides here as ambassador from Ptolemy², de-
feats

that unhappy chief, notwithstanding Cæsar generously gave him his life and his liberty, when he fell into his hands upon the surrender of Corfinium. For it appears, by a letter in this collection, that he was afterwards at the battle of Pharsalia, from whence he fled with Pompey to Rhodes, and this is the farthest we can trace him. He is mentioned by Cicero among the celebrated orators of his age; though his merit of this kind was, it seems, more owing to his acquired, than his natural talents. *Cæs. B. C. i. Plut. in Cæs. Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 14. Cic. de opt. gen. dic.*

² King of Egypt, and father of the celebrated Cleopatra. He was surnamed *Auletes*, in allusion to his skill in playing upon a certain musical instrument called by the Greeks *Aulos*. The title of this prince to his throne being precarious, he found means, by the interest of Cæsar and Pompey, to be declared an ally of the Roman republic, about two years before the date of this letter, for which piece of service they were to receive no less a reward than one million one hundred sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds. The heavy taxes Ptolemy was obliged to impose in order to raise this immense tribute, together with other acts of tyranny and oppression, occasioned such a general discontent among his people, that they took up arms and drove him out of Egypt. In this exigency he had recourse to the republic, in virtue of the alliance just mentioned. His subjects likewise sent an embassy to Rome, composed of an hundred of their principal citizens, to plead their cause before the senate; but Ptolemy having notice of this deputation, procured part of them to be assassinated on their way thither; others as soon as they arrived; and the rest he silenced by proper applications to their fears and their avarice. This, together with his immense and open profusions

feats all my schemes by the most shameless and avowed bribery, and he is supplied with money for this purpose, from the same quarter as when you were in Rome. The party in the king's interest, (tho' their number, it must be owned, is inconsiderable) are all desirous that Pompey may be employed to re-instate him in his dominions. The senate, on the other hand, fall in with the pretended oracle¹; not, indeed, as giving

among the venal part of the republic, rendered him generally detested at Rome; insomuch, that notwithstanding he was zealously supported by Pompey, who actually obtained a decree in his favour, yet the opposition was so strong, that the senate, after various debates, thought proper to let the affair wholly drop. His last resource, therefore, was to apply himself to Gabinius, proconsul of Syria. Accordingly, Gabinius, upon the promise of 10,000 talents, and at the recommendation of Pompey, boldly undertook, and effected his restoration without being authorised by any legal commission for that purpose. *Dio. xxxix. Liv. Epit. 105. Cic. Orat. in Pison.* See remark 7. p. 96. of this vol.

¹ Caius Cato, a relation of the celebrated M. Portius Cato, who killed himself at Utica, was in the number of those who most strenuously opposed the restoration of Ptolemy. He was a young man of a turbulent and enterprising disposition, which he supported with some degree of eloquence. This, at least, is the character which Fenestella gives of him, as that analyst is cited by Nonius; but if he was never engaged in an opposition less reasonable than the present, history has not done him justice. Among other expedients which he employed to obstruct the designs of those who favoured Ptolemy, he had recourse to a prophecy which he pretended to have found in the Sibylline books, and which contained a severe denunciation against the state, if the Romans assisted a king of Egypt with their troops in recovering his throne. This had, in some measure, its desired effect; for the senate (which in general was in the same sentiments, as to this point, with Cato) voted it dangerous to the interests of the republic, to employ any force in favour of Ptolemy.

giving any credit to its predictions, but as being in general ill-inclined to this prince, and detesting his most corrupt practices. In the meanwhile, I omit no opportunity of admonishing Pompey with great freedom, and conjuring him not to act such a part in this affair, as would cast the deepest stain upon his character. I must do him the justice, at the same time, to acknowledge, that, so far as his own conduct is concerned, there does not appear the least foundation for any remonstrances of this sort. On the contrary, he is perpetually expressing the highest zeal for your interest: and he lately supported it in the senate, with the utmost force of eloquence, and the strongest professions of friendship. Marcellinus⁴, I need not tell you, is a good deal displeased at your soliciting this commission;

¹ The Sibyls were certain supposed prophetesses, concerning whom there is a great variety of opinions; historians being by no means agreed as to their number, their country, or the age in which they lived. Those who are inclined to read a very ridiculous story, may find an account in Aulus Gellius, of the manner by which the Romans are said to have possessed themselves of these oracular writings. These prophecies were carefully deposited in the Capitol, and consulted upon certain extraordinary occasions. There are some ancient writings still extant which pass under the name of the Sibylline oracles; but these oracles "seem to have been all, from first to last, and without any exception, mere impostures." *Ad Q. Frat. ii. 2. Aul. Gell. i. 19. Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. p. 284.*

⁴ One of the present consuls.

commission; in all other respects, I dare venture to say, he will very strenuously promote your interest. We must be contented to take him in his own way, for I perceive it is impossible to dissuade him from proposing that the injunctions of the oracle shall be complied with. And, in fact, he has already made several motions to that purpose.

I wrote this early on the 13th, and I will now give you an account of what has hitherto passed in the senate. Both Hortensius and Lucullus agreed with me in moving, that the prohibition of the oracle should be obeyed; and, indeed, it does not seem possible to bring this matter to bear upon any other terms. But we proposed, at the same time, that in pursuance of the decree⁵ which was made on your own motion, you should be appointed to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom; the situation of your province lying so conveniently for that purpose. In a word, we consented that the army should be given up, in deference to the

⁵ Before Lentulus set out for his government, the senate had come to a resolution of assisting Ptolemy with a body of troops; and (as has already been observed) a decree had actually passed for that purpose. It was voted at the same time that the consul, whose lot it should prove to administer the province of Cilicia, should be charged with this commission; and accordingly fortune decided it in favour of Lentulus. But the artifices of Caius Cato, taken notice of in the note above, prevented this decree from being carried into execution. *Orat. pro Rabir.*

the oracle; but insisted, nevertheless, that you should be employed in effecting this restoration. Crassus, on the other side, was for having this commission executed by three persons, to be chosen from among our generals: and consequently he did not mean to exclude Pompey. Marcus Bibulus joined with him as to the number, but thought that the persons to be nominated should not bear any military command. All the rest of the consulars were in the same sentiments, except Servilius, Afranius, and Volcatius. The first absolutely opposed our engaging in Ptolemy's restoration upon any terms whatsoever: but the two last were of opinion, that, agreeably to the motion of Lupus, this commission should be given to Pompey. This circumstance has increased the suspicion concerning the real inclinations of the latter, as his most particular friends were observed to concur with Volcatius. They are labouring this point with great assiduity; and, I fear, it will be carried against us. Libo and Hypsæus are openly soliciting for Pompey; and, in truth, the conduct of all his friends at this juncture makes it generally believed, that he is desirous of the office. Yet the misfortune is, that those who are unwilling it should fall into his hands, are not the more inclined to place it in yours, as they

E 4. are

are much displeased at your having contributed to the late advancement of his power. For myself, I find I have the less influence in your cause, as it is supposed I am solely governed by a principle of gratitude; at the same time, the notion which prevails that this affair affords an opportunity of obliging Pompey, renders my appli-

⁶ Lentulus, during his consulate, proposed and carried a law in favour of Pompey, which, in effect, invested him with the whole power of the Roman empire. For, under a pretended scarcity of corn (as some of the historians seem to represent it, tho' Dion Cassius, indeed, speaks of it as real) he was commissioned to provide the republic with that commodity, by which means all those who were concerned in the naval, the commercial, and landed interest, either in Italy or the provinces, became his tributaries and dependents. By another law, Pompey was authorised, during the space of five years, to exercise proconsular power throughout all the Roman dominions; and it is to these extravagant grants that Cicero seems to allude. The former, indeed, of these two laws, Cicero himself very zealously promoted, in return to the services he had lately received from Pompey in the affair of his restoration. And tho' the latter invested that aspiring chief with a power much too exorbitant (as is intimated in a letter to Atticus) to be endured in a free state; yet Cicero suffered it to pass, without the least opposition. We learn, from his own confession, the mean motive of this unworthy silence. As the Pontifical college, it seems, had not yet made their report concerning the validity of Clodius's consecration of his area, (See remark 5. p. 32. of this vol.) he thought it unsafe to withstand any of Pompey's demands, lest he might influence their decision to his prejudice: *nos tacemus, et eo magis, quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc Pontifices responderunt.* Lentulus, on the other hand, was suspected of procuring these laws in view of his own designs, and in order to divert Pompey from the thoughts of being employed in re-establishing Ptolemy on his throne. Thus were the liberties of Rome sacrificed to the private purposes of her pretended patriots! *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Dio. xxxix. Ad Att. iv. 1.*

applications likewise not altogether so effectual as they might otherwise prove. It is thus I am labouring in this perplexed business, which the king himself, long before you left Rome, as well as the friends and dependents of Pompey, had artfully embarrassed. To this I must add the avowed opposition I meet with from the consulars, who represent our assisting Ptolemy with an army, as a measure that would highly reflect upon the dignity of the senate. Be assured, however, I shall employ every means in my power of testifying both to the world in general, and to your friends in particular, the sincerity of that affection I bear you. And, were there any honour in those who ought to have shewn themselves influenced by its highest and most refined principles, I should not have so many difficulties to encounter. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 697.]

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA.

You remember, I doubt not, that when I attended you on your way towards your province,

⁷ He had been prætor the year before, and very instrumental in procuring Cicero's recall from exile. At the expiration of his prætorship, he obtained the government of Africa: and this letter seems to have been written to him soon after his arrival in that province. *Pigh. annal. ii. 384.*

province, I took occasion, in the presence of Publius Cuspius, to desire you would consider every friend of his whom I should recommend to you, as in the number of my own: and that I afterwards repeated this request in the strongest manner. You then assured me, with great generosity and politeness, and agreeably to that affectionate regard with which you have ever distinguished me, that you would comply with my request. I am to inform you, then, that Cuspius, having been twice in Africa, during the time that he had the direction of the affairs of the company which farms the revenues of that province, contracted some acquaintance in that part of the world whom he greatly loves: and, as no man is more zealous to serve his friends, he very warmly espouses their interest. I am always ready to assist him, for that purpose, to the utmost of my credit and influence; which I mention as a reason for my recommending his African friends in general to your protection. For the future, therefore, I shall only acquaint you that the person in whose behalf I may happen to write, is a friend of Cuspius: and then add the distinguishing mark we agreed upon^b. But my present recommendation

^b To distinguish those recommendations which were written merely in compliance with solicitations he could not refuse, from others that were the sincere dictates of his heart.

tion is of the strongest kind: as it is in compliance with the most earnest desire of Cuspius, that I entreat your good offices to Lucius Julius. If I were to request them in the terms that are usually employed in the sincerest solicitations of this nature, I should scarce satisfy, I believe, the zeal of my friend. He requires something more new and singular in the manner of my present address; and imagines I am master of a certain art, that renders me extremely well qualified for the task. I promised, therefore, to recommend his friends to you, by all the most skilful and insinuating methods of persuasion. But, as I find myself incapable of executing this promise, I can only entreat you to give him reason to imagine, that there was something wonderfully efficacious in this letter. Now this he will certainly suppose, if you exercise towards Julius every generous act that your politeness and your station enable you to confer; not only by distant services, but by your personal notice and distinction: for you cannot imagine, as you have not been long enough in your post to know it by your own observation, how great an advantage it is to a man to have the countenance of the governor of his province. I am persuaded that Julius well deserves every mark of your friendship upon his own account; not

not only because Cuspius has assured me that he does, (which, of itself, indeed, would be a very sufficient reason for my thinking so) but because I know the great judgment of the latter in the choice of his friends.

Time will soon discover the effects which this letter shall produce; and they will be such, I confidently trust, as to demand my acknowledgments. In the mean while, you may depend upon my best services here, in every instance wherein I shall imagine you would desire them. Farewel.

P. S. Publius Cornelius, the bearer of this letter, is one whom I likewise recommend to you at the request of Cuspius: and how much I am bound, both by inclination and gratitude, to do every thing for his sake that is in my power, is a circumstance of which I have already sufficiently informed you. Let me entreat you, therefore, that he may very soon, and very frequently, have the strongest reasons to thank me for this my recommendation of his friend. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 697.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul.

THE senate met on the 13th of January, but came to no resolution; the greatest part of that day having been spent in some warm contests which arose between Marcellinus⁷, the consul, and Caninius, one of the tribunes of the people. I had myself also a very considerable share in the debates; and I represented the zeal you have always shewn towards the senate, in terms that influenced them, I am persuaded, much to your advantage. The next day, therefore, we thought it sufficient briefly to deliver our opinions: as I perceived, not only by the favourable manner in which I was heard the day before, but also by inquiring into the sentiments of each particular member, that the majority was clearly on our side. The business of the day opened with reporting to the house the several opinions of Bibulus, Hortensius, and Volcatius. The respective questions, therefore, were, in the first place, whether three commissioners should be nominated for restoring the king, agreeably to the sentiments of Bibulus;

⁷ Cneius Lentulus Marcellinus, who was consul this year with L. Marcius Philippus.

Bibulus; in the next, whether, according to those of Hortensius, the office should be conferred upon you, but without employing any forces; or, lastly, whether, in conformity to the advice of Volcatius, this honour should be assigned to Pompey. The points being thus stated, it was moved that the opinion of Bibulus might be referred to the deliberation of the house in two separate questions². Accordingly, as it was now in vain to oppose his motion, so far as it related to paying obedience to the declaration of the oracle, the senate in general came into his sentiments: but as to his proposal of deputing three commissioners, it was rejected by a very considerable majority. The opinion next in order was that of Hortensius. But, when we were going to divide upon it, Lupus, a tribune of the people, insisted, that, in virtue of his office, he had the privilege of dividing the house, prior to the consuls; and therefore demanded that the voices should be first

² "When an opinion was proposed to the senate which was thought too general, and to include several distinct articles, it was usual to require that each part might be propounded and voted separately. Thus Bibulus moved, that they might submit to the Sybilline oracle, and appoint three private senators to restore the king. But the house required that they might vote separately upon these two questions: and the event was, they unanimously agreed to the former, but rejected the latter." *Ross rem. on Cic. famil. epist. vol. i. p. 348.*

first taken upon the motion he had made in favour of Pompey. This claim was generally and strongly opposed; as, indeed, it was both unprecedented and unreasonable. The consuls themselves, however, did not greatly contest that point, nor did they absolutely give it up. Their view was to protract the debates, and they succeeded accordingly. They perceived, indeed, that, notwithstanding the majority affected to appear on the side of Volcatius, yet, upon a division, they would certainly vote with Hortensius. Nevertheless, several of the members were called upon to deliver their opinions, though, in truth, much against the inclinations of the consuls, who were desirous that the sentiments of Bibulus should prevail. These debates continuing till night, the senate broke up without coming to any resolution. I happened to pass the same evening with Pompey; and, as I had that day supported your cause, in the senate, with more than ordinary success, I thought it afforded me the most favourable opportunity of speaking to him in your behalf. And what I said seemed to make so strong an impression, that I am persuaded I have brought him wholly over to your interest. To say the truth, whenever I hear him mention this affair himself, I entirely acquit him of being secretly desirous

desirous of this commission. On the other hand, when I observe the conduct of his friends of every rank, I am well convinced (and indeed it is now evident likewise to the whole world) that they have been gained by the corrupt measures which a certain party, with the consent of Ptolemy and his advisers, have employed. I write this before sun-rise on the 16th of January, and the senate is to meet again on this very day. I hope to preserve my authority in that assembly, as far, at least, as is possible amidst such general treachery and corruption which has discovered itself upon this occasion. As to what concerns the bringing this matter before the people, I think we have taken such precautions as will render it impracticable, unless by actual violence, or in direct and open contempt both of our civil and religious institutions. For this purpose, a very severe order of the senate⁹ (which, I imagine, was immediately transmitted to you) was entered yesterday in our journals, notwithstanding the tribunes Cato¹ and Caninius interposed their negatives.

You

⁹ When an act passed the senate in a full house, held according to the prescribed forms, and without any opposition from the tribunes, (who had the privilege of putting a negative upon all proceedings in the senate) it was called a *senatus consultum*, a decree of the senate. But if any of these essentials were wanting, or a tribune interposed, it was then only styled a *senatus auctoritas*, an order of the senate, and considered as of less authority. *Manut.*

¹ See remark 3. p. 52, of this vol.

You may depend upon my sending you a faithful account of every other occurrence which may arise in this affair: and be assured I shall exert the utmost of my vigilance and my credit, to conduct it in the most advantageous manner for your interest. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same.

AULUS Trebonius, who is an old and intimate friend of mine, has some important affairs in your province, which require immediate dispatch. His own illustrious character, together with the recommendations of myself and others, have, upon former occasions of this kind, obtained for him the indulgence of your predecessors. He is strongly persuaded, therefore, from that affection and those mutual good offices which subsist between you and me, that this letter will not prove a less effectual solicitor in his behalf: and let me earnestly entreat you not to disappoint him in this his expectation. Accordingly I recommend his servants, his freed-men, his agents, and, in short, his concerns of every kind to your patronage: but particularly, I beg you would confirm the decree

cree which Titus Ampius^a passed in his favour. In one word, I hope you will take all opportunities of convincing him, that you do not consider this recommendation as a matter of common and unmeaning form. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same.

WHEN the senate met on the 16th of this month², your affair stood in a very advantageous posture. We had succeeded the day before against the motion of Bibulus for appointing three commissioners, and had now only to contend with Volcatius; when our adversaries prevented the question from being put, by artfully protracting the debates. For they saw we had, in a very full house, and amidst great contrariety of opinions, carried our point, to the considerable mortification of those who were for taking the king's affairs out of your direction, and transferring them to another hand. Curio opposed us upon this occasion with extreme warmth; while Bibulus spoke with more temper, and, indeed, seemed almost

^a The predecessor of Lentulus in this government. *Pigh. Ann.* U. C. 696.

² January.

almost inclined to favour our cause. But Cato and Caninius absolutely refused to suffer any decree to pass, till a general assembly of the people should be convened.

By the Pupian law, as you well know, there cannot be another meeting of the senate till the first of February: nor, indeed, throughout that whole month, unless all the foreign ambassadors should have received, or be refused, audience. In the mean while, a notion prevails among the people, that your adversaries have insisted upon this pretended oracle, not so much with an intent of obstructing your particular views, as in order to disappoint the hopes of those who may be desirous of this expedition to Alexandria, merely from the ambition of commanding an army. The whole world is sensible, indeed, of the regard which the senate has shewn to your character: and it is notoriously owing to the artifices of your enemies, that the house did not divide upon the question proposed in your favour. But should the same persons, under a pretended zeal for the public, (though, in fact, from the most infamous motives) attempt to bring this affair before a general assembly of the people, we have concerted our measures so well, that they cannot, possibly, effect their designs, without having recourse

course to violence; or, at least, without setting the ordinances of our country, both civil and religious, at avowed defiance'.—But I will neither ostentatiously display my own endeavours to assist you in this conjuncture, nor dwell upon the unworthy treatment you have received from others. What merit, indeed, can I thence claim to myself, who could not acquit half the obligations I owe you, were I even to sacrifice my life to your service? On the other hand, what avails it to disquiet my mind with complaining of those injuries, which I cannot reflect upon without the deepest concern? I will, therefore, only add, if methods of violence should be employed, I cannot pretend, in this general contempt of all legal authority, to answer for the event. In every other respect, I will venture to assure

¹ It was no very difficult matter for the contending parties in the republic, when they were disposed to obstruct the designs of an opposite faction, to find an expedient for that purpose. One cannot but wonder, indeed, that any public business could be carried on, when nothing more was necessary to embarrass the proceedings, than to procure some tribune to interpose his negative, or any magistrate to *observe the heavens*. This latter was a species of divination practised among the Romans, in order to determine whether any scheme under deliberation would be prejudicial or advantageous to the state. It consisted in remarking certain appearances in the heavens, or particular modes in the voice or flight of birds, which were supposed intimations of good or ill success. While this ceremony was performing, no assembly of the people could be legally held, nor any act pass into a law. To both these methods, it is probable, Cicero here alludes.

assure you, that both the senate and the people will pay the highest attention to your dignity and character. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same.

THERE is nothing I more ardently wish, than to convince both yourself, and the world, with how much gratitude I retain the remembrance of your services. I cannot, however, but extremely regret, that your affairs should have taken such a turn since your absence, as to give you occasion of trying the affection and fidelity of your friends. You are sensible, as I perceive, by your last letter, that you have been treated with the same insincerity by those who ought to have concurred in supporting your dignities, as I formerly experienced from some of my pretended friends, in the affair of my banishment. Thus, whilst I was exerting the utmost efforts of my vigilance, my policy, and my interest, in order to serve you in the article relating to Ptolemy, I was unexpectedly alarmed in a point of much more important concern, by the infamous law which Cato has

F 3 lately

lately proposed to your prejudice*. Where affairs are thus embroiled, every thing is, undoubtedly, to be feared: yet my principal apprehension, I confess, arises from the treachery of your false friends. But, however that may be, I am earnestly endeavouring to counter-act the malevolent designs of Cato.

As to the Alexandrian commission, both yourself and your friends will, I trust, have abundant reason to be satisfied with my conduct. But, at the same time, I must say, I greatly fear it will either be taken out of your hands, or entirely dropped: and I know not which of these alternatives I should least choose. However, we have another expedient in reserve, which (should we be driven to it) neither Selicius nor myself disapprove. By this scheme we shall, on the one hand, prevent the senate from refusing to assist Ptolemy, and, on the other, remove all appearance of our being disappointed, if that person should be employed, who, it is more than probable, will now obtain this commission. To be short, I shall take such precautions, that should our designs fail, you may not seem to have suffered the disgrace of a repulse:

* Caius Cato, in order to cut off all hopes at once from *Le tulus* of being employed in this contested commission, proposed a law to the people for recalling him from his government. *Ad Q. F. i. 3.*

a repulse: yet, at the same time, I shall remit nothing of my best efforts to support your claim, so long as there shall be the least prospect of success. But which ever way this point may finally be determined, it will be agreeable to those wise and elevated sentiments you possess, to consider the true glory of your character, as resulting entirely from the dignity of your actions and the virtues of your heart, And should the perfidiousness of a certain party deprive you of some of those honours, which fortune has conferred upon you; be assured, it will cast a much darker shade on their characters than on yours. In the meanwhile, your affairs are the constant subject of my thoughts: and I neglect no opportunity of acting in them for your best advantage. I concert all my measures for this purpose with Selicius: as, indeed, I know not any one of your friends who has a greater share of good sense, or a more affectionate zeal for your service. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same^a.

YOU are informed, I imagine, by many hands, of what passes here. I will leave it, therefore, to your other friends to supply you with an account of our transactions, and content myself with only sending you my conjectures. To this end I must previously acquaint you, that, on the 6th of February, Pompey made a speech, in a general assembly of the people, in favour of Milo; during which he was insulted with much clamour and abuse. Cato afterwards inveighed in the senate against Pompey, with great acrimony, and was heard with the most profound silence and attention: both which circumstances seem to have affected him very sensibly. Now from hence I surmise, that he has entirely laid aside all thoughts of being employed in the Alexandrine expedition. That affair remains, as yet, entirely open to us: for the senate has hitherto determined nothing to your prejudice, but what they are obliged, in deference to the oracle, to refuse to every other candidate

^a This and the foregoing letter are blended together in the common editions, but they are here separated upon the authority of Manutius and Gronovius.

candidate for this office. It is my present hope, therefore, as well as endeavour, that the king may throw himself into your hands, when he shall find that he cannot, as he expected, be restored by Pompey; and that unless he is replaced upon his throne by your assistance, his affair will be entirely dropped. And this step he will undoubtedly take, if Pompey should give the least intimation of its being agreeable to him. But I need not tell you of the difficulty of discovering the sentiments of a man of his reserve. However, I shall omit no method in my power to effect this scheme; as I shall easily, I trust, be able to prevent the injurious designs of Cato.

I do not find that any of the consulars are in your interest, except Hortensius and Lucullus: all the rest of that rank either openly, or in a more concealed manner, oppose your views. Nevertheless, my friend, be not discouraged: on the contrary, let it be still your hope, notwithstanding the attempts of the worthless Cato, that you will again shine out in all your former lustre^a. Farewel.

LETTER

^a See remark 4. p. 69.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same.

YOU will receive a full account from Pollio of all that has been transacted in your affair: as he was not only present, but a principal manager. Believe me, I am much concerned at the unfavourable aspect of this business. However, it affords me a very sensible consolation, that there is strong reason to hope the prudence of your friends will be able to elude the force of those iniquitous schemes, which have been projected to your prejudice. Even time itself will, probably, contribute to this end: as it often wears out the malevolence of those who, either professedly, or in a disguised manner, mean one ill. I am yet farther confirmed in these pleasing hopes, whenever I reflect upon the faction that was formerly raised against myself: of which I see a very lively image in the present opposition to you. In the latter instance, indeed, the attack is by no means so extensive, or so dangerous, as that which was made upon me; nevertheless, there is, in general, a strong similitude between the two cases: and you must pardon me, if I cannot fear, upon your account, what you never thought

thought reasonable to be apprehensive of on mine. But, whatever may be the event, convince the world that you are influenced by those principles for which I have admired you from your earliest youth: and believe me, my friend, the malice of your enemies will only serve to render your character so much the more illustrious. In the mean time, do me the justice to hope, from my affection, whatever the warmest friendship can effect; and be assured, I shall not disappoint your expectations. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 697.]

TO LUCIUS LUCCEIUS¹.

I HAVE frequently had it in my intentions to talk with you upon the subject of this letter; but a certain awkward modesty has always restrained

¹ It is very little that is known of Lucceius, more than what the following letter informs us. Cicero, in one of his orations, speak of his moral character with the highest applause, representing him as a man of the greatest humanity, and of the most unblemished honour. All that has been transmitted down to us of his public transactions is, that he was joint candidate with Cæsar in soliciting the consulship, in opposition to Bibulus: in which, however, he did not succeed. In the civil war which afterwards broke out, he took part with Pompey; if not actively, at least by his good wishes and advice: for it appears, by a passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, that the former was wholly guided by his counsels. It is unnecessary to mention the high reputation

restrained me from proposing in person, what I can, with less scruple, request at this distance: for a letter, you know, spares the confusion of a blush. I will own then, that I have a very strong, and, I trust, a very pardonable passion of being celebrated in your writings: and though you have more than once given me assurance of your intending me that honour, yet, I hope you will excuse my impatience of seeing your design executed. I had always, indeed, conceived an high expectation of your performances in this kind: but the specimen I have lately seen of them, is so far superior to all I had figured in my imagination, that it has fired me with the most ardent desire of being immediately distinguished in your glorious annals. It is my ambition, I confess, not only to live for ever in the praises of future ages, but to have the present satisfaction, likewise, of seeing myself stand approved in the authoritative records of my ingenious friend. I am sensible, at the same time, that your thoughts are already deeply engaged in the prosecution of your original design. But, as I perceive you have almost completed your account of the Italic and Ma-

rian

reputation he had gained by his literary abilities, as this part of his character will be sufficiently laid open to the reader in the present letter. *Orat. pro Calp. Suet. in Cas. 19. Cas. de bell. civ. iii.*

rian civil wars², and remember you proposed to carry on the remainder of our history in a regular series; I cannot forbear recommending it to your consideration, whether it would be best to weave the relation of Catiline's conspiracy into the general texture of your performance, or cast it into a distinct work. It is certain, several of the Greek historians will justify you in this latter method. Thus Callisthenes wrote a narrative of the siege of Troy, as both Timæus and Polybius did of the Pyrrhic and Numantine wars, in so many detached pieces from their larger histories³. As to the honour that will arise to me, it will be much the

² The Italic war which broke out An. Urb. 663, owed its rise to a rejected claim of the Italian provinces to be admitted into the freedom of the city. It employed the arms of the republic for more than two years, and occasioned greater bloodshed and devastation than those wars in which she had been engaged with Hannibal and Pyrrhus. Towards the close of it, Cicero, who was at that time about 18 years of age, served as a volunteer under the father of Pompey the Great. *Flor. iii. 18. Philip. xii.* The Marian civil war immediately succeeded the Italic, and was occasioned by the insatiable ambition of Marius. This haughty Roman, envying Sylla the honour of leading the army of the republic against Mithridates, to which he had been appointed by the senate, procured a law for divesting him of that command, and transferring it into his own hands. This war was carried on between the two contending chiefs and their adherents, with various success, and the most unparalleled cruelty on both sides, till it terminated in the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla. *Flor. iii. 21. Plut. in vit. Mar. & Syll.*

³ Callisthenes lived in the times of Alexander the Great, and attended that illustrious commander in his expedition into

the same, I must own, upon which ever scheme you may determine to proceed: but I shall receive so much the earlier gratification of my wishes, if, instead of waiting till you regularly advance to that period of our annals, you should enter upon it by this method of anticipation. Besides, by keeping your mind attentive to one principal scene and character, you will treat your subject, I am persuaded, so much the more in detail, as well as embellish it with higher graces. I must acknowledge, it is not extremely modest, thus to impose a task upon you which your occupations may well justify you in refusing; and then, to add a further request, that you would honour my actions with your applause: an honour, after all, which you may not think, perhaps, they greatly deserve.

However,

into Persia. Timæus was, by birth, a Sicilian, and flourished about the year of Rome 471: he appears, by the character which Cicero gives of him in another part of his writings, to have been a very learned and elegant historian: and he was an author in great esteem with Atticus. Plutarch, however, speaks of him with much contempt, for having affected to rival Thucydides: and he is noted by Longinus as a writer that abounded with cold and puerile conceits. He acknowledges, nevertheless, that Timæus had a flowing imagination, and, upon some occasions, rose up to the true sublime. Polybius, who died about 17 years before Cicero came into the world, wrote a general history in forty books: only five of which have reached these times. But he is not more distinguished by his composition, than by the friendship he enjoyed with Scipio and Lælius. *De Orat.* ii. 5. 8. *Ad Att.* vi. 1. *Plut. in vit. Nicæ.* *Longin. Sect. 4.* *Voss. de Hist. Græc.* i. 9. 12. 19.

However, when a man has once transgressed the bounds of decency, it is in vain to recede; and his wisest way is to push on boldly in the same confident course, to the end of his purpose. I will venture, then, earnestly to entreat you, not to confine yourself to the strict laws of history, but to give a greater latitude to your encomiums, than, possibly, you may think my actions can claim. I remember, indeed, you declare, in one of your very elegant prefaces, that you are as inflexible to all the pleas of affection, as Xenophon represents Hercules to have been to those of pleasure⁴. Let me hope, nevertheless, if friendship should too strongly recommend my actions to your approbation, you will not reject her generous partiality; but give somewhat more to affection, than rigorous truth, perhaps, can justly demand.

If

⁴ The story to which Cicero here alludes, is this: Hercules, when he was yet a youth, as Prodicus relates the fable, retired into a place of undisturbed solitude, in order to determine, with himself, what course of life he should pursue. Whilst he was in the midst of his contemplations, Pleasure and Virtue appeared to him under the figures of two beautiful women, and each accosted him in her turn. He heard their respective pleas with great attention: but Virtue gained her cause, and entirely won the heart of the future hero. If the English reader is disposed to know this story in all its circumstances, he will find it wrought up into a very beautiful poem by the Rev. Mr. Lowth, and inserted in *Polymetis*, p. 135.

If I should prevail upon you to fall in with my proposal, you will find the subject, I persuade myself, not unworthy of your genius and your eloquence. The entire period from the rise of Catiline's conspiracy to my return from banishment, will furnish, I should imagine, a moderate volume. It will supply you likewise with a noble occasion of displaying your judgment in politics, by laying open the source of those civil disorders, and pointing out their proper remedies, as well as by giving your reasons for approving or condemning the several transactions which you relate. And should you be disposed to indulge your usual spirit of freedom, you will have an opportunity of pointing out, at the same time, with all the severity of your indignation, the treachery and perfidiousness of those who laid their ungenerous snares for my destruction. I will add too, that this period of my life will furnish you with numberless incidents, which cannot but draw the reader's attention in a very agreeable manner: as nothing is more amusing to the mind than to contemplate the various vicissitudes of fortune. And though they were far, it is true, from being acceptable in experience, they cannot fail of giving me much entertainment in description: as there is an inexpressible satisfaction in reflecting

ing at one's ease, on distresses we have formerly suffered. There is something likewise in that compassion, which arises from reading an account of the misfortunes which have attended others, that casts a most agreeable melancholy upon the mind. Who can peruse the relation of the last moments of Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea, without finding himself touched with a pleasing commiseration? That glorious chief, you may remember, would not suffer the dart to be drawn out of his side, till he was informed that his shield was safe from the hands of his enemies: and all his concern amidst the anguish of his wound was, to die with glory⁵. What can be more interesting, also, than the account of the flight and death of Themistocles⁶! The truth of it is, a mere narrative

⁵ Epaminondas headed the forces of the Thebans in a battle which they fought with the Lacedemonians at Mantinea, a town in Arcadia. The Thebans gained the victory, but lost their invaluable commander: whose death was attended with the circumstances which Cicero here mentions. *Justin. vi. 7, 8.*

⁶ Themistocles, after having distinguished himself among his countrymen, the Athenians, by his military virtues, particularly in the wars in which they were engaged with Xerxes, had rendered himself so popular, that it was thought necessary to remove him: and accordingly he was obliged to withdraw from Athens. As the historians mention nothing of his return, Manutius proposes an emendation, suggested to him by one of his friends, who imagined, that instead of *reditu* it should be read *interitu*. This would agree very well

rative of general facts, affords little more entertainment to the reader, than he might find in perusing one of our public registers^a. Whereas, in the history of any extraordinary person, our fear and hope, our joy and sorrow, our astonishment and expectation, are each of them engaged by turns. And if the final result of all should be concluded with some remarkable catastrophe, the mind of the reader is filled with the highest possible gratification. For these reasons I am the more desirous of persuading you to separate my story from the general thread of your narration, and work it up into a detached performance: as, indeed, it will exhibit a great variety of the most interesting and affecting scenes.

When

well with the account which is given of his death: for having been received in his exile by Artaxerxes, he was appointed to command a body of forces in an expedition which that prince was preparing against the Grecians. But Themistocles, rather than turn his arms against his country, chose to put an end to his life by a draught of poison. *Plut. in vita Themist.*

^a These originally were books preserved in the pontifical college, wherein the several divisions of the Roman year were marked out as they were regulated by Numa, and the particular festivals noted upon which it was unlawful to transact any public affairs. These registers in the later ages of the republic were much enlarged, and contained a sort of journal of the most memorable events, both civil and religious, that happened in every year. *Liv. i. 19, 20. Dissert. sur les fastes par Coulture dans les Mem. de lit. de l'Academ. de bel. let. i. 67.*

When I tell you it is my ambition to be celebrated by your pen, I am, by no means, apprehensive you will suspect me of flattery. The consciousness of your merit must always incline you to believe, it is envy alone that can be silent in your praise: as, on the other side, you cannot imagine me so weak as to desire to be transmitted to posterity by any hand, which could not secure to itself the same glory it bestowed. When Alexander chose to have his picture drawn by Apelles⁷, and his statue formed by Lysippus⁸, it was not in order to ingratiate himself with those distinguished artists: it was from a firm persuasion that the works of these admired geniuses would do equal credit both to his reputation and their own. The utmost, however, that their art could perform, was to perpetuate the persons only of their celebrated contemporaries: but merit needs not any such visible exhibitions to immortalize its fame. Accordingly the Spartan Agesilaus, who would never suffer any picture or statue of him to be taken⁹, is

⁷ See an account of this celebrated Grecian painter, in remark 29. p. 180, of this vol.

⁸ A famous statuary, of whom Demetrius, as cited by Quintilian, remarks, that he was more celebrated for taking a strong than an agreeable likeness. *Quint. Inst. Orat. xii. 10.*

⁹ Agesilaus, king of Sparta, was one of the most considerable persons of his age, both for civil and military virtues; insomuch that he justly acquired the appellation of

is not less universally known, than those who have been most fond of having their persons copied out for posterity. The single treatise which Xenophon has written in praise of that renowned general, is more to his glory, than all the pictures and statues of all the artists in the universe. It would be a much higher satisfaction to me, therefore, as it would be a far greater honour, to be recorded by your hand than that of any other; not only because your genius would raise and adorn my actions with the same advantage as Timæus¹, has displayed those of Timoleon², or Herodotus³ those of Themistocles⁴;

Agesilaus the great. But though nature had been uncommonly liberal to him in the nobler endowments of the mind, she had treated him very unfavourable in those of the body. He was remarkably low of stature, had one leg shorter than the other; and so very despicable a countenance, that he never failed of raising contempt in those who were unacquainted with his moral and intellectual excellencies. It is no wonder, therefore, that he was unwilling to be delivered down to posterity, under the disadvantages of so unpromising a figure. *Plut. in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nep. in vita Agesil. 8.*

¹ The works of Timæus are lost.

² Timoleon is one of the noblest characters in all antiquity, and distinguished not only by his private virtues, but by approving himself, upon every occasion, the great assertor of public liberty. He was employed by the Corinthians as general of those forces which they sent to the relief of the Syracusans, against the execrable tyranny of Dionysius. He executed this commission with great honour and success; for having driven Dionysius out of Sicily, and restored the inhabitants to their rights and privileges, he resigned the supreme command. He continued, however, to live among the Syracusans as a private man, enjoying, as

Plutarch

where
 tocles⁴; but because of the additional credit I shall receive from the applause of so illustrious, so experienced, and so approved a patriot. By this means I shall enjoy, not only the same glorious privilege which, as Alexander observed when he was at Sigeum, Achilles received from Homer⁵; but what is still more important, the powerful testimony of a man, who is himself distinguished by the noblest and most uncommon virtues. Accordingly, I have been always wonderfully pleased with the sentiment which Nævius⁶ puts into the mouth of Hector,

Plutarch observes, the glorious satisfaction of seeing so many cities owe their ease and happiness to his generous and heroic labours. *Plut. in vit. Timol.*

³ Herodotus flourished about 440 years before the birth of Christ, under the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia.

⁴ See above, remark 6. p. 81.

⁵ Alexander being elected commander in chief of the confederate troops which the Grecians sent against Xerxes, crossed the Hellespont with his army, and landed at Sigeum, a promontory near Troy, where he visited the tomb of Achilles. Upon this occasion, he is said to have broken out into the following exclamation: "O happy youth! in having found an Homer to celebrate thy virtues." *Plut. in vit. Alex. Cic. pro Arch. poet.*

⁶ A dramatic poet who died at Rome An. Urb. 550, about 203 years before the christian æra; some fragments of his works still remain. The sentiment here quoted from him, is truly noble; as there is not, perhaps, a more certain indication of a low and little mind, than to be elevated by undistinguishing applause, or depressed by vulgar censure. Trophies of honour, or monuments of disgrace, are not the works of every hand. Some men are incapable of blasting a reputation, but by approving it: and are never satyrists, but when they mean to be panegyrists.

where that hero, speaking of the approbation he had received from his illustrious father, adds, that it gave him so much the more satisfaction, as coming from one who was, himself, the great object of universal applause. But should want of leisure, (for it would be an injustice to our friendship to suppose it can be want of inclination,) should your occupations then prevent your compliance with this my request; I may, perhaps, be obliged to take a method, which, though often condemned, is supported, nevertheless, by several considerable examples: I mean, to be the historian of my own transactions. But you are sensible there are two inconveniences which attend this scheme: for a man must necessarily be more reserved in setting forth those parts of his conduct which merit approbation; as he will be inclined entirely to pass over others which may deserve reproach. I must add, likewise, that what a writer says to his own advantage, always carries with it a less degree of force and authority, than when it comes from any other pen. In a word, the world in general is little disposed to approve any attempt of this kind. On the contrary, one often hears the more modest method of the poets at the Olympic games, recommended upon such occasions, who,

who, after they have crowned the several victors, and publicly called over their names, always employ some other person to perform the same office to themselves, that they may not be the heralds of their own applause. This imputation, therefore, I would willingly avoid: as I certainly shall, if you should comply with my request, and take this employment out of my hands.

You will be surprised, perhaps, that I spend so much time and pains in soliciting you for this purpose, after having so often heard you declare your intentions of giving the world a very accurate history of my administration. But you must remember the natural warmth of my temper, and that I am fired, as I told you in the beginning of my letter, with an impatient desire of seeing this your design carried into execution. To own the whole truth, I am ambitious of being known to the present generation by your writings, and to enjoy, in my life-time, a fore-taste of that little share of glory which I may expect from future ages. If it be not too much trouble, therefore, I should be glad you would immediately let me know your resolution. And should it prove agreeable to my request, I will draw up some general memoirs of my transactions for your use; if other-

wise, I will take an opportunity of discoursing further with you upon this affair in person. In the mean time, continue to polish the work you have begun, and to love me as usual⁷. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Pliny has made a request to Tacitus, of the same nature with that which is the subject of the letter before us; and though it is by no means enlivened with so much spirit, it is dictated, however, by a far less extravagant passion. He confesses himself fond, indeed, of being transmitted to posterity, by the pencil of that celebrated historian: but adds, at the same time, that he is far from desiring him to paint his actions in colours more strong than fact will justify. See *Plin. let. vol. ii. p. 432. rem. c.* This express restriction seems to glance at that most extraordinary passage in the present epistle, where Cicero entreats his friend "not to confine himself to the strict laws of history, but to give a greater latitude to his encomiums than Luceius might possibly think his actions could claim." And never did vanity, it must be acknowledged, utter or conceive a more ridiculous and contemptible wish! The voice of praise can alone be justly pleasing, when it harmonizes with conscious merit: and the applause that does not accord with truth, must, of all dissonancies, surely, prove the most offensive to a well-formed ear. But it is extremely observable how much Cicero's judgment was at variance with his practice: for he has himself shewn, in very strong terms, the absurdity of claiming more reputation than a man has merit to support. It is solid worth alone, he justly remarks, that can secure a lasting fame; for nothing can be durable that is fictitious. The former, says he, strikes its root deep, and spreads far: while the latter soon withers and dies away, like the beauties of a transient flower. *Vera gloria radices agit, et propagatur: ficta omnia celeriter, tanquam flosculi, decidant; nec simulatum potest esse quidquam diuturnum.* De offic. ii. 12.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 697.]

QUINTUS METELLUS NEPOS⁸, to CICERO.

THOSE calumnies with which the most virulent, surely, of the human race⁹ is perpetually loading me in his public harangues, are well compensated by the satisfaction I receive from your obliging offices. When I consider, indeed, the worthless hand from whence these arrows take their flight, I look upon them with the contempt they deserve; and am very willing

⁸ It is impossible to determine exactly when this letter was written, as it carries no internal marks sufficient to point out its date with precision. Ragazonius, who has taken the pains to settle the order of these epistles, places it under the present year, and supposes it to have been written by Metellus, when he was governor in Spain: to which province he went as proconsul after the expiration of his consulship.

⁹ The commentators suppose that the person here alluded to is Clodius, who was now Ædile, and employing the power which that office gave him, to the same factious purposes as he had exercised his late tribuneship. But this conjecture appears altogether groundless. For Cicero taking notice to Atticus of the death of Metellus, which seems to have happened soon after this letter was written, tells him it was probable that he had appointed Clodius his heir: a circumstance utterly inconsistent with the supposition above mentioned. The same letter may be produced as an evidence, likewise, that, whatever were the good offices which Metellus here acknowledges, they did not proceed from the suggestions of Cicero's heart; for he speaks of him to Atticus as of one whose character and conduct he greatly disapproved. *Ad Att. iv. 7.*

willing he should cease to act as a relation, since I have the pleasure to see you assume that character in his stead. To say the truth, notwithstanding I had formerly so much regard for him, as to have twice preserved him, even in spite of himself, I should now be glad to forget there is such a person in the world.

That I might not trouble you too frequently with my letters, I have written to Lollius concerning my affairs: who will let you know what measures I am desirous may be taken in regard to the accounts of this province^a. If it be possible, let me still enjoy a place in your affection. Farewel.

LETTERS

^a Spain.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK II.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 698.]

To QUINTUS ANCHARIUS⁴, Proconsul.

I RECOMMEND the two sons of my very excellent friend Aurelius, as well deserving your esteem. They are adorned, indeed, with every polite and valuable qualification: as they are in

⁴ Quintus Ancharius was tribune An. Urb. 694; when he distinguished himself by his resolute opposition to the factious measures of his colleague Vatinius. In the year 697 he was chosen prætor; and at the expiration of that office, he

in the number, likewise, of those with whom I most intimately converse. If ever then my recommendation had any weight with you, (and much, I am sensible, it ever had) let it prevail, I conjure you, in the present instance. And be assured, the honours with which you shall distinguish these, my friends, will not only indissolubly unite to you two excellent and grateful young men, but, at the same time, confer a very singular obligation upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 696.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul.

I HAVE received your letter, wherein you assure me, that the frequent accounts I send you of your affairs, together with the convincing proofs I have given you of my friendship, are circumstances extremely agreeable to you. I should ill deserve, indeed, those singular favours you have conferred upon me, if I were capable of refusing you my best services: and nothing is more pleasing to me, in this long and very distant separation, than thus to converse with

he succeeded Piso in the government of Macedonia; in which province this letter is addressed to him. *Orat. pro Sext. 53. in Pison. 36. Ross remark on the epist. of Cic.*

with you as often as possible. If you do not hear from me as frequently as you wish, it is solely because I dare not trust my letters to every conveyance. But whenever I shall be able to put them into hands, upon which I may safely rely, be assured I shall not suffer the opportunity to slip by me.

It is not easy to give a satisfactory answer to your enquiry concerning the sincerity of your professed friends, and the disposition of others in general towards you. This only I will venture to say, that a certain party, and particularly those who have the strongest obligations, as well as the greatest abilities to distinguish themselves in your service, look upon you with envy: that (agreeably to what I have myself experienced upon a different occasion) those whom, in justice to your country, you have necessarily offended, are your avowed opposers; as others, whose interests and honours you have generously supported, are much less inclined to remember your favours than to oppose your glory. These are circumstances, indeed, which I long suspected, and have often intimated to you: but of which I am now most thoroughly convinced. I observed upon the same occasion (and I believe I told you so in a former letter,) both Horten-

sius

sus and Lucullus to be extremely in your interests: as among those who were in the magistracy, Lucius Racilius appeared very sincerely and affectionately to espouse your cause. But, excepting the two former, I cannot name any of the consulars, who discovered the least degree of friendship towards you, when your affair was before the senate. As for my own endeavours, they might, perhaps, be generally considered as flowing rather from those singular favours I have received at your hands, than from the uninfluenced dictates of my real sentiments. With regard to Pompey, he seldom attended the house at that season: but I must do him the justice to say, he often takes an opportunity, without my previously leading him into the subject, of discoursing with me concerning your affair; as well as very willingly enters into the conversation, whenever I start it myself. Your last letter, I perceived, was extremely agreeable to him; and I could not but observe, with equal admiration and pleasure, the polite and most judicious manner in which you addressed him. Before he received this letter, he seemed a little inclined to suspect, that the notion which some had entertained of his inclination to be your competitor, had alienated you from him. But you have now wholly

wholly fixed that excellent man in your interest: who, in truth, had all the antecedent reasons for being so, that an uninterrupted series of the highest services could possibly give him⁵. I must confess, he always appeared to me, even when the conduct of Caninius had raised the strongest suspicions of the contrary⁶, to favour your views: But I can now assure you, that I found him, after he had perused your letter, entirely disposed to promote whatever may contribute either to your interest, or your honours. You may consider then what I am going to offer as his immediate sentiments and advice: as indeed it is the result of frequent consultations which we have held together.

⁵ See remark 6. p. 56.

⁶ It was an usual artifice with Pompey to employ his friends in soliciting those honours in his behalf, to which he affected to appear himself perfectly indifferent, or even averse. This was his policy in the present instance; and at the same time that he pretended to serve Lentulus in this affair, his creature Caninius, a Tribune of the people, was practising every stratagem in order to procure this commission for Pompey. "And though Cicero (as Mr. Ross observes) either out of a tenderness for Lentulus, or out of an apprehension of displeasing Pompey, to whom he was at this time making his court, represents him in this place as acting an honest and friendly part: yet in a letter to his brother, where he may be supposed to deliver his real sentiments, he speaks quite differently: *nam quod de Pompeio Caninius agit, sane quam refrigit: neque enim res probatur; et Pompeius noster in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur, et hercule non est idem.* Ep. vi. L. 2. The truth of the case is this, when Pompey found it was impossible for him to procure this commission, he pretended a friendship for Lentulus, and joined with Cicero in giving the advice, which makes a great part of this letter."

gether. Accordingly we are of opinion, that it may be proper for you to consider, whether any advantages may be derived from your being in possession of Cicilia and Cyprus. For if there should appear a sufficient probability of being able to make yourself master of Alexandria and Egypt, we think it equally for your own honour, and that of the republic⁷, to march thither with your army, supported by your fleet; having first left the king at Ptolemais, or some other convenient place in that neighbourhood. By these means, when you

⁷ A general sketch of Ptolemy's character has already been given in the notes on the preceding book; and it appears from thence, that nothing could be less to the honour of the commonwealth, than to interpose in the behalf of this justly-rejected monarch. Cicero himself represents him, in one of his orations, as unworthy of the crown he wore: *eum (says he) neque genere neque animo regis esse, inter omnes fere video convenire.* In Rull. ii. But what is still more extraordinary, Cicero makes the very measures which he here so strongly recommends to Lentulus; an article of his charge against Anthony. It was by the persuasion of the latter that Gabinius undertook (as has already been observed) the restoration of Ptolemy: and Anthony commanded the Roman cavalry in that expedition. This affords a topic of great indignation in one of the Philippics; and Cicero there speaks of this transaction (as he ought always to have spoken of it) as a most impudent violation of all authority both sacred and civil: *inde iter (says he) ad Alexandriam contra senatus auctoritatem, contra rempublicam et religiones.* Philip. ii. 19. But what opinion must every unprejudiced reader conceive of our author, when he thus finds him condemning and approving the same transaction, and advising his friend to pursue a step which he afterwards publicly and justly reproached in his adversary? See remark 2. p. 51. of this vol.

you shall have quieted the disturbances in Alexandria, and secured it by a proper number of forces; Ptolemy may safely take possession of his kingdom. Thus he will be restored by you, as the senate had once^a decreed: and restored too without an army, agreeably to the sentiments of those who insist upon observing the injunctions of the oracle. We are the rather confirmed in recommending this measure, as there is no decree of the senate subsisting which particularly prohibits you from replacing Ptolemy on his throne. As to the order which absolutely forbids all assistance whatsoever to be given to him, you know it was not only protested against, when it was voted, but is generally looked upon rather as the warm dictates of an exasperated faction, than as having the full authority of a decree of the senate. However, we deem it necessary to add, that we are sensible the world will judge of the propriety of this scheme, entirely by the event. Should it succeed as we wish, your policy and resolution will universally be applauded; on the other hand, should it miscarry, it will undoubtedly be condemned as an action of ill-considered and unwarrantable ambition. How far

^a See remark 5. p. 54. of this vol.

far this enterprise may be practicable, you, who are situated almost within view of Egypt, are the most competent judge. If, therefore, you are well satisfied of being able to render yourself master of that kingdom, we are clearly of opinion you should not delay your march one moment: but, if you are doubtful of the success, it is our advice that you by no means make the attempt. This I will venture to assure you, that, should you execute this project in the manner we wish, there will be a very considerable party to give it applause, even during your absence; as all Rome will unite in the same approbation, the moment you shall return amongst us. Nevertheless, I am persuaded, if this scheme should not take the desired effect, it may be attended with very disagreeable consequences to yourself; not only upon account of that order of the senate which I just now mentioned, but likewise in regard to the oracle. When, therefore, I recommend such measures as you shall have full assurance will terminate in your glory, I must, at the same time, strongly dissuade you from engaging in them, if you should have the least reason to apprehend an opposition. For (I repeat it again) the world will be determined in their opinion of this whole transaction, not as it is reasonable, but as it shall prove successful.

If

If the method here proposed, should appear too dangerous to be hazarded in your own person; we think it may at least be adviseable to assist the king with a number of your forces, provided he shall give sufficient security to your friends in the province, for repaying them the money they have advanced in support of his cause. And, indeed, the circumstances and situation of your government render it extremely easy, either to promote or obstruct his restoration, as you shall see proper. After all, you are the best judge what method will be most expedient to pursue; I thought it my part, however, to inform you of these our concurrent sentiments.

You congratulate me on the prosperous situation of my affairs in general, and particularly on the friendship of Milo, together with the vain and ineffectual schemes of the worthless Clodius. It is no wonder you should rejoice in these the generous effects of your own amicable offices. But to say truth, such an incredible perverseness (not to give it a more severe appellation) prevails amongst a certain party, that they rather choose to alienate me by their jealousies from the common cause, than to retain me in that interest by their favour and encouragement.

H 2

agement? I will own to you, their malice has almost driven me from those principles which I have so long and so invariably pursued. At least, if they have not provoked me so far as to make me forget the dignity of my character; they have taught me that it is high time I should act with a view likewise to my own security. I might, consistently with the strictest duties of patriotism, reconcile both these distinct ends, were there any honour or fortitude in those of consular rank. But such a meanness of spirit prevails in general among them, that, instead of applauding the resolution with which my actions have been ever uniformly directed in the cause of the commonwealth, they look with envy upon those dignities to which my public services have advanced me. I the rather mention this, as it is to you that I am principally indebted, not only for the happiness of being restored to my country, but almost for my very first successful steps in the paths of patriotism, and of glory.

I perceive

⁹ Cicero was, at this time, acting a part which gave great and just offence to those who were in the true interest of their country; for he was falling in with the measures of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus. He endeavours, therefore, to palliate this unworthy conduct as well as he can; but as he enters more fully into the motives of this step, in the 17th letter of this book; the reader is referred to the observations upon that epistle.

I perceive this opposition does not proceed (as I formerly suspected) from my not being of noble birth¹; since they were actuated, I have observed, by the same malignant spirit against yourself, who are confessedly descended from one of the first families in Rome. Accordingly, though your enemies are contented to see you among those of principal rank in the republic, they will by no means suffer you to soar higher. I rejoice that the parallel between us extends no farther; and tho' we have met with an equal degree of malice from the world, that the respective consequences, however, have proved extremely different. For a wide difference there surely is between suffering some diminution in point of honours, and being abandoned to total ruin. If I have not greater reason to lament this cruel outrage of my adversaries, it must be attributed to your generous interposition, as it was by your means it proved, in the final event, of far more advantage to my reputation, than of prejudice to my fortunes. Suffer me, then, from a principle of gratitude as well as affection, to exhort you, earnestly, to

¹ Nobility among the Romans was considered (as Manutius observes upon this passage) not in opposition to the Plebeian rank, for many Plebeian families were noble; but in contra-distinction to those whose ancestors had not borne any of the honourable magistracies in Rome. And of this number was Cicero.

to pursue the dictates of that well-regulated ambition, with which you were inflamed from your earliest youth: nor let any injurious treatment depress that heroism of your mind which I have ever admired and valued. The world, believe me, entertains the highest opinion of your merit, and loudly proclaims that enlarged and generous spirit which distinguishes all your actions: and it particularly remembers, to your immortal honour, the patriotism of your illustrious consulship. You are sensible, therefore, how much the least additional glory, which shall accrue to you from your civil and military conduct in the government of your province, will increase and strengthen this general lustre of your reputation. But let me express my wishes at the same time, in the first place, that you would not engage in any enterprize with your army, without having long and maturely examined it in all its consequences, nor without being sufficiently prepared to carry it into execution: and in the next, that you would be persuaded, of what I doubt not you are already sensible, that you will find it extremely easy to continue in the possession of that pre-eminence amongst your fellow-citizens, to which you have always aspired. That you may not imagine, however, I am offering the idle
tribute

tribute of unnecessary advice, I must add, that I could not reflect upon the treatment we have both received, without thinking it proper to exhort you well to consider, for the future, on whom you repose your confidence.

As to your enquiry concerning the situation of public affairs, there are great divisions amongst us: but the zeal and prudence of the several parties are by no means equal. Those who enjoy the largest share of wealth and power, have gained a superiority of credit likewise by the folly and instability of their antagonists: for they have obtained from the senate, with very little opposition, what they had no hopes of receiving, even from the people, without raising great disturbances. Accordingly the house has voted Cæsar a sum of money for the payment of his army, together with a power of nominating ten lieutenants; as they have also, without the least difficulty, dispensed with the Sempronian law for appointing him a successor¹. I do but slightly touch upon these particulars,

¹ Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

² These immoderate and fatal concessions to Cæsar's ambition, were absolutely unconstitutional, and most evidently tended to the subversion of the republic. But if the reader is surprised at so mean and so impolitic a compliance on the part of the senate, how much higher will his wonder rise, when he is informed that Cicero himself was the chief adviser and promoter of these very measures which he here con-

particulars, as I cannot reflect on our affairs with any satisfaction. However, I mention them as suggesting an useful caution to both of us, to preserve a proper poise between our interest and our honour, and not to advance one by an undue depression of the other. A maxim this which I have learned, not so much from my favourite philosophy, as from sad experience; and which, I would recommend to you, ere you are taught it by the same unpleasing method of conviction.

Your congratulations on my daughter's marriage with Crassipes[†], are agreeable to your

usual

demns? If this were a fact which stood upon the credit of historians, the passage before us would strongly incline one to suspect that they had misrepresented the truth. But we have a testimony to produce, which, though of undoubted authority, is the last one should have expected in the case; for it is the testimony of Cicero himself. In a speech which he pronounced at the bar either a little before, or soon after the date of this letter, he mentions each of these particular grants, which he enumerates to Lentulus, and then adds, *Harum ego sententiarum et Princeps et Auctor fui. Orat. pro Balbo, 27.*

The Sempronian law here spoken of, was procured by C. Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune of the people, A. U. 631. and enacted that the senate should annually appoint successors to the consular provinces.

[†] Tullia, when she married Crassipes, was the widow of Piso, surnamed Frugi; of whom an account has been given in the notes on the former book. This second match did not prove so satisfactory as Cicero here promises himself; for Crassipes soon took a disgust to Tullia, which ended in a divorce. As he is very seldom and but slightly mentioned in Cicero's writings, all that we know of him is, that he was a nobleman of the first rank.

usual politeness: I hope and believe this alliance will yield me great satisfaction.—Your son is a youth of so promising a turn, that I cannot forbear conjuring you to train him up in those refined arts which have ever been your peculiar taste and study; but chiefly in that best and noblest discipline, the imitation of your exalted virtues. Believe me, I greatly love and esteem him, not only in return to the singular affection he has ever shewn me, but particularly as he is the son, and the worthy son too, of my valuable friend. Farewel.

Philobonian Society

LETTER III.

[A. U. 698.]

TO FABIVS GALLVS[‡].

I RECEIVED your letter immediately upon my return from Arpinum, together with one likewise from Avianus[§], in which he very generously offers to give me credit as long as I shall require. Now let me desire you to imagine yourself in my situation, and then tell me, whether I can, with a good grace, ask him to allow me even the least time for the payment of

[‡] The same person to whom the 11th letter of the foregoing book is written.

[§] He seems to have been the proprietor of the statues mentioned below.

of this money, much less above a year? Indeed, my dear friend, I should not have been in this difficulty, if you had not exceeded the limits of my commission, both in the particulars and the sum. However, I am not only willing to ratify the agreement you have made for the statues you mention, but am likewise much obliged to you. I am sensible, indeed, that in the zeal of your friendship, you have purchased for me what pleased your own eye, and what you imagined would be worthy of mine; and I always considered you as a man of the most judicious and elegant taste in every kind. Nevertheless, I shall be extremely glad if Damasippus should continue in the resolution of taking these figures off my hands; for, to own the plain truth, I have no sort of inclination to them myself. As you were not apprised of my intentions, you have actually consented to pay more for these four or five pieces of sculpture^d, than I would have given for all the statues in the universe. You compare the images of the priestesses of Bacchus, to those of the Muses

which

^c Damasippus was a celebrated virtuoso of these times, who, after having ruined his fortunes by his extravagant passion for antiques, turned Stoic. Horace has ridiculed his character and his conversion with great humour, in one of his satires. *Vid. Horat. Sat. ii. 3.*

^d These statues appear, by what follows, to have been three Bacchanals, a Mars, and some figure designed for the support of a table.

which I bought of Metellus. But surely, my friend, the two instances are by no means parallel. For, in the first place, the Muses themselves would have condemned me, if I had ever rated them at so extravagant a price: and in the next, I purchased the figures you mention as bearing an allusion to my studies, and affording a suitable ornament to my library. But where can I, with any propriety, place these Bacchanals? That they are, as you assure me, extremely beautiful, I know full well; for I have frequently seen them; and, therefore, I should particularly have named them to you, if they had suited my purpose. The purchases which I usually make of this kind are such only as are proper to embellish my *Palæstra*, in the same manner as the public *Gymnasia* are generally decorated. But would it not be absurd enough, my good friend, if I, who, upon all occasions, you know, have distinguished myself

^e The *Palæstra* was properly a part of those public buildings which the Grecians (from whom the Romans took them) called *Gymnasia*, which were originally designed for exercises of various kinds, and in which, in after-times, the philosophers, likewise, held their schools. What Cicero here calls his *Palæstra*, seems to be the same building, which, in a letter to Atticus, he terms his *Academia*, and which appears to have been some apartments, or, perhaps, a distinct building, of his Tusculan villa, appropriated, principally, to the purposes of study, but adapted also to those bodily exercises which the ancients seldom passed a day without practising. *Vid. ad Att. i. 5, 6, 9.*

myself as the friend of peace, should erect a statue of the God of war. It is well there was not a Saturn too, for how could I have expected to have been out of debt, whilst I had lived under the aspect of two such unlucky divinities? Mercury would have been a much more welcome guest; for I should have hoped, by his influence, to have made a more advantageous bargain with Avianus. As to the figure designed for the support of a table, which you intended to reserve for your own use, you shall have it, if you still remain in the same mind, if not, I am ready to take it myself. Upon the whole, however, I had much rather have employed this money in the purchase of a little lodge at Tarracina^a, that I might not always trouble my friend and host. But this mistake is partly owing to the carelessness of my freedman, in not observing the instructions I gave him, and partly also to Junius, whom I suppose you know, as he is a particular friend of

Avianus.

^a Alluding (as Manutius observes) to the notions of the judicial astrologers, who pretended that Mars and Saturn were unlucky planets.

^b Mercury was supposed to preside over commerce, from whence it is probable that the *Mercuriales*, mentioned in a letter of Cicero to his brother, were a company of merchants, *Vid. Ad. Q. P. ii. 5.*

^c It is now called *Terracina*, a town in the *campagna di Roma*. It lay in the road from Rome to Cicero's villa at *Formia*.

Avianus. As I have lately built some additional apartments to my little portico at Tusculanum^a, I was desirous of adorning them with a few pictures: for, if I take pleasure in any thing of this kind, it is in paintings. However, if I must have these statues, let me know where they are, when they will arrive, and by what conveyance you propose to send them. For, if Damasippus should change his intentions of buying them, I shall find, perhaps, some pretender to his taste, who may be glad of the purchase, and I should be willing to part with them even at a loss. X

When I received your first letter concerning the house you want to take, belonging to Cassius, I was just setting out from Rome, and, therefore, I left your commission with my daughter. However, I took an opportunity myself of talking upon this affair with your friend Nicia, who, you know, is very intimate with Cassius. At my return hither, and before I had opened your last letter, I inquired of Tullia what she had done in this matter. She told me, she had applied to Licinia to speak to her

^a Cicero, if we may credit the invective ascribed to Sallust, expended immense sums in this his favourite villa, which, probably, was a very fine one when it came into his possession, as it originally belonged to Sylla the dictator. Some considerable remains of it are still shewn at Grotta Ferrata. *Sallust. declam. in Cic. 63. Plin. H. N. xxii.*

her brother Cassius; but, I believe, he is not upon very good terms with his sister. The answer which Licinia gave my daughter was, that her husband being gone into Spain, she durst not remove¹ in his absence and without his knowledge. I am greatly obliged to you for being so desirous of my company as to be impatient to get into a house where you may not only be near me, but actually under the same roof. Be assured, I am no less desirous of having you for my neighbour, and as I am sensible how much it will contribute to our mutual satisfaction, I shall try every expedient for that purpose. If I should have any success, I will let you know: in the mean while, I beg you would return me a particular answer to this letter, and tell me at the same time when I may expect to see you. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ This lady seems to have been the tenant of the house, which Gallus wanted either to buy or hire.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 698.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul.

MARCUS Platorius will fully inform you of the promises we have received from Pompey, together with every other circumstance that has been either attempted, or effected in your favour. He was not only present, but, indeed, a principal agent throughout the whole proceedings, and he acted in every article of your concerns, agreeably to what might be expected from a judicious, a vigilant, and an affectionate friend. To him, likewise, I must refer you for an account of public affairs, not well knowing what to say of them myself. This much, however, I can assure you, that they are in the hands (and in the hands they are likely to remain) of our professed friends⁵. As for myself, both gratitude and prudence, together with your particular advice, have determined me, as they ought, to join in *his*⁶ interest, whom you were formerly desirous of associating with you in mine. You are sensible nevertheless,

⁵ Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus.

⁶ Pompey.

less, how difficult it is to renounce our old and habitual notions of politics; especially under a full persuasion of their rectitude. However, I conform myself to his system, since I cannot, with any decency, oppose him; and whatever some may, perhaps, imagine, I am by no means acting in this a counterfeit part. The truth of it is, Pompey has gained such an absolute possession of my esteem, that I begin to look upon every thing as just and reasonable, which falls in with his interest or inclination⁷. I should think too, it would be no imprudent resolution, even in his adversaries themselves, to desist from an opposition to which they are evidently unequal. In the mean time, I have the satisfaction to find the world in general agreed, that my character requires I should support, or, at least, not obstruct the measures of Pompey; while some are even of opinion I may reasonably retire from all public business, to my favourite pursuits of a literary kind. And, indeed, were I not prevented by my friendship to Pompey, I should most certainly adopt this latter scheme, as of all others the most suitable to my inclinations. For I can now no longer maintain that dignity in the senate, and that freedom in the commonwealth, which, was the single

⁷ See remark 17th, p. 171. of this vol.

single motive of my ambition, and the sole end I proposed to myself in all my labours; a misfortune, however, which is not peculiar to myself, but extends to every Roman in general. In a word, I am under the sad necessity either of tamely submitting to the sentiments of those few who lead the republic, or of imprudently joining in a weak and fruitless opposition^a. I the rather mention this, that you may deliberate, before you return amongst us, what part it may be adviseable for you to act in the present conjuncture. To speak freely, the measures both of those of Senatorian and Equestrian rank; and, indeed, the whole system of the commonwealth in general, are totally changed. All, therefore, that I have now to wish, is the preservation of the public tranquillity,

^a A determined patriot could not have been reduced to the alternative which Cicero here mentions: as there was a third expedient which every man of strict political integrity, who dared to act up to his principles, would undoubtedly have embraced. "An honest physician," says Sir William Temple, "is excused for leaving his patient, when he finds the disease growing desperate, and can, by his attendance, expect only to receive his own fees, without any hopes or appearance of deserving them." Our author, in one of his orations, mentions it to the immortal honour of the celebrated Metellus, that *de Civitate decedere quam de sententia maluit*: and he who is actuated by the same sublime patriotism, will never find himself under the poor necessity of justifying wrong measures by the impossibility of enforcing right ones. See remark 30. p. 181. of this vol.

lity, which those, who are in the administration, seem to give us a prospect of enjoying, if a certain party could be prevailed upon to submit with less impatience to their power. As to any hopes of supporting, in the senate, that true consular character of a firm and inflexible patriot, it is in vain now to expect it; every mean for that purpose is totally lost, by the mistaken conduct of those who disoblige Pompey³, and dissolved that strong union which subsisted between the senate and the Equestrian order².

But

³ Pompey was very desirous of having the several grants which he had made to the cities of Asia, after his defeat of Mithridates, confirmed by the senate, in which he was strongly opposed by Cato, Metellus Celer, Lucullus, and others. This occasioned a breach between Pompey and the senate, and gave Cæsar an opportunity of establishing an interest with the former; which, at that juncture, he found necessary for his purposes. Accordingly, being soon after elected consul, he procured a law from the people to ratify these acts. *Suet. in Jul. Cæs. 19.*

² The farmers of the public revenues, who were composed of the principal persons among the Equestrian order, having, as they pretended, rented some branch of the finances at too high a rate, applied to the senate for relief. Their demands, it seems, were unreasonable: however, in the situation wherein public affairs then stood, it was thought prudent by the more moderate party, not to disoblige so considerable a body of men. But Cato obstinately opposed their demands; and, by his means, the senate, after keeping them in suspense for several months, at length rejected their petition. But Cæsar, who knew how to turn every incident to his advantage, took up the interests of these knights; and, in his consulship, obtained from the people a remission of one-third part of the stipulated rent. This single piece of policy

But to return to what more immediately relates to your own private affairs;---Pompey is extremely your friend, and, by all that I can observe, you may obtain any thing you shall desire during his consulship¹. At least I shall solicit him very strenuously for that purpose, and you may rely upon my most active offices in every instance where you are concerned. I am well persuaded my assiduity upon this occasion will not be disagreeable to him: on the contrary, he will receive it with pleasure, were it for no other reason than as affording him a proof of my grateful disposition. In the mean time, I entreat you to believe, that whatever bears the least connexion with your interests, is of more importance to me than my own. From these sentiments it is, that I despair not only of being able to return, but even sufficiently to acknowledge, the infinite obligations I owe you, tho', at the same time, I am conscious of having exerted, upon all occasions, the most unwearied endeavours in your service.

It is rumoured here that you have obtained a complete victory, and we impatiently expect an express

policy (as one of the Greek historians observes) gave him a more considerable accession of power, even than he had before acquired by means of the people, as it gained over a much more important order to his party. *Ad Att. ii. 1. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. 20. Ap. B. C. ii.*

¹ Pompey and Crassus were at this time consuls.

express with the confirmation of this agreeable news. I have already talked with Pompey upon this subject, and as soon as your courier arrives, I shall employ my utmost diligence in convening the senate. In fine, were I to perform much more for your interest than lies within the compass of my present power, I should still think I had fallen far short of what you have a right to expect. Farewel.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 698.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS².

IF your general valetudinary disposition prevented you from being a spectator of our late public entertainments³, it is more to fortune than to philosophy, that I am to impute your absence. But if you declined our party for no other

² The person to whom this letter is addressed, seems to have been of a temper and constitution, that placed him far below the ambition of being known to posterity. But a private letter from Cicero's hand has been sufficient to dispel the obscurity he appears to have loved, and to render his retirement conspicuous.

³ They were exhibited by Pompey, at the opening of his theatre; one of the most magnificent structures of ancient Rome, and so extensive as to contain no less than 80,000 spectators. It was built after the model of one which he saw at Mitylene, in his return from the Mithridatic war; and adorned with the noblest ornaments of statuary and painting. Some remains of this immense building still subsist. *Liv.* xxxix. *Plin. H. N.* vii. 3. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

other reason than as holding in just contempt, what the generality of the world so absurdly admire, I must at once congratulate you both on your health and your judgment. I say this upon a supposition, however, that you were enjoying the philosophical advantages of that delightful scene, in which, I imagine, you were almost wholly deserted. At the same time that your neighbours, probably, were nodding over the dull humour of our trite farces; my friend, I dare say, was indulging his morning meditations in that elegant apartment, from whence you have opened a prospect to Sejanum, through the Stabian hills⁴.

And

⁴ Sejanum (if that be the true reading, for the MSS. differ extremely) is found in no other ancient author. Stabiz was a maritime town in Campania, situated upon the bay of Naples, from whence the adjoining hills here mentioned took their name. One may figure the philosophical Marius as looking down upon the world from this his delightful retirement, with reflections of the same kind as those which the poet has so exquisitely imaged, in the following beautiful lines:

*Here, on a single plank, thrown safe on shore,
I hear the tumult of the distant throng,
As that of seas remote, or dying storms,
And meditate on scenes more silent still.
Here, like a shepherd gazing from his hut,
Touching his reed, or leaning on his staff,
Eager ambition's fiery chase I see:
I see the circling hunt of noisy men
Burst law's inclosure, leap the mounds of right,
Pursuing and pursu'd; each other's prey;
As wolves for rapine, as the fox for wiles:
Till death, that mighty hunter, earths them all!*

YOUNG.

And whilst you are employing the rest of the day in those various polite amusements, which you have the happy privilege to plan out for yourself; we, alas! had the mortification of tamely enduring those dramatical representations, to which Mætius⁵, it seems, our professed critic, had given his infallible sanction! but as you will have the curiosity, perhaps, to require a more particular account; I must tell you, that though our entertainments were extremely magnificent

⁵ This person is supposed, by the commentators, to be the same to whose judgment Horace advises the Pisos to refer their poetical compositions:

———*Si quid tamen olim*

Scripseris, in Mæti descendat judicis aures. Art Poet. 386.

But the compliment paid in these lines to the taste of Metius, ill agrees with the contemptuous manner in which Cicero here speaks of Pompey's Dramatic Censor.

It appears by an ancient scholiast on Horace, that Augustus instituted a kind of poetical court of judicature, consisting of five judges; the chief of which was Metius Tarpa, mentioned in the verses above quoted. They held their assemblies in the temple of Apollo: and no poet was permitted to bring his play upon the stage without their approbation. Domitian seems to have improved upon this establishment, and extended it into an academy that distributed prizes to those who excelled, not only in poetical, but prose compositions. We have seen societies of this sort formed among our neighbour nations, with good effect; and perhaps, if in this instance, as well as in some others, we were to follow their example, it might prove a mean, not only of refining our language, and encouraging a spirit of polite literature, but of calling off our minds from those political speculations, which, though the privilege, indeed, are not always the happiness of every idle Briton. *Dac remarq. sur la x. Sat. du 1. livre d'Horace. Suet in Domit. 4.*

magnificent indeed, yet they were by no means such as you would have relished: at least if I may judge of your taste by my own. Some of those actors who had formerly distinguished themselves with great applause, but had long since retired, I imagined, in order to preserve the reputation they had raised, were now again introduced upon the stage: as in honour, it seems, of the festival. Among these was my old friend Æsopus⁶: but so different from what we

⁶ He excelled in tragedy, and was the most celebrated actor that had ever appeared upon the Roman stage. Cicero experienced the advantage of his friendship and his talents during his exile; for Æsopus being engaged in a part upon the stage, wherein there were several passages that might be applied to our author's misfortunes: this excellent tragedian pronounced them with so peculiar and affecting an emphasis, that the whole audience immediately took the allusion: and it had a better effect, as Cicero acknowledges, than any thing his own eloquence could have expressed for the same purpose. But it is not in this instance alone that Cicero was obliged to Æsopus, as it was by the advantage of his precepts and example, that he laid the foundation of his oratorical fame, and improved himself in the art of elocution. The high value which the Romans set upon the talents of this pathetic actor, appears by the immense estate which he acquired in his profession, for he died worth almost 200,000l. sterling. He left a son behind him, whose remarkable extravagance is recorded by the Roman satirist. This youth having received a present from a favourite lady of a pearl out of her ear, worth a million of sesterces, or about 8000l. of our money, dissolved it in a liquid, and gallantly drank it off: to the health, we may suppose, of his generous mistress. Pliny the naturalist, who likewise mentions this story, adds, that he presented, at the same time, to each of his guests, a cup of the same valuable ingredient. *Orat. pro Sext. 56. Plut. in vit. Cic.*

we once knew him, that the whole audience agreed he ought to be excused from acting any more. For when he was pronouncing the celebrated oath,

If I deceive, be Jove's dread vengeance hurl'd, &c.

the poor old man's voice failed him: and he had not strength to go through with the speech. As to the other parts of our theatrical entertainments, you know the nature of them so well, that it is scarce necessary to mention them. They had less, indeed, to plead in their favour than even the most ordinary representations of this kind can usually claim. The enormous parade with which they were attended, and which, I dare say, you would very willingly have spared, destroyed all the grace of the performance. What pleasure could it afford to a judicious spectator, to see a thousand mules prancing about the stage, in the tragedy of Clytæmnestra; or whole regiments accoutred in foreign armour, in that of the *Trojan Horse*? In a word, what man of sense could be entertained with viewing a mock army drawn up on the stage in battle array? These, I confess, are spectacles extremely well adapted to captivate vulgar

Macrob. Saturn. ii. 10. Hor. sat. ii. 3, ver. 239. Plin. H. N. x. 51.

gar eyes; but undoubtedly would have had no charm in yours. In plain truth, my friend, you would have received more amusement from the dullest piece that Protogenes could possibly have read to you⁷, (my own orations, however, let me always except) than we met with at these ridiculous shews. I am well persuaded, at least, you could not regret the loss of our Oscian and Grecian farces⁸. Your own noble senate will always furnish you with drollery sufficient of the former kind⁹: and as to the latter, I know you have such an utter aversion to every thing that bears the name of Greek, that you will not

⁷ It was usual with persons of distinction amongst the Romans to keep a slave in their family, whose sole business it was to read to them. Protogenes seems to have attended Marius in that capacity.

⁸ The Oscian farces were so called from the Osci, an ancient people of Campania, from whom the Romans received them. They seem to have been of the same kind with our Bartholemew drolls, and to have consisted of low and obscene humour. As to the nature of the Greek farces, the critics are not agreed. Manutius supposes they differed only from the former, as being written in the Greek language. But it does not appear that Greek plays were ever represented upon the Roman stage: and the most probable account of them is, that they were a sort of pantomimes in imitation of those on the Grecian theatre. *Liv. vii. 2. Mong. rem. sur les lett. à Att. vi. 449.*

⁹ The municipal or corporate towns in Italy were governed by magistrates of their own, who probably made much the same sort of figure in their rural senate, as our Burgesses in their town-hall. This, at least, seems to have been the case in that corporation to which Marius belonged, and to have given occasion to our author's railery.

not even travel the Grecian road to your villa'. As I remember you once despised our formidable gladiators¹, I cannot suppose you would have

¹ Perhaps the Grecian road might be much out of repair, and little frequented at the time when this letter was written: and on that circumstance Cicero, it is possible, may have founded his witticism. Among the many instances of Roman magnificence, that of their public roads is particularly observable. They were formed at an immense cost, and extended to a great distance from all sides of the city. Lipsius computes the Appian way at 350 miles, some part of which still remains as entire as when it was first made; though it has now subsisted above 1800 years. It is twelve feet broad, and chiefly composed of blue stones, about a foot and a half square. Criminals of a less atrocious sort were generally employed in those useful works: and, perhaps, it might be well worthy the consideration of the legislature, whether punishments of this kind in delinquencies of the same nature, might not, in all respects, be of more advantage to the public, than that which seems to have so little effect in restraining the violences that are daily committed among us. *Lisp. de magnif. Rom. Burnet's Trav. let. iv. Plin. Epist. x. 33.*

² Grævius supposes (and it is a conjecture extremely probable) that this alludes to some services which Cicero had received from Marius, in defending him against the outrages of Clodius's mob.

The first shew of gladiators exhibited in Rome was given by the Bruti, in honour of their father's obsequies: about 200 years before the date of this letter. Originally the unhappy wretches who were exposed in this manner were either prisoners taken in war, or public criminals: but in process of time it grew into a profession, and there were men who hired themselves out for this purpose. Atticus, who seems to have omitted no opportunity of improving his finances, had a band of gladiators which he let out on public occasions, to those who were not rich enough to maintain them at their own expence. The passion for these combats became at length so immoderate, that it was usual to exhibit matches of gladiators at their private entertainments: and not only men of the first quality, but even women entered these lists. Reason, most undoubtedly, cannot

have looked with less contempt on our athletic performers: and, indeed, Pompey himself acknowledges, that they did not answer the pains and expence they had cost him. The remainder of our diversions consisted in combats of wild beasts³, which were exhibited every morning and

cannot but rise up against spectacles of this sanguinary kind. It is observable, however, that they were not introduced among the Romans till they began to be civilized: and their passion for these cruel combats seems to have gathered strength in proportion as their manners, in all other respects, became more refined. There is, indeed, a wonderful disposition in human nature, to be pleased with sights of horror: which even the most polite nations, in their highest periods of improvement, have not been able entirely to subdue. A very ingenious French writer imagines, that if we did not profess a religion which absolutely forbids the wanton destruction of our species, we should soon convert our prize-fighters into gladiators, and be as sanguinary in our diversions as the Romans themselves. *Liv. xxxix. 22. Ad Att. iv. 8. Strab. v. p. 173. Stat. Sylv. i. 6. ver. 53. Suet. in vit. Jul. 39. Reflex. sur la poes. et sur la peint. i. 18.*

² The athletic games were of a less cruel kind than those described in the preceding note, as they principally consisted of running, wrestling, and boxing-matches. It sometimes happened, indeed, that one of the combatants lost his life; but this was contrary to the laws of the sport: and if it appeared to have been the effect of design in his adversary, though he was not punished with death, he was punished in a way still more dreaded, by being deprived of the crown that would otherwise have been due to his victory. Pausanias mentions an athletic combatant, who having incurred this penalty, was so affected by the disgrace, that he lost his senses.

³ Beasts of the wildest and most uncommon kinds were sent for, upon these occasions, from every corner of the known world; and Dion Cassius relates, that no less than 500 lions were killed at these hunting-matches, with which Pompey entertained the people. *Dio, Lib. xxxix.*

and afternoon during five days successively; and it must be owned, they were magnificent. Yet, after all, what entertainment can possibly arise to an elegant and humanized mind, from seeing a noble beast struck to the heart by its merciless hunter, or one of our own weak species cruelly mangled by an animal of much superior strength? But were there any thing really worth observing in spectacles of this savage kind, they are spectacles extremely familiar to you: and those I am speaking of had not any peculiar novelty to recommend them. The last day's sport was composed entirely of elephants: which, though they made the common people stare, indeed, did not seem, however, to afford them any great satisfaction. On the contrary, the terrible slaughter of these poor animals, created a general commiseration: as it is a prevailing notion, that these creatures, in some degree, participate of our rational faculties⁴.

That you may not imagine I had the happiness of being perfectly at my ease during the whole of this pompous festival, I must acquaint you,

⁴ This was not merely a vulgar opinion, but entertained by some of the learned among the ancients, as appears from the last cited historian; who likewise takes notice how much the spectators of Pompey's shews were affected by the mournful cries of these poor animals. *Dio, Lib. xxxix.*

Philosophical Society

you, that while the people were amusing themselves at the plays, I was almost killed with the fatigue of pleading for your friend Gallus Caninius. Were the world as much inclined to favour my retreat, as they shewed themselves in the case of Æsopus, believe me, I would for ever renounce my art, and spend the remainder of my days with you and some others of the same philosophical turn. The truth of it is, I began to grow weary of this employment, even at a time when youth and ambition prompted my perseverance: and I will add, too, when I was at full liberty to exercise it in defence of those only whom I was inclined to assist. But in my present circumstances, it is absolute slavery. For, on the one side, I never expect to reap any advantage from my labours of this kind; and, on the other, in compliance with solicitations, which I cannot refuse, I am sometimes under the disagreeable necessity of appearing as an advocate in behalf of those who ill deserve that favour at my hands⁵. For these reasons I am framing every possible pretence for

living

⁵ Cicero was now wholly under the influence of Pompey and Cæsar: but the particular instances of his unworthy submission to which he here only alludes, are mentioned more fully in a subsequent letter to Lentulus, and will be considered in the remarks on that epistle. See letter 17. of this book, remarks 5, 34, and 39.

living hereafter according to my own taste and sentiments: as I highly both approve and applaud that retired scene of life which you have so judiciously chosen. I am sensible, at the same time, that this is the reason you so seldom visit Rome. However, I the less regret that you do not see it oftener, as the numberless unpleasing occupations in which I am engaged would prevent me from enjoying the entertainment of your conversation, or giving you that of mine: if mine, indeed, can afford you any. But if ever I should be so fortunate as to disentangle myself, in some degree at least, (for I am contented not to be wholly released) from these perplexing embarrassments, I will undertake to shew even my elegant friends, wherein the truest refinements of life consist. In the mean while, continue to take care of your health, that you may be able, when that happy time shall arrive, to accompany me in my litter to my several villas.

You must impute it to the excess of my friendship, and not to the abundance of my leisure, that I have lengthened this letter beyond my usual extent. It was merely in compliance with a request in one of yours, where you intimate a desire that I would compensate in this manner what you lost by not being present at our public diversions.

diversions. I shall be extremely glad if I have succeeded; if not, I shall have the satisfaction however to think that you will, for the future, be more inclined to give us your company on these occasions, than to rely on my letters for your amusement. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 698.]

TO QUINTUS PHILIPPUS: Proconsul*.

THOUGH I am too well convinced of your friendship and esteem, to suspect that you are unmindful of my former application in behalf of my friends Oppius and Egnatius; yet, I cannot forbear again recommending their joint affairs to your protection. My connexion, indeed, with the latter, is of so powerful a kind, that I could not be more solicitous for my own personal concerns. I entreat you, therefore, to give him proofs of my enjoying that share of your affection, which I persuade myself I possess:

* The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the time when it was written, are equally unknown. Pighius supposes he was governor of Asia, in the year of Rome 708. But, in this instance, the usual accuracy of that laborious annalist seems to have failed him. For it appears, by a letter of congratulation which Cicero writes to Philippus upon his return from the province, that he must have been proconsul at some period previous to the civil war: *Gratulor tibi* (says he) *quod ex provincia saluum te ad tuos recepisti incolumi famæ et REPUBLICA.* *Epist. Famil. xiii. 73.* See let. 22. p. 210. of this vol.

sess: and be assured you cannot shew me a more agreeable instance of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO MARCUS LICINIUS CRASSUS⁶.

I AM persuaded that all your friends have informed you of the zeal with which I lately both defended and promoted your dignities⁷:

as

⁶ He had been twice consul in conjunction with Pompey, and was at this time governor of Syria: to which province he succeeded at the expiration of his second consulate, the year preceding the date of this letter. He was esteemed among the considerable orators of his age: but his principal distinction seems to have been his immense wealth, the greatest part of which he acquired by sharing in the confiscated estates of those unhappy victims who fell a sacrifice to the cruel ambition of Sulla. In his first consulate he gave a general treat to the people upon ten thousand tables, and, at the same time, distributed to them a largess of three months provision of corn. *Plut. in vit. Crassi. Dion Cass. xxxix.*

⁷ Crassus accepted the province of Syria merely with a design of making war upon the Parthians: for which, however, there was no other pretence than what his boundless avarice and ambition suggested. Accordingly, some of the tribunes endeavoured to obstruct his levies for this expedition: and when that attempt failed, Ateius, one of their number, had recourse to certain superstitious ceremonies of their religion, and devoted him in form to destruction. It was a general persuasion that none ever escaped the effect of those mysterious execrations: and, in the present instance, the event happened to correspond with this popular belief. For Crassus, together with his army, perished in this enterprise. The judicious Manutius conjectures, that after Crassus had left Rome, some motion was made in the senate for recalling him, which gave occasion to Cicero's services and

to

as indeed it was too warm and too conspicuous to have been passed over in silence. The opposition I met with from the consuls⁸, as well as from several others of consular rank, was the strongest I ever encountered, and you must now look upon me as your declared advocate upon all occasions, where your glory is concerned. Thus have I abundantly compensated for the intermission of those good offices, which the friendship between us had long given you a right to claim; but which, by a variety of accidents, have lately been somewhat interrupted. There never was a time, believe me, when I wanted an inclination to cultivate your esteem, or promote your interest. Though, it must be owned, a certain set of men, who are the bane of all amicable intercourse, and who envied us the mutual honour that resulted from ours, have, upon some occasions, been so unhappily successful as to create a coolness between us⁹. It

has

to the present letter. This supposition, however, tho' indeed highly probable, is not supported by any of the historians. *Plut. in vit. Crassi. Dio. xxxix. Vel. Pat. ii. 46.*

⁸ The consuls of this year were L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Appius Claudius Pulcher.

⁹ How effectually soever Cicero might have served Crassus upon the occasion to which this letter relates; it is most certain his good offices did not proceed from a principle of friendship. It is extremely probable, indeed, that his supporting the cause of Crassus in the senate is one of those instances of our author's subjection, of which he complains

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has happened, however, (what I rather wished than expected) that I have found an opportunity, even when your affairs were in the most prosperous train, of giving a public testimony by my services to you, that I always most sincerely preserved the remembrance of our former amity. The truth is, I have approved myself your friend, not only to the full conviction of your family in particular, but of all Rome in general. In consequence of which, that most valuable of women, your excellent wife¹, together with

in the preceding letter: and that it was entirely in compliance with the inclinations of Cæsar and Pompey, with whom Crassus was now united. The coolness, here mentioned, seems to have subsisted ever since the affair of Catiline; in whose conspiracy, as one of the witnesses examined upon that occasion deposed, Crassus was concerned. There were few, indeed, who gave credit to this evidence, and the senate, upon the motion of Cicero, voted it false and malicious. Crassus, nevertheless, assured Sallust (as that historian declares) that this affront was thrown upon him by the artifices of Cicero himself. But whether Crassus had any just ground for this suspicion, or whether it was suggested to him by the false insinuations of those to whom Cicero here alludes, is a question by no means capable of being determined by any circumstance in the history or character of the two men. It is certain that Crassus, from this time, conceived a strong and lasting aversion to our author; as, on the other hand, that Cicero, after the death of Crassus, published an oration in which he expressly charged him with being engaged in this conspiracy. However, a formal reconciliation had lately passed between them, and when Crassus set out for his eastern expedition, they parted with all the exterior marks of a sincere friendship. *Ad Att.* iv. 13. *Sallust. Bel. Cat.* 49. *Plut. in vit. Crassi.* *Epist. Fam.* i. 9.

¹ This lady's name was Tertulla; and, if Suetonius may be

with those illustrious models of virtue and filial piety, your two amiable sons have perpetual recourse to my assistance and advice; and the whole world is sensible, that no one is more zealously disposed to serve you than myself.

Your family correspondents have informed you, I imagine, of what has hitherto passed in your affair, as well as of what is at present in agitation. As for myself, I entreat you to do me the justice to believe, that it was not any sudden start of inclination, which disposed me to embrace this opportunity of vindicating your honour; on the contrary, it was my ambition, from the first moment I entered the forum, to be ranked in the number of your friends². I have the satisfaction to reflect, that I have never, from that time to this hour, failed in the highest sentiments of esteem for you; and, I doubt not, you have always retained the same affectionate regard towards me. If the effects of this mutual disposition have been interrupted by any little suspicions, (for suspicions only, I am sure they were) be the remembrance of

be credited, she was better acquainted with some of Cæsar's talents than was altogether consistent with her being (what Cicero here calls her) *the most valuable of all women.* *Suet. in J. Cæs.* 50.

² Crassus was almost ten years older than Cicero; so that when the latter first appeared at the bar, the former had already established a character by his oratorical abilities.

of them for ever blotted out of our hearts. I am persuaded, indeed, from those virtues which form *your* character, and from those which I am desirous should distinguish *mine*, that our friendly union, in the present conjuncture, cannot but be attended with equal honour to us both. What instances you may be willing to give me of your esteem, must be left to your own determination; but they will be such, I flatter myself, as may tend most to advance my dignities. For my own part, I faithfully promise the utmost exertion of my best services, in every article wherein I can contribute to increase yours. Many, I know, will be my rivals in these amicable offices, but it is a contention in which all the world, I question not, and particularly your two sons, will acknowledge my superiority. Be assured, I love them both in a very uncommon degree; tho' I will own, that Publius² is my favourite. From his infancy, indeed,

² Whatever sincerity might be wanting in our author's professions of friendship to the father; it is certain he had a very unfeigned affection for the son; as, indeed, Cicero had been greatly obliged to his zealous services when he was persecuted by Clodius. Soon after this letter was written, Publius followed his father with a body of Gallic cavalry into Parthia, where he behaved with uncommon bravery, but perished in that unfortunate expedition. He fell not, indeed, by the enemy, but by the hand of one of his attendants, who stabbed him by his own orders, as scorning to survive so shameful a defeat. *Cic. in Brut. Plut. in vit. Crassi.*

indeed, he discovered a singular regard to me, as he particularly distinguishes me at this time with all the marks even of filial respect and affection.

Let me desire you to consider this letter, not as a strain of unmeaning compliment, but as a sacred and solemn covenant of friendship, which I shall most sincerely and religiously observe⁴. I shall now persevere in being the advocate of your honours, not only from a motive of affection, but from a principle of constancy, and without any application on your part, you may depend on my embracing every opportunity, wherein I shall think my services may prove agreeable to your interest, or your inclinations. Can you once doubt, then, that any

⁴ It has been asserted, in these remarks, that Cicero acted a counterfeit part in his professions of friendship to Crassus, but as he here very strongly affirms the contrary, it will be proper to produce the evidence. This, indeed, is Cicero himself, who, in a letter to Atticus, written not long before the present, and wherein he gives an account of the departure of Crassus, for his Parthian expedition, speaks of him in a style utterly irreconcilable with the sentiments he here professes, and in terms of the utmost contempt. "*Crassum nostrum,*" says he, "*minore dignitate aiant profectum paludatum, quam olim—L. Paulum. O HOMINEM NEQUAM!*" It must be owned, at the same time, that it is highly probable the heart of Crassus was as little concerned in their pretended reconciliation as that of Cicero; for Crassus generally regulated his attachments by his interest, and was no farther a friend or an enemy than as it suited with his avarice and ambition. *Ad Att. iv. 13. Plut. in vit. Crassi.*

any request to me for this purpose, either by yourself or your family, will meet with a most punctual observance? I hope, therefore, you will not scruple to employ me in all your concerns, of what nature or importance soever, as one who is most faithfully your friend: and that you will direct your family to apply to me in all their affairs of every kind, whether relating to you or to themselves, to their friends, or their dependents. And be assured, I shall spare no pains to render your absence as little uneasy to them as possible. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO JULIUS CÆSAR.¹

I AM going to give you an instance how much I rely upon your affectionate services, not only towards myself, but in favour also of my friends. It was my intention, if I had gone abroad in any foreign employment, that Trebatius² should have accompanied me; and he would not have returned without receiving the highest and most

¹ Cæsar was at this time in Gaul, preparing for his first expedition into Britain, which, as Tacitus observes, he rather discovered than conquered.

² See an account of him in the following letter.

most advantageous honours I should have been able to have conferred upon him. But as Pompey, I find, defers setting out upon his commission longer than I imagined³: and I am apprehensive, likewise, that the doubts you know I entertain in regard to my attending him, may possibly prevent, as they will certainly at least delay, my journey, I take the liberty to refer Trebatius to *your* good offices, for those benefits he expected to have received from mine. I have ventured, indeed, to promise, that he will find you full as well-disposed to advance his interest, as I have always assured him he would find me: and a very extraordinary circumstance occurred, which seemed to confirm this opinion I entertained of your generosity. For, in the very instant I was talking with Balbus upon this subject, your letter was delivered to me: in the close of which you pleasantly tell me, that “in compliance with “my request, you will make Orfius king of “Gaul,

³ A law had lately passed, by which Pompey was invested with the government of Spain during five years; and it was upon this occasion that Cicero had thoughts of attending him as his lieutenant. Pompey, however, instead of going to his province, chose to continue in Italy; though he seems to have amused Cicero with a notion of his intending the contrary. For it appears, by a letter to Atticus, written towards the latter end of this year, that our author had fixed the day for his departure. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Ad Att. iv. 18.*

"Gaul, or assign him over to Lepta, and advance any other person whom I should be inclined to recommend." This had so remarkable a coincidence with our discourse, that it struck both Balbus and myself as a sort of a happy omen, that had something in it more than accidental*. As it was my intention, therefore, before I received your letter, to have transmitted Trebatius to you; so I now consign him to your patronage, as upon your own invitation. Receive him then, my dear Cæsar, with your usual generosity; and distinguish him

* Among the various kinds of omens observed with much superstition by the Romans, that of words happening to coincide with any particular subject under consideration, was esteemed of singular regard. A remarkable instance of this sort is recorded by Livy. After the burning of Rome by the Gauls, it was debated whether the capital city should not be removed into the country of the Veii. This point was long and warmly discussed, till, at length, the question was decided by an officer of the guards, who, accidentally passing by the senate-house with his company, called out to the ensign, *Signifer, statue signum: hic munebimus optime*. These words being heard by the fathers in council, were considered as a divine intimation: and it was immediately and unanimously agreed to rebuild the city on its former site. Cæsar, of all the Roman historians, has most avoided the marvellous of this kind: and it is observable, that he does not mention a single prodigy throughout his whole Commentaries, except in his relation of the battle of Pharsalia. Upon that occasion, indeed, he very artfully falls in with this popular superstition, and gives an account of many predictive intimations of that day's important event. And nothing, in truth, could be more to his purpose than this indirect manner of persuading his countrymen that the Gods were parties in his cause. *Liv. v. 35. Cæs. bel. civ. iii. 85.*

him with every honour that my solicitations can induce you to confer. I do not recommend him in the manner you so justly rallied, when I wrote to you in favour of Orsius: but I will take upon me to assure you, in true Roman sincerity, that there lives not a man of greater modesty and merit. I must not forget to mention also (what indeed is his distinguishing qualification) that he is eminently skilled in the laws of his country⁹, and happy in an uncommon strength of memory. I will not point out any particular piece of preferment which I wish you to bestow upon him: I will only, in general, entreat you to admit him into a share of your friendship. Nevertheless, if you should think proper to distinguish him with the tribunate or præfecture¹, or any other

⁹ The profession of the law was held among the Romans, as it is with us, in great esteem; but this body of men seem, in general, to have acted rather in the nature of our chamber counsel, than as advocates at the bar. The law was properly the province of those whom they called their *orators*: and for which every man of good sense, a ready utterance, and a general knowledge of the constitution of his country, was thought qualified. *Cic. de off. ii. 19. de Orat. 55, &c.*

¹ The military tribunes were next in rank to the lieutenants or commanders in chief under the general; as the *præfectus legionis* was the most honourable post in the Roman armies after that of the military tribunes. The business of the former was, among other articles, to decide all controversies that arose among the soldiers; and that of the latter was to carry the chief standard of the legion.

little honours of that nature, I shall have no manner of objection. In good earnest, I entirely resign him out of my hands into yours, which never were lifted up in battle, or pledged in friendship, without effect.—But I fear I have pressed you farther upon this occasion than was necessary: however I know you will excuse my warmth in the cause of a friend. Take care of your health, and continue to love me. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 699.]

TO TREBATIUS².

I NEVER write to Cæsar or Balbus, without taking occasion to mention you in the advantageous terms you deserve: and this in a style that evidently distinguishes me for your sincere well-wisher. I hope, therefore, you will check

² This is the same person in whose behalf the foregoing letter to Cæsar is written, and which seems to have had so good an effect, that we find him mentioned by Suetonius as in the number of Cæsar's particular favourites. He appears, in this earlier part of his life, to have been of a more gay and indolent disposition than is consistent with making a figure in business; but he afterwards, however, became a very celebrated lawyer: and one of the most agreeable satires of Horace is addressed to him under that honourable character. If the English reader is desirous of being acquainted with the spirit of that performance, he will find it preserved, and even improved, among Mr. Pope's excellent imitations of Horace. *Suet. in vit. Jul. Cæsar. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. Pope's poems, vol. ii. p. 109.*

check this idle passion for the elegancies of Rome, and resolutely persevere in the purpose of your journey, till your merit and assiduity shall have obtained the desired effect. In the mean time, your friends here will excuse your absence, no less than the ladies of Corinth did that of Medea in the play¹, when she artfully persuades them not to impute it to her as a crime, that she had forsaken her country: For, as she tells them,

*There are who distant from their native soil,
Still for their own and country's glory toil:
While some, fast-rooted to their parent-spot,
In life are useless, and in death forgot.*

In this last inglorious class you would most certainly have been numbered, had not your friends all conspired in forcing you from Rome. But more of this another time: in the mean while, let me advise you, who know so well how to manage securities for others, to *secure yourself* from

¹ Medea being enamoured of Jason, assisted him in obtaining the golden fleece, and then fled with him from her father's court. He afterwards, however, deserted her for Creusa, the daughter of Creon, king of Corinth, whom Medea destroyed by certain magical arts. Ennius, a Roman poet, who flourished about a century before the date of this letter, formed a play upon this story: from which performance the following lines are quoted.

from the British charioteers*. And since I have been *playing* the Medea, let me make my exit with the following lines of the same tragedy, which are well worth your constant remembrance:

*His wisdom, sure, on folly's confines lies,
Who, wise for others, for himself's unwise.*

Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

I TAKE all opportunities of writing in your favour: and I shall be glad you would let me know with what success. My chief reliance is on Balbus: in my letters to whom I frequently and warmly recommend your interest. But why do you not let me hear from you every time my brother dispatches a courier?

I am informed there is neither gold nor silver in all Britain[†]. If that should be the case, I would

* The armies of the ancient Britons were partly composed of troops who fought in open chariots, to the axletrees of which were fixed a kind of short scythe. *Cæs. de bell. Gall.* iv. 29. Sir William Temple's introduction to the *Hist. of England*.

† A notion had prevailed among the Romans, that Britain abounded in gold and silver mines: and this report, it is probable,

would advise you to seize one of the enemy's military cars, and drive back to us with all expedition. But if you think you shall be able to make your fortune without the assistance of British spoils, by all means establish yourself in Cæsar's friendship. To be serious; both my brother and Balbus will be of great service to you for that purpose: but, believe me, your own merit and assiduity will prove your best commendation.

probable, first suggested to Cæsar the design of conquering our island. It was soon discovered, however, that these sources of wealth existed only in their own imaginations: and all their hopes of plunder ended in the little advantage they could make by the sale of their prisoners. Cicero, taking notice of this circumstance to Atticus, ridicules the poverty and ignorance of our British ancestors; which gives occasion to the ingenious historian of his life, to break out into the following pertinent and useful observations: "From their railleries of this kind (says Dr. Middleton) one cannot help reflecting on the surprising fate and revolutions of kingdoms: how Rome, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire, and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty; enslaved to the most cruel as well as to the most contemptible of tyrants, superstition and religious imposture: while this remote country, anciently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters, flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet, running, perhaps, the same course which Rome itself had run before it; from virtuous industry to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of discipline, and corruption of morals; till, by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey, at last, to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, sinks gradually again into its original barbarism." *Ad Att.* iv. *Life of Cic.* ii. 102.

commendation. You have every favourable circumstance indeed for your advancement that can be wished. On the one hand, you are in the prime and vigour of your years; as on the other, you are serving under a commander distinguished for the generosity of his disposition, and to whom you have been recommended in the strongest terms. In a word, there is not the least fear of your success, if your own concurrence be not wanting. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

I HAVE received a very obliging letter from Cæsar, wherein he tells me, that though his numberless occupations have hitherto prevented him from seeing you so often as he wishes, he will certainly find an opportunity of being better acquainted with you. I have assured him, in return, how extremely acceptable his generous services to you, would prove to myself. But surely you are much too precipitate in your determinations: and I could not but wonder that you should have refused the advantages of a tribune's commission, especially
as

as you might have been excused, it seems, from the functions of that post. If you continue to act thus indiscreetly, I shall certainly exhibit an *information* against you to your friends Vacerra and Manilius. I dare not venture, however, to *lay the case* before Cornelius: for as you profess to have learned all your wisdom from his instructions; to arraign the pupil of imprudence, would be a tacit reflection, you know, upon the tutor. But in good earnest, I conjure you not to lose the fairest opportunity of making your fortune, that probably will ever fall again in your way.

I frequently recommend your interests to Precianus, whom you mention; and he writes me word that he has done you some good offices. Let me know of what kind they are. I expect a letter upon your arrival in Britain. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

I HAVE made your acknowledgments to my brother, in pursuance of your request: and am glad to have an occasion of applauding you for being fixed, at last, in some settled resolution. The style of your former letters, I will own, gave me a good deal of uneasiness. And allow me to say, that in some of them, you discovered an impatience to return to the polite refinements of Rome, which had the appearance of much levity: that, in some, I regretted your indolence, and in others your timidity. They frequently, likewise, gave me occasion to think, that you were not altogether so reasonable in your expectations, as is agreeable to your usual modesty. One would have imagined, indeed, you had carried a bill of exchange upon Cæsar, instead of a letter of recommendation: for you seemed to think you had nothing more to do than to receive your money and hasten home again. But money, my friend, is not so easily acquired: and I could name some of our acquaintance who have been obliged to travel as far as Alexandria in pursuit of it, without having yet been able to obtain

obtain even their just demands⁶. If my inclinations were governed solely by my interest, I should certainly choose to have you here: as nothing affords me more pleasure than your company, or more advantage than your advice and assistance. But as you sought my friendship and patronage from your earliest youth, I always thought it incumbent upon me to act with a disinterested view to your welfare; and not only to give you my protection, but to advance, by every means in my power, both your fortunes and your dignities. In consequence of which I dare say you have not forgotten those unsolicited offers I made you, when I had thoughts of being employed abroad⁷. I no sooner gave up my intentions of this kind, and perceived that Cæsar treated me with great distinction and friendship, than I recommended you, in the strongest and warmest terms, to his favour, perfectly well knowing the singular probity and benevolence of his heart. Accordingly he shewed, not only by his letters to me, but by his conduct towards you, the great regard he paid to my recommendation. If you have

⁶ This alludes to those who supplied Ptolemy with money when he was soliciting his affairs in Rome: an account of which has already been given in the notes on the foregoing book. See rem. 2. p. 51, of this vol.

⁷ See rem. 7. p. 135. of this vol.

have any opinion, therefore, of my judgment, or imagine that I sincerely wish you well, let me persuade you to continue with him. And notwithstanding you should meet with some things to disgust you; as business, perhaps, or other obstructions may render him less expeditious in gratifying your views than you had reason to expect; still, however, persevere; and trust me, you will find it prove in the end both for your interest and your honour. To exhort you any farther, might look like impertinence: let me only remind you, that if you lose this opportunity of improving your fortunes, you will never meet again with so generous a patron, so rich a province, or so convenient a season for this purpose. And (to express myself in the style of you lawyers) Cornelius has *given his opinion* to the same effect.

I am glad, for my sake, as well as yours, that you did not attend Cæsar into Britain: as it has not only saved *you* the fatigue of a very disagreeable expedition, but *me* likewise that of being the perpetual auditor of your wonderful exploits. Let me know in what part of the world you are likely to take up your winter-quarters, and in what post you are, or expect to be employed. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

IT is a considerable time since I have heard any thing from you. As for myself, if I have not written these three months, it was because, after you were separated from my brother, I neither knew where to address my letters, nor by what hand to convey them. I much wish to be informed how your affairs go on, and in what part of the world your winter-quarters are likely to be fixed. I should be glad they might be with Cæsar: but, as I would not venture, in his present affliction^{*}, to trouble him with a letter, I have written upon that subject to Balbus. In the mean while, let me entreat you not to be wanting to yourself: and

for

^{*} Cæsar, about this time, lost his daughter Julia, who died in child-bed. She was married to Pompey, who was so passionately fond of her, that she seems, during the short time they lived together, to have taken entire possession of his whole heart, and to have turned all his ambition into the single desire of appearing amiable in her eye. The death of this young lady proved a public calamity, as it dissolved the only forcible bond of union between her father and her husband, and hastened that rupture which ended in the destruction of the commonwealth. It is in allusion to this that the elegant Paterculus calls her *medium male cohærentis inter Pompeium et Cæsarium concordie pignus*. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. et Cæsar. Vel. Paterc. i. 47.*

for my own part, I am contented to give up so much more of your company, provided the longer you stay abroad the richer you should return. There is nothing, I think, particularly to hasten you home, now that Vacerra is dead. However you are the best judge: and I should be glad to know what you have determined.

There is a queer fellow of your acquaintance, one Octavius or Cornelius (I do not perfectly recollect his name) who is perpetually inviting me, as a friend of yours, to sup with him. He has not yet prevailed with me to accept his compliment: however, I am obliged to the man. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 699.]

TO MUNATIUS?

LUCIUS Livineius Trypho is the freedman of my very intimate friend Regulus: And though the misfortunes of the latter cannot raise him higher in my affection, they have, however,

⁹ The person to whom this letter is addressed, is unknown, as is the precise time, likewise, when it was written: It seems probable, however, not to have been very long after Cicero's return from banishment. For by the expression, *his nostris temporibus*, he undoubtedly alludes (as Mr. Ross observes) to the misfortunes which were brought upon him by Clodius.

however, rendered me more assiduous to testify it in every instance wherein he is the least concerned. But I have still a farther reason to interest myself in behalf of his freed-man, as I experienced his services at a season when I had the best opportunity of proving the sincerity of my friends. I recommend him, therefore, to your protection with all the warmth of the most sensible gratitude; and I shall be extremely obliged to you for shewing him, that you place to your own account, those many dangerous winter voyages he formerly undertook upon mine. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 699.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I PERCEIVE, by your letter, that my friend Cæsar looks upon you as a most wonderful lawyer; and are you not happy in being thus placed in a country where you make so considerable a figure upon so small a stock^a? But with

^a The ludicrous author of the *Tale of a Tub* has applied this passage with more humour, perhaps, than it was first conceived. He is accounting for the propagation of the several absurd doctrines of philosophy and religion that have prevailed in the world, by supposing that every system-maker is always sure of finding a set of disciples whose tone of understanding is exactly pitched to the absurdity or extravagance of his tenets. "And in this one circumstance," says

L 3

he

with how much greater advantage would your noble talents have appeared, had you gone into Britain? Undoubtedly there would not have been so profound a sage in the law throughout all that extensive island.

Since your epistle has provoked me to be thus jocose, I will proceed in the same strain, and tell you there was one part of it I could not read without some envy; and how, indeed, could it be otherwise, when I found that, whilst much greater men were in vain attempting to get admittance to Cæsar, you were singled out from the crowd, and even summoned to an audience? But after giving me an account of affairs which concern others, why were you silent as to your own, assured as you are

he, "lies all the skill or luck of the matter. Cicero understood this very well, when writing to a friend in England, "with a caution, among other matters, to beware of being "cheated by our hackney-coachmen, (who, it seems, in "those days, were as errant rascals as they are now) has "these remarkable words: *est quod gaudeas te in ista loca "venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere.* For, to speak a bold "truth, it is a fatal miscarriage, so ill to order affairs, as to "pass for a fool in one company, when in another you "might be treated as a philosopher; which I desire some "certain gentlemen of my acquaintance to lay up in their "hearts as a very seasonable inuendo." *Tale of a Tub.* p. 164.

¹ Trebatius, it is probable, had informed Cicero, in the letter to which this is an answer, that he had been summoned by Cæsar to attend him as his assessor upon some trial; which seems to have led our author into the railleries of this and the preceding passages.

are that I interest myself in them with as much zeal as if they immediately related to myself. Accordingly, as I am extremely afraid you will have no *employment* to keep you warm in your winter-quarters, I would, by all means, advise you to lay in a sufficient quantity of fuel. Both Mucius and Manilius² have given *their opinions* to the same purpose; especially as your *regimentals*, they apprehend, will scarce be ready soon enough to secure you against the approaching cold. We hear, however, there has been *hot* work in your part of the world, which somewhat alarmed me for your safety; but I comforted myself with considering, that you are not altogether so *desperate* a soldier, as you are a lawyer. It is a wonderful consolation, indeed, to your friends, to be assured that your passions are not an over-match for your prudence. Thus, as much as I know you love the water³, you would

² Mucius and Manilius, it must be supposed, were two lawyers, and particular friends of Trebatius, as the humour of this witticism evidently consists in an allusion to that profession.

³ In the original it is *studiosissimus homo natandi*, the ambiguity of which could not have been preserved in a more literal translation. The art of swimming was among the number of polite exercises in ancient Rome, and esteemed a necessary qualification for every gentleman. Thus we find Cato the elder himself instructing his son in this accomplishment; as Augustus likewise performed the same office

would not venture, I find, to *cross* it with Cæsar; and tho' nothing could keep you from the
combats

In the education of his two grandsons, Caius and Lucius. It was, indeed, one of the essential arts in military discipline, as both the soldiers and officers had frequently no other means of pursuing or retreating from the enemy. Accordingly the *Campus Martius*, a place where the Roman youth were taught the science of arms, was situated on the banks of the Tiber; and they constantly finished their exercises of this kind by throwing themselves into the river.—This shews the wonderful propriety of those noble lines which Shakespear puts into the mouth of Cassius, in that masterly scene where he is endeavouring to sound the sentiments, and fire the indignation of Brutus towards Cæsar.

We can both

Endure the winter's cold as well as he.
For once upon a raw and gusty day,
The troubled Tiber chafing with his shores,
Cæsar says to me, "Darest thou, Cassius, now
Leap in with me into this angry flood,
And swim to yonder point?" Upon the word,
Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
And bade him follow: so indeed he did.
The torrent roar'd, and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews, throwing it aside,
And stemming it with hearts of controversy.
But ere we could arrive the point proposed,
Cæsar cry'd, "Help me, Cassius, or I sink."
I, as Æneas, our great ancestor,
Did from the flames of Troy, upon his shoulder,
The old Anchises bear, so from the waves of Tyber
Did I the tir'd Cæsar: and this man
Is now become a God, &c.

Monsieur Dacier observes, that this passage of Cicero discovers the justness of those verses in Horace, where Trebatius is represented as advising the Roman satirist to swim across the Tyber, as an excellent remedy against his poetical propensity: since, like other physicians, he prescribed a regimen, it seems, most agreeable to his own taste and practice. *Plut. in vit. Cato. Censor. Suet. in vit. Augusti* 64. *Veget. de re milit.* i. 10. *Dacier rem. sur la Sat. i. du liv. ii. d'Hor.*

*combats*⁴ in Rome, you were much too wise, I perceive, to attend them in Britain⁵.

But pleasantry apart: you know, without my telling you, with what zeal I have recommended you to Cæsar; though, perhaps, you may not be apprised, that I have frequently, as well as warmly, written to him upon that subject. I had, for some time, indeed, intermitted my solicitations, as I would not seem to distrust his friendship and generosity; however, I thought proper, in my last, to remind him once more of his promise. I desire you would let me know what effect my letter has produced, and at the same time, give me a full account of every thing that concerns you. For I am exceedingly anxious to be informed of the prospect and situation of your affairs, as well as how long you imagine your absence is likely to continue. Be persuaded, that nothing could reconcile me to this separation, but the hopes of its proving to your advantage. In any other view, I should not be so impolitic as not to insist on your return; as you would be too prudent, I day say, to delay it. The truth is, one hour's gay, or serious conversation together, is of more importance to us, than all the foes and all the friends that the whole nation of Gaul can produce. I entreat
you

⁴ Alluding to his fondness of the gladiatorial games.

⁵ See remark 5. p. 134. of this vol.

you, therefore, to send me an immediate account in what posture your affairs stand ; and be assured, as honest Chremes says to his neighbour in the play⁶,

*Whatever cares thy lab'ring bosom grieve,
My tongue shall soothe them, or my hand relieve.*

Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

YOU remember the character given of the Phrygians in the play⁷ ; “ that their wisdom “ ever came too late : ” but you are resolved, my dear cautious old gentleman⁸, that no imputation of this kind shall be fixed upon you. Thank heaven, indeed, you wisely subdued the romantic spirit of your first letters, as you were not so obstinately bent upon new adventures, as to hazard a voyage for that purpose into

⁶ In Terence's play called the *Self-tormentor*.

⁷ A tragedy called the *Trojan Horse*, which seems, by Cicero's frequent quotations from it, to have been in great esteem.

⁸ The celebrated Monsieur Dacier produces this passage as a proof that Trebatius must have been more than four-score years of age, when Horace addressed the satire to him mentioned in the remarks on the preceding letter. But that learned critic has been led into this error by taking in a serious sense, what Cicero most evidently meant in a ludicrous one.

into Britain ; and who, in troth, can blame you ? It is the same disposition, I imagine, that has immoveably fixed you in your winter-quarters, and certainly there is nothing like acting with circumspection upon all occasions. Take my word for it, prudence is the safest shield.

If it were usual with me to sup from home, most undoubtedly I could not refuse your gallant friend Octavius. I will own, however, I love to mortify the man's vanity ; and, whenever he invites me, I always affect to look with some surprise, as not seeming to recollect his person. Seriously, he is a wondrous pretty fellow ; what pity it is that you did not take him abroad with you^a !

Let me know how you are employed, and whether there is any probability of seeing you in Italy this winter. Balbus assures me, that you will certainly return immensely rich ; but, whether he means in the vulgar sense, or agreeably to the maxim of his friends the Stoics, who maintain, you know, “ that every man is rich, “ who has the free enjoyment of earth and “ air ; ” is a doubt which time will clear up.

I find, by those who come from your part of the world, that you are grown wonderfully *reserved* : for they tell me, you answer no *queries*.

^a See the conclusion of let. xiii. p. 148. of this vol.

ries⁹. However, it is on all hands a *settled point*, (and you have reason, certainly, to congratulate yourself upon it) that you are the most profound sage in the law, throughout the whole city of Samarobriva¹⁰. Farewel.

LETTER

⁹ The witticism of this passage consists in the double sense of the verb *respondere*, which, besides its common acceptation, signifies likewise the giving *an opinion as a lawyer*. This conceit, such as it is, seems to have been a favourite one with our author, for he repeats it in a subsequent letter, where he is rallying another of his friends upon an occasion of the same nature. See note 6. p. 213. of this vol. But—

*Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
Omnia dixisset !——— JUV.*

¹⁰ A principal town in Gaul, now called Amiens, and where Trebatius seems to have had his winter-quarters.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO LENTULUS.

IT is with singular pleasure I perceive, by your letter, that you are sensible, I will not say of my affection only, but of my devotion towards you. Even that sacred term, indeed, can but ill express the sentiments you merit from me : and if you esteem yourself (as you would persuade me) obliged by my endeavours to serve you, it is your friendship alone which can make you think so. I am sure, at least, I could not refuse you my best good offices, without being guilty of the most unpardonable ingratitude. You would have experienced, however, much stronger and more powerful instances of my friendship, if, instead of being thus long separated from each other, we had passed this interval together at Rome. It is not only in the particular article you mention, and in which no man is more qualified to shine, that I impatiently wish to receive you as my co-adjutor : it is not, I say, in the senate alone, that our amicable concurrence would have been distinguished ; it would have appeared conspicuous, my friend, in every act of public concernment.

ment. Suffer me then to add, previously to the information you request me to give you of my political sentiments and situation, that if fortune had not thus divided us, I should have enjoyed in you a wise and faithful guide; as you would have found in me, a kind, a friendly, and, perhaps, no unexperienced associate. However, I rejoice (as undoubtedly I ought) at the honourable occasion of your absence, and in which your military conduct and success has procured you the illustrious title of *Imperator*¹. Nevertheless, I must repeat it again, it is owing to this circumstance, that you have not received far more abundant and efficacious fruits of that friendship, to which you have so undisputed a claim. In particular, I should most strenuously have united with you in taking just vengeance on those whose ill offices you have experienced, partly in resentment of your having supported and protected me in my adversity, and partly as they envy you the glory of so generous an action. One of them, however, has sufficiently anticipated our revenge, and drawn down by his own hands the chastisement he merits from ours. The person I mean is

¹ History is altogether silent as to the occasion upon which Lentulus was saluted by his army with this title.

is that man who has ever distinguished himself by opposing his benefactors, and who, after having received from you the highest services, singled you out as the object of his impotent malice. This man, in consequence of being detected in his late infamous attempts, has entirely and irretrievably lost at once both his honour and his liberty². As to yourself, tho' I had much rather you should gain experience by my misfortunes than your own, yet it affords me some consolation, under your present disappointment³, that you have not paid so severe a fine as I did, for being taught the little dependence there is upon the professions of the world. A reflection this, which may very properly serve as an introduction to the account you require of the motives of my late transactions.

You are informed, then, it seems, that I am reconciled with Cæsar and Appius⁴: a step, you assure me, which you do not disapprove.

But

² The conjecture of Manutius seems highly probable, that the person to whom Cicero alludes is Caius Cato, whose ill offices to Lentulus have been often mentioned in the preceding letters. But what the secret practices were which had been discovered so much to his disgrace, is a point in which history does not afford any light.

³ In not obtaining the commission to replace Ptolemy on his throne.

⁴ He was embroiled with Appius, as being the brother of his inveterate enemy, Clodius.

But you are at a loss to guess what reasons could induce me to appear at the trial of Vatinius, not only as an advocate, but as a witness in his favour. To set this matter in the clearest light, it will be necessary to trace back the motives of my conduct to their original source. Let me observe then, my Lentulus, that when I was recalled from exile by your generous offices, I considered myself as restored, not only to my friends and to my family, but to the commonwealth in general. And as you had a right to the best returns of my affection and gratitude for

³ It was customary at trials for the person arraigned to produce witnesses to his character, who were called *Laudatores*, and ten was the number requisite for this purpose. Vatinius was tribune of the people in the consulate of Caesar, and had been in the number of Cicero's most inveterate enemies, as he was his constant opposer likewise in politics. He was a man of a most abandoned character, and whose person (as Paterculus assures us) was not less deformed than his mind. A very learned and polite author, whose just esteem for Cicero's writings has betrayed him, perhaps, into some partiality towards his actions, acknowledges that "the defence of Vatinius gave a plausible handle for some censure upon Cicero." The truth of it is, the censure was more than *plausible*, for nothing certainly could discover more meanness of spirit than thus, in compliance with those in power, not only to defend Vatinius as an advocate, but to bear public testimony likewise to his general good conduct. Some colourable excuse, indeed, may be given for the former, by considering it in the light which Valerius Maximus has placed it, as an instance of Cicero's generosity towards his enemies; but the latter seems to stand beyond the reach even of a *plausible* justification. *Pat. ii. 69. Val. Max. iv. 2.*

for the distinguished part you acted in that affair; so I thought there was something more than ordinary due from me to my country, which had so singularly co-operated with you upon this occasion. I often took an opportunity, during your consulate, of publicly declaring these my sentiments in the senate; as I always, you well know, expressed myself to the same purpose in our private conversations. Nevertheless, I had many reasons at that time to be highly disgusted, I could not, in truth, but observe the disguised malice of some, and the coolness of others, when you were endeavouring to procure a decree for restoring the inscription of that honourable monument of my public services, which had been erected by the senate⁶. But it was not only in this instance that those who had many obligations to concur in your good offices towards me, acted a part I had little reason to expect. They looked indeed with much ungenerous indifference on the
cruel

⁶ The expression which Cicero makes use of in this place is ambiguous: *neque de monumentis meis ab iis adjutus, &c.* The commentators have supposed that this relates to Cicero's house: but Mr. Ross, with much greater probability, imagines it alludes to the *Atrium Libertatis*, which had been erected, by order of the senate, as a memorial of Cicero's services in rescuing the commonwealth from the dangerous conspiracy of Catiline. For Clodius had erased the original inscription, and placed his own name in its stead. See rem. 27 on this letter.

cruel outrage which was offered to my brother and myself under our own roof⁷; and the estimate they made, in pursuance of the senate's order, of the damages I had sustained by these acts of violence, was far unequal to my real loss⁸. This last article of their injustice, tho' least, indeed, in my concern, I could not but very sensibly feel amidst the general wreck of my fortunes. But though these mortifying marks

⁷ Clodius, after having procured a law which declared it treason to vote or take any step towards recalling Cicero from his banishment, proceeded to pillage and burn all his houses both in town and country. Cicero, however, being restored in the manner which he himself will relate, in a subsequent part of this letter, the senate decreed that his houses should be rebuilt at the public expence. But while the workmen were employed on his Palatine house, and had carried it up almost to the roof, Clodius made a second attack, and, after driving them off, set fire to the adjoining edifice, which belonged to Cicero's brother, and wherein he himself likewise at that time was; so that they were both obliged to make their escape with the utmost precipitation. *Ad Att. iv. Orat. post. red.*

⁸ His house upon the Palatine hill in Rome, together with his Tusculan and Formian villas, were jointly estimated at 22,000l. a valuation universally condemned as extremely unequitable. But "those who had clipped his wings (as he expresses himself in a letter to Atticus upon this occasion) were not disposed they should grow again." It seems highly probable that Lentulus himself was in this number; as it appears, by a letter of our author to his brother, that he had reasons to be dissatisfied with his conduct towards him. But though, in the passage before us, he speaks of the injustice that had been done him, as arising solely from those who were concerned with Lentulus in taking an estimate of his losses; yet, at the same time, he expresses himself in such a manner, as to throw a very artful reproach upon the latter. *Ad Att. iv. 2. Ad Q. F. ii. 2.*

marks of their disposition towards me were much too notorious to escape my observation, they could not efface the more agreeable impressions of their former friendship. For this reason, notwithstanding those high obligations I had to Pompey, of which you yourself were witness, and have often mentioned, notwithstanding also the affection and esteem which I always entertained for him; yet I still firmly adhered to my political principles, nor suffered these considerations of private amity to influence me in favour of his public measures. Accordingly, when Vatinius (who at the trial of P. Sextius⁹ was examined as a witness against him) intimated that Cæsar's successes had reconciled me to his party, I told him, in the presence of Pompey, that I preferred the fate of Bibulus, unhappy as he might esteem it, to all the splendid triumphs of the most victorious general¹⁰. I asserted, likewise, upon another occasion,

⁹ "P. Sextius was a tribune of the people A. U. 696. in the consulship of Lentulus, and a great instrument in restoring Cicero. He resisted the faction of Clodius by force of arms, and was, upon that account, in the following year, accused of public violence by M. Tullius Albinovanus. Cicero defended him in an excellent oration, which is still extant, and he was acquitted by the suffrages of all the judges." *Mr. Ross.*

¹⁰ M. Calpurnius Bibulus was joint consul with J. Cæsar A. U. 694. The senate secured the election of the former, in order to his being a check to the ambitious designs of his

occasion (and asserted too, in the hearing of Pompey,) that the same persons who confined Bibulus to his house, had driven me from mine. Indeed, the whole series of those interrogatories", which I put to Vatinius at this trial, was entirely designed as an invective against his tribunate: and I particularly exposed, with much freedom and indignation, his contempt of the auspices, his corrupt disposal of foreign kingdoms", together with the rest of his violent

his colleague; and it was thought of so much importance to the republic, that he should be chosen, that even Cato did not scruple, upon this occasion, to employ methods of bribery for that purpose. But Bibulus, after many vain efforts of patriotism, and being grossly insulted in the forum by Cæsar's mob, at length withdrew from the functions of his office, and voluntarily confined himself (as Suetonius relates) to his own house; though, by the expression which Tully here uses, it rather seems as if Cæsar had employed some force in keeping him there. After which, as the same historian informs us, Cæsar governed the republic without control. *Suet. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 20.*

"Cicero, instead of examining Vatinius upon the facts in his evidence against Sextius, put to him a series of questions in such an artful manner, that he exposed all the intrigues and iniquity of his tribunate. This examination is still extant, under the title of *Interrogatio in Vatinius*." *Mr. Ross.*

"It is wholly uncertain to what particular facts Cicero alludes, when he imputes to Vatinius what he calls the *donatio regnorum*: however, by comparing this expression with the oration to which it refers, and with a passage in a letter to Atticus, it seems probable that Vatinius, when he was tribune, had been bribed to procure a confirmation from the people of some disputed regal title, or, perhaps, to obtain assistance from the republic, in transferring a contested crown from its rightful possessor into the hands of an usurper. It is certain, at least, that such unworthy methods

violent and illegal proceedings. But it was not only upon this occasion that I spoke thus unreservedly; I frequently avowed my sentiments with the same resolute spirit in the senate. Thus, when Marcellinus and Philippus were* consuls, I carried a motion that the affair of the Campanian lands" should be referred to the re-consideration of a full house", on the 15th of May following. Now tell me, my

methods were frequently practised at this time, in order to gratify the insatiable avarice and profusion of these degenerate Romans. *Orat. in Vatinius. Ad Att. ii. 9.*

* They were consuls. A. U. 697.

"The lands in Campania, a district in Italy, now called the Terra di lavoro, in the kingdom of Naples, were partly appropriated to the use of the republic, and partly in private hands. Cæsar had procured a law for dividing the former among 25,000 poor citizens, and for purchasing the latter in order to distribute them in the same manner. Both these designs seem to have been very artfully calculated by Cæsar to promote and facilitate his grand purpose of usurping the supreme power. For by parcelling out these lands among the common people which belonged to the republic, he secured the populace to his interest, and, at the same time, deprived the government of those very considerable supplies both of money and corn, which it derived from its demesnes in Campania; as on the other side, by purchasing the remainder of these estates, he must necessarily have weakened those public treasures which were already much impoverished, and consequently rendered the commonwealth less capable of opposing his ambitious measures. *Suet. in J. Cæsar. c. 20. Cic. Agrar. ii. 29.*

"A decree of the senate had not its complete force, unless it passed in a full house; that is, when a competent number of the members were present. It seems, by a passage which Manutius quotes from Dio, l. 54. that before the times of Augustus, who made some alteration therein, the number requisite to make an act valid was 400.

my friend, could I possibly have made a bolder or more formidable attack upon this party? Could I possibly have given a more convincing evidence, that I had not departed from my old principles, notwithstanding all I had formerly suffered for their sake? The truth of it is, this motion greatly exasperated, not only those whom it was reasonable to expect it would offend, but others upon whom I did not imagine it would have had any such effect. Pompey, soon after this decree had passed, set forward upon his expedition into Sardinia and Africa^a, without giving me the least intimation of his being disgusted. In his way thither, he had a conference with Cæsar at Lucca^b, who made great complaints

^a This expedition of Pompey into Sardinia and Africa, was in pursuance of the commission with which he had been invested for supplying the public magazines with corn. See rem. 6. p. 56. of this vol.

^b Lucca was a frontier town in Cæsar's province of Cisalpine Gaul, adjoining to Italy: it still subsists under the same name, and is a celebrated republic. It was Cæsar's policy, at the end of every campaign, to fix his winter-quarters as near Italy as possible, in order to be within observation of what passed at Rome. A numerous court was immediately formed around him in these places of his residence, consisting of the most distinguished persons in Rome, and the neighbouring provinces, and no less than 200 senators have been observed among his attendants upon these occasions. Candidates for offices; young men who had run out their estates; and, in a word, all whose affairs of any kind, were embarrassed, flocked to him in these cities; and by liberal concessions to their respective wants and interests, he strengthened

complaints of this motion. He had before, it seems, been informed of it by Crassus at Ravenna^c; who took that opportunity of incensing him against me. And it appeared afterwards that Pompey was likewise much dissatisfied upon the same account. This I learnt from several hands, but particularly from my brother, who met him in Sardinia, a few days after he had left Lucca. Pompey told him he was extremely glad of that accidental interview, as he wanted much to talk with him. He begun with saying, that as my brother stood engaged^d, for my conduct, he should expect him to exert all his endeavours to influence me accordingly. Pompey then proceeded very warmly to remonstrate against my late motion in the senate; reminding my brother of his services to us both, and particularly of what had passed between them concerning Cæsar's edicts, and of those assurances,

strengthened his faction, and forwarded his grand enterprise. It was thus (as the judicious Plutarch observes) he had the address to employ the forces of the republic against Gaul, and the spoils of Gaul against the republic. *Plut. in Cæs. & Pomp. Suet. in Jul.*

^c A city in Cisalpine Gaul, still subsisting under the same name in the Pope's dominions.

^d This alludes to those engagements which Quintus Cicero entered into in behalf of his brother, in order to induce Pompey to favour his recal from banishment. And, it appears, by what follows, that he promised, on the part of Cicero, an unlimited resignation to the measures of that ambitious chief.

assurances, he said, my brother had given him of the measures I would pursue with respect to that article. He added, that my brother himself was a witness that the steps he had formerly taken for procuring my recall, were with the full consent and approbation of Cæsar. Upon the whole, therefore, he entreated him, if it were either not in my power or my inclination to support the interest and dignity of the latter, that he would at least prevail with me not to oppose them. The account which my brother gave me of this conversation, together with a message I had before received from Pompey by Vibullius, to request that I would not proceed any farther in the affair of the Campanian lands, till his return, threw me into a very serious train of reflections. I could not but think, after having performed and suffered so much for my country, that I might now at least be permitted to consider what was due to gratitude and to the honour of my brother; and as I had ever conducted myself with integrity towards the public, I might be allowed, I hoped, to act the same honest part in my more private connexions¹⁵.

During

¹⁵ The destructive views of Cæsar, in procuring the law in question, have been already considered in these notes: weak, therefore, undoubtedly, is the reason which Cicero here

During the time I was engaged in these votes and other proceedings with which Pompey appeared thus dissatisfied, I was informed of what passed in the conversations of a set of men, whom you will now guess without my naming. This party, though they approved of my public measures, as being agreeable to what had ever been their professed sentiments, were yet so ungenerous as to express great satisfaction in believing that my conduct would by no means oblige Pompey, at the same time that it would highly exasperate Cæsar. Well might I resent, indeed, so injurious a treatment;

here assigns, for renouncing an opposition so evidently important to the true interest of his country. Had Cæsar and Pompey, indeed, been ever so much his real friends, no considerations of amity ought to have prevailed with him, to have acquiesced in a scheme which was contrary to the sentiments of all the real patriots of the republic, and contrary likewise to his own; a scheme which he himself tells Atticus was formed for the destruction of the commonwealth. *Ad Att. ii. 17.* Had he attended to the indisputable maxim which he himself lays down in one of his philosophical treatises, it would have decided at once the conduct which became him to observe upon an occasion where private friendship interfered with more extensive obligations: *Hac prima lex in amicitia sancitur* (says he) *ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.* But the truth of it is, private friendship was not concerned in the case; for he well knew that neither Pompey nor Cæsar had any attachments to him of that kind. It was fear alone that determined his resolution; and, having once already suffered in the cause of liberty, he did not find himself disposed to be twice a martyr. The awkward manner, however, in which he attempts to justify himself throughout this letter, very evidently shews how impossible it is to bid farewell to integrity with a good grace.

ment; but much more when I saw them, even before my face, maliciously encouraging and caressing my avowed enemy¹⁶;---mine do I call him? Rather let me say, an enemy to the laws and tranquillity of his country, and to every character of worth and virtue amongst us.

Their malevolence, however, had not the effect they intended, and it could not warm me into those transports of indignation, of which my heart is now, indeed, no longer susceptible. On the contrary, it only induced me to examine my situation in all its various circumstances and relations, with the greatest coolness and impartiality; the process and result of which I will lay before you, in as few words as I am able.

There have been times, as experience no less than history has taught me, when the power of the commonwealth was in worthless and wicked hands. In such a conjuncture, no hope of interest (which I have at all times most heartily condemned) nor fear of danger (which, upon some occasions, however, has influenced the greatest minds) should prevail with me to co-operate in their measures: no not though I were attached to them by the strongest ties of friendship

¹⁶ Clodius.

friendship and gratitude. But when a man of Pompey's distinguished character presides over the republic; a man who has acquired that eminence of power and honour by the most heroic actions, and the most signal services; I could not imagine it would be imputed to me as a levity of disposition, if, in some few instances, I declined a little from my general maxims, and complied with his inclinations¹⁷. But my justification, I thought, would still rise in strength, when it should be remembered that I favoured his credit and dignity even from the earliest part of my life, as I particularly promoted them in my prætorship and consulate; when it should be remembered, that he not only assisted me with his vote and his influence in the senate during my adversity, but joined

¹⁷ It appears by what has already been remarked, that Cicero's compliance can by no means be considered in the favourable light in which he here represents it; but was in reality, a concession most injurious to his honour and fatal to the liberties of Rome. It is certain, likewise, that it was not from any advantageous opinion of Pompey's political character and designs, that he was induced to fall in with his measures. On the contrary, Cicero most undoubtedly had no esteem for him; and, as to his political views, he saw and acknowledged long before the date of this letter, that they were turned on the destruction of the republic, *Ομολογούμενος* (says he in one of the epistles to Atticus) *τυραννίδα συσκευάζεται*; as in another, written upon the breaking out of the civil war, he calls him *hominem apoliticoτατον*, a man utterly unacquainted with the arts of government. *Ad Att.* ii. 17. viii. 16. See remark 4. p. 27. vol. ii.

joined his counsels and his efforts with yours, for the same generous purpose: in a word, when it should be remembered, that he has no other enemy in the whole commonwealth, except the man who is my professed adversary¹⁸. In consequence of these sentiments, it was absolutely necessary for me, you see, to unite with Cæsar, as one who was joined in the same views and the same interest. His friendship, likewise, which, you are sensible, my brother and I have long shared, together with his humane and generous disposition, which I have abundantly experienced, both by his late letters, and his good offices towards me, contributed greatly to confirm me in these resolutions. To which I must add, that the commonwealth in general seemed to be most strongly averse from giving any opposition to these extraordinary men: more especially after Cæsar had performed such great and glorious exploits for the honour of his country. But what had still a farther and very powerful weight in my deliberations, was Pompey's having engaged his word for me to Cæsar, as my brother had given the same assurances to Pompey.

Plato,

¹⁸ Clodius, after having driven Cicero out of Rome, entered most strenuously into the opposition against Pompey and Cæsar. *Manutius*. See below, rem. 24.

Plato, I remembered, lays it down as a maxim, in his divine writings, that "the people generally model their manners and their sentiments by those of the great:" a maxim which, at this juncture, I thought merited my particular attention. I was convinced, indeed, of its truth, when I reflected on the vigorous resolutions which were taken in the senate, on the memorable¹⁹ Nones of December: and it seemed no wonder so noble a spirit should appear in that assembly, after the animating example I had given them upon my first entering on the consular office. I reflected also, that, during the whole time which intervened between the expiration of my consulship, and that of Cæsar and Bibulus²⁰, when I still retained a very considerable authority in the senate, all the better part of the republic were united in their sentiments. On the other hand,

about

¹⁹ The fifth. It was on this day, in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius A. U. 690, that the senate came to a resolution of inflicting capital punishment on all those who were concerned in Catiline's conspiracy: "And it is certain (as the learned and polite historian of Cicero's life observes) that Rome was indebted to him on this day for one of the greatest deliverances which it had ever received since its foundation; and which nothing, perhaps, but his vigilance and sagacity could have so happily effected." *Vol. i. 231.*

²⁰ Cicero was chosen consul in the year of Rome 690. Cæsar and Bibulus in the year 694.

about the time you took possession of your government in Spain, the commonwealth could not so properly be said to be under the administration of consuls, as of infamous barterers of provinces²¹, and the mean vassals and ministers of sedition. It was then that discord and faction spread thro' all ranks amongst us; and I was marked out as the victim of party rage. In this critical season, however, not only every man of worth, but the greater part of the senators, and indeed all Italy in general, rose up with remarkable unanimity in my cause²². What the event proved, I forbear to mention;

²¹ The consuls to whom Cicero alludes, are Lucius Calpurnius Piso, whose daughter Cæsar had married; and Aulus Gabinius, a dependent and favourite of Pompey. They succeeded Cæsar and Bibulus in this office in 695, the year when Cicero went into exile. "Clodius secured them to his measures by a private contract to procure for them, by a grant from the people, two of the best governments of the empire: Piso was to have Macedonia, with Greece and Thessaly; Gabinius, Cilicia. For this price they agreed to serve him in all his designs, particularly in the oppression of Cicero," *Middleton's Life of Cic.* i. 336.

²² "Clodius procured a law, importing, that whoever had taken the life of a citizen uncondemned, and without a trial, should be prohibited from fire and water. Tho' Cicero was not named, yet he was marked out by this law. His crime was, the putting Catiline's accomplices to death; which, tho' not done by his single authority, but by a general vote of the senate, and, after a solemn hearing and debate, was alledged to be illegal, and contrary to the liberties of the people. Cicero, finding himself thus reduced to the condition of a criminal, changed his habit upon it, as was usual in the case of a public

mention; as, in truth, it is to be imputed to a complication of errors and artifices. But this, I will say, it was not forces, so much as leaders to conduct them, that were wanting to me at this crisis. I must add, that whatever censure may justly fall on those who refused me their assistance; most certainly they who first promised it and then deserted me, are not less to be blamed²³. In a word, if some of my friends may well be reproached for the timid, tho' sincere, counsels they gave me; how much more severe

"a public impeachment, and appeared about the streets in a mourning gown, to excite the compassion of his fellow-citizens; whilst Clodius, at the head of his mob, contrived to meet and insult him at every turn. But Cicero soon gathered friends enough to secure him from such insults; and the whole body of the knights, together with the young nobility, to the number of 20,000, headed by Crassus the son, all changed their habit, and perpetually attended him about the city to implore the protection and assistance of the people." *Plut. in Cic. Orat. post red. Middleton's Life of Cic.* i. 340.

²³ In this number was Pompey himself, who, though he had given Cicero the most solemn assurances that he would, at the hazard of his life, protect him against Clodius; yet, when afterwards our author solicited the execution of this promise, he treated him with much rudeness, as well as great treachery, and absolutely refused to concern himself in the affair. *Ad Att.* ii. 20. x. 4. It seems altogether unaccountable that Cicero should be so injudicious as to touch upon a circumstance that destroys the whole force of his apology; so far, I mean, as he intended to justify his conduct by his friendship to Pompey. For it exceeds all power of credulity to imagine, that he could really be influenced by a motive of that kind with respect to a man, whose insincerity he had so lately and so severely experienced.

severe must their condemnation prove, who artfully alarmed me with their pretended fears? Let it be noted at the same time to my honour, that zealous as my fellow-citizens shewed themselves to rise up in the defence of a man who had formerly stood forth in theirs; yet I would not suffer them to be exposed (unsupported as they were by those who ought to have been their protectors) to the barbarous insults of a lawless banditti. On the contrary, I rather chose the world should judge by the power of my friends in recalling me from my exile, what their honest unanimity could have effected, had I permitted them to have drawn their swords to prevent it.

You were sensible of this general zeal in my favour, when you undertook my cause, and you not only encouraged, but confirmed it, by your influence and authority. I shall always most willingly acknowledge, that you were assisted upon this occasion by some of the most considerable persons in Rome²⁴; who, it must be

²⁴ Clodius was so elated with his success against Cicero, that he had no sooner driven him out of Rome, than he conceived hopes of rendering himself no less formidable to Cæsar and Pompey. Accordingly, he entered into an open opposition against them both; which he carried on with so much warmth and petulance, that at length they found it expedient for their purposes, to mortify him by recalling Cicero.

be owned, exerted themselves with much greater vigour in procuring my return, than in preventing my banishment. And had they persisted in the same resolute disposition, they might have recovered their own authority at the same time that they obtained my restoration. The spirits, in truth, of the aristocratical part of the republic were, at this juncture, greatly raised and animated by the inflexible patriotism of your conduct during your consulship, together with Pompey's concurrence in the same measures. Cæsar, likewise, when he saw the senate distinguishing his glorious actions by the most singular and unprecedented honours, joined in adding weight to the authority of that assembly. Had these happy circumstances, therefore, been rightly improved, it would have been impossible for any ill-designing citizen, to have violated the laws and liberties of the commonwealth. But let me entreat you to reflect a moment on the subsequent conduct of my political associates. In the first place, they screened from punishment that infamous intruder on the matron-mysteries, who shewed no more reverence for the awful ceremonies of the goddess in whose honour these sacred solemnities are celebrated, than for the chastity of his three sisters²⁵.

And

²⁵ Clodius (as Plutarch relates the story) had an intrigue with
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And thus, by preventing a worthy tribune of the people from obtaining that justice upon Clodius which he endeavoured to procure, they deprived future times of a most salutary example of chastised sedition²⁶. Did not they suffer, likewise, that monument, that

with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife: but as he could not easily gain access to her, he took the opportunity, while she was celebrating the mysteries of the *bona Dea* at her own house, to enter disguised in a woman's habit. While he was waiting in one of the apartments for Pompeia, he was discovered by a maid servant of Cæsar's mother: who immediately giving the alarm, he was driven out of this female assembly with great indignation. The *bona Dea*, as the same author informs us, was supposed to have been a Dryad with whom the God Faunus had an amour. These rites were held in the highest veneration, and conducted with the most profound secrecy. They were celebrated annually by women at the house of the consul or prætor, and it was not lawful for any male to be present. Seneca tells us, they carried this precaution so far, that if there happened to be a picture of any male animal in the room where these mystic ceremonies were performing, it was thought necessary it should be veiled. *Plut. in Cæs. Sen. ep. 97.*

Clodius was suspected of having a criminal commerce with his three sisters.

²⁶ Lentulus, immediately upon entering on his consular office, A. U. 696, moved the senate that Cicero might be restored: in which he was seconded by Pompey with much zeal, and the whole house unanimously concurred in the motion. Serranus, however, a tribune of the people, interposing his negative, no decree could pass at that time: nevertheless, it was with one consent resolved, that, on the 22d of the same month, a law should be proposed to the people for Cicero's recal. When the appointed day arrived, the friends of Cicero found the Forum in the possession of Clodius, who had planted his mob there over-night in order to prevent the promulgation of this law. A very bloody skirmish ensued, in which several lives were lost and many other outrages committed: in consequence of which, Clodius was impeached by Milo as a disturber of the public peace.

that glorious monument, which was erected, not indeed with the spoils I had gained in foreign wars, but by the generosity of the senate for my civil services; did they not most shamefully suffer it to be inscribed with the name of the cruel and avowed enemy of his country²⁷? Obligated, most certainly, I am to them for having restored me to the commonwealth: but I could wish they had conducted themselves, not only like physicians, whose views terminate merely in the health of their patients, but like the *Aliptæ*²⁸ also, who endeavour to establish the spirits and vigour of those

peace. But Metellus, the colleague of Lentulus, together with Appius the prætor, and Serranus the tribune, determined to screen Clodius: and accordingly, by a most dangerous exercise of their authority, they published their several edicts, commanding all farther proceedings in this prosecution to be discontinued. It was a very impolitic power (as a late ingenious writer upon government observes) which was lodged in the tribunes, of thus preventing the execution of the laws as well as the passing of them, and which caused infinite mischiefs to the republic. *Orat. pro sext. 34, 35, 41. L'Esprit des loix, i. 223.*

²⁷ "After the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy, the senate decreed that a temple should be erected to liberty, as a public monument of their late happy deliverance. This temple was raised at the foot of Mount Palatine, near Cicero's house. And as the inscription fixed thereon, undoubtedly mentioned Cicero with honour, Clodius erased those words, and placed his own name in their stead." *Manutius.*

²⁸ The *Aliptæ* were persons who prepared the bodies of the athletic combatants, by unctions and other proper methods, for rendering them vigorous and active in their gymnastic exercises.

those under their care. Whereas they have acted with regard to me, as Apelles did in relation to his celebrated picture of Venus²⁹: they have finished one part of their work with great skill and accuracy, but left all the rest a mere rude and imperfect sketch.

In one article, however, I had the satisfaction to disappoint my enemies. They imagined my banishment would have wrought the same effect on me, which they falsely supposed a calamity of a like kind produced formerly in Quintus Metellus. This excellent person (whom I look upon to have been a man of the greatest fortitude and magnanimity of any in his times) they represented

²⁹ Apelles, one of the greatest masters of painting in ancient Greece, was a native of Coos, and flourished in the 112th Olymp. or about 332 years before Christ. His principal excellency consisted in the inimitable grace which distinguished all his performances. Pliny the elder has, by a very strong expression, informed us of the amazing force of his pencil: *pinxit* (says that author) *quæ pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgura et fulgetra*. He could even convey ideas which seemed impossible to be raised by colours, and animate his sublime pieces with all the terrors of thunder and lightning. His capital performance was a figure of Venus, which appears to have been at Rome in the times of Augustus. The lower parts of this picture being damaged, no painter would venture to retouch it. Something of the same kind is mentioned to the honour of Raphael, whose paintings in the little Farnese, at Rome, being somewhat spoiled, it was with the greatest difficulty that even Carlo Maratti was prevailed upon to restore them. Apelles began a second figure of Venus which he intended should excel his first: but he died before he had proceeded any farther in that design than the head and shoulders. *Quinct.* xii. 10. *Plin. H. N.* xxxv. 10. *Reflex. sur la Poes. et sur la Peint.*

sented as broken and dispirited after his return from exile³⁰. But if broken he really were, it could

³⁰ Q. Cæcilius Metellus was in the number of those who opposed the faction of Caius Marius; in consequence of which he was at length driven into exile. The immediate occasion, however, of his sentence was this: Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and creature of Marius, proposed a law in the year 653, which, among other things, enacted, that "the senators should swear to ratify whatever the people ordained." This oath, Metellus, with the true spirit of ancient Rome, resolutely refused to take, and when his friends represented to him the dangerous consequences which would probably attend his persevering in that honest resolution, he nobly replied, "*it is the characteristic of a man of virtue and honour to act rightly, whatever consequences may ensue.*" Accordingly, a decree passed in an assembly of the people for his banishment; and when his friends offered him their assistance to withstand this piece of public injustice, he generously refused their aid; "*for,*" said he, "*either public measures will be changed, and the people will repent of the injury they have done me; and then I shall be recalled with honour: or they will continue in the same sentiments; and in that case banishment will be a happiness.*" He greatly chose, therefore, to withdraw himself from the destructive politics of his country; and, retiring to Rhodes, he calmly spent his time in philosophical studies. His virtues, however, prevailed at last over the iniquity of his persecutors, and he was restored to the republic, notwithstanding all the opposition of Marius. Cicero has recorded a circumstance relating to Metellus, that gives one the highest idea of the character he enjoyed amongst his countrymen. He was accused, it seems, by the Marian faction, of having been guilty of public extortion; but when he entered upon his defence, and produced his accounts, the judges refused to inspect them, as being well convinced that Metellus had a soul much too enlarged to be capable of any thing so mean as injustice. I cannot forbear mentioning likewise a noble expression of this great man in a letter written during his banishment, as it shews the spirit with which he bore his misfortune. *Illi (inimici sc.) jure et honestate interdicti; ego neque aqua neque igni careo, et summa gloria fruniscor.* "Whilst my enemies,"

could not be the effect of his adversity ; as it is certain he submitted to his sentence without the least reluctance, and lived under it, not only with indifference, but with cheerfulness. The truth is, no man ever equalled him in the strength and heroism of his mind ; no, not even the celebrated Marcus Scaurus³¹. Nevertheless,

says he, " vainly hoped to banish me from the common benefits of society ; which, however, I still enjoy, together with the highest glory ; they have much more severely banished from their own breasts, all sentiments of justice and honour." One cannot but acknowledge with regret, that neither the enemies nor the friends of Cicero did him justice, when they compared him to Metellus ; for, besides the great superiority of the latter in the present instance, he, upon all occasions, acted consistently with his avowed political principles, and preserved an uniform and unsullied reputation to the end of his days. *Plut. in vit. C. Mar. Ep. ad Att. i. 16. Orat. pro Balbo in princip. Aul. Gel. xvii. 2. Sal. bel. Jugurth. 47.*

³¹ M. Æmilius Scaurus was advanced a second time to the honour of the consular office, in the year of Rome 646, having enjoyed that dignity eight years before. He is mentioned by Cicero among the orators of that age ; but there was more of force and authority in what he delivered, than of grace in his manner, or elegance in his expression. He was accused, in his latter days, of having carried on a traitorous correspondence with Mithridates. The short speech which he made in his defence, is extremely remarkable, and gives one a lively image of that manly contempt with which a mind, conscious of its integrity, ought ever to treat the calumnies of an accuser, whose *known character* affords the best and most expeditious antidote against his malice. The venerable old man stood forth in the midst of the assembly, and addressing himself to the whole audience, spake to this effect : " It is somewhat hard, my countrymen, that I should be obliged to give an account to the present generation, of what I transacted before they were born. But, notwithstanding

less, such as they had heard, or, at lease, chose to imagine Metellus to have been, they figured me to themselves ; or, if possible, indeed, even yet more abject. The reverse, however, proved to be the case, and that general concern which the whole republic expressed at my absence, inspired me with more vigorous spirits than I had ever before enjoyed. The fact is, that the sentence of banishment against Metellus was repealed by a law proposed only by a single tribune of the people ; whereas, I was recalled from mine upon the motion of the consul himself³², and by a law in which every magistrate of Rome concurred. Let me add, likewise, that each order and degree in the commonwealth, headed by the senate, and supported by all Italy, zealously

" standing the greater part of this assembly are too young to have been witnesses of the services and honours of my former life, I will venture to rest the whole of my defence upon a single question. Varius, then, asserts, that Scaurus was bribed to betray his country ; Scaurus, on the other hand, utterly denies that he ever was tainted with a crime of this nature. Now lay your hands upon your hearts, and tell me, my fellow-citizens, to which of these two men you will give credit ?" The people were so struck with the honest simplicity of this speech, that Scaurus was dismissed with honour, and his infamous accuser hissed out of the assembly. *De clar. Orat. 110, 111. Val. Max. iii. 7. Salust. bel. Jugurth. Orat. pro Fronteio. Act. 1. in Verr.*

³² Lentulus, the person to whom this letter is addressed.

lously united in one common effort for recovering me to my country. Yet, high as these unexampled honours were, they have never related my heart with pride, or tempted me to assume an air which could give just offence even to the most malevolent of my enemies. The whole of my ambition is, not to be wanting either in advice or assistance to my friends; or even to those whom I have no great reason to rank in that number. It is this, perhaps, which has given the real ground of complaint to those who view only the lustre of my actions, but cannot be sensible of the pains and solicitude they cost me. But whatever the true cause may be, the pretended one is, my having promoted the honours of Cæsar; a circumstance which they interpret, it seems, as a renunciation of my old maxims. The genuine motives, however, of my conduct, in this instance, are, not only what I just before mentioned, but particularly what I hinted in the beginning of my letter, and will now more fully explain.

You will not find then, my friend, the aristocratical part of the republic disposed to pursue the same system as when you left them. That system, I mean, which I endeavoured to establish when I was consul, and which, tho' afterwards occasionally

occasionally interrupted, and at length entirely overthrown, was again fully restored during your administration. It is now, however, totally abandoned by those who ought most strenuously to have supported it. I do not assert this upon the credit only of appearances, in which it is exceedingly easy to dissemble; I speak it upon the unquestionable evidence of facts, and the public proceedings of those who were styled patriots in my consulate. The general scheme of politics, therefore, being thus changed, it is time, most certainly, for every man of prudence (in which number I have the ambition to be justly accounted) to vary likewise his particular plan. Accordingly that chief and favourite guide of my principles, whom I have already quoted, the divine Plato himself, advises not to press any political point farther than is consonant with the general sense of the community; for methods of violence, he maintains, are no more to be used towards one's country, than one's parent. Upon this maxim, he tells us, he declined engaging in public affairs; and, as he found the people of Athens confirmed, by long habit, in their mistaken notions of government, he did not think it lawful to attempt, by force, what he despaired of effecting by persuasion. My situation, however, is, in this respect, different from

from Plato's; for, on the one hand, as I have already embarked in public affairs, it is too late to deliberate whether I should now enter upon them or not: so, on the other, the Roman people are by no means so incapable of judging of their true interest, as he represents the Athenians. It is my happiness, indeed, to be able, by the same measures, to consult at once both my own and my country's welfare³³. To these considerations

³³ If Cicero was sincere in what he here asserted, and really imagined, that, by falling in with the schemes of Cæsar and Pompey, he could more effectually serve his country, as well as himself, his policy, as far as we can judge of it at this distance, seems to have been very extraordinary.—To have supported the one, in opposition to the other, might, perhaps, have been a probable method of defeating the designs of both, as they could neither of them have advanced to so formidable a height, if they had not mutually assisted in raising each other. But to join in their coalition, was in effect to be accessory in cementing an union most evidently calculated for the ruin of the commonwealth. This reasoning is not built merely upon distant speculation, but is supported by the express testimony of one who was not only an actor in this important scene, but well understood the plot that was carrying on. “You are mistaken (said Cato, to those who were lamenting the breach that afterwards happened between Pompey and Cæsar) you are mistaken in charging our calamities on that event: they owe their rise to another cause, and began, not when Pompey and Cæsar became enemies, but when they were made friends.” The difficulty of justifying Cicero in this measure grows still stronger, when it is remembered that he must have been sensible at this very time how much was to be dreaded from the power of these his pretended friends. For he assures Atticus, in a letter which was written at the breaking out of the civil war, that he foresaw the storm that had been gathering to destroy the republic, fourteen years before it fell; and calls the union of these ambitious chiefs, *sceleratæ consensionis fides*, a wicked confederacy. To which he adds, that

considerations I must add those uncommon acts of generosity which Cæsar had exerted both towards my brother and myself: so much, indeed, beyond all example, that, even whatever had been his success, I should have thought it incumbent upon me at least to have defended him. But now, distinguished as he is by such a wonderful series of prosperity, and crowned with so many glorious victories, I cannot but esteem it a duty which I owe the republic, abstracted from all personal obligations to himself, to promote his honours as far as lies in my power. And believe me, it is at once my confession and my glory, that, next to you, together with the other generous authors of my restoration, there is not a man in the world from whom I have received such amicable offices.

And now, having laid before you the principal motives of my conduct in general, I shall be the better able to satisfy you concerning my behaviour with respect to Crassus and Vatinius in particular: for as to Appius and Cæsar, I have the pleasure to find that you acquit me of all reproach.

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that they had, upon all occasions, preferred the interest of their families, and the advancement of their power, to the honour and welfare of their country. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Add Att. x. 4.*

My reconciliation then with Vatinius³⁴ was effected by the mediation of Pompey, soon after the former was elected Prætor. I must confess, when he petitioned to be admitted a candidate for that office, I very warmly opposed him in the³⁵ senate: but it was much less from

³⁴ Some observations have already been made upon Cicero's conduct with regard to Vatinius: see remark the 5th on this letter.

³⁵ The passage in the original, it is acknowledged, does not absolutely imply the sense which is given to it in the translation. It runs thus: *cum quidem ego ejus petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem*. But it is not easy to conceive in what manner the competition between Cato and Vatinius, in relation to the office of Prætor, could come before the senate, unless the authority of that assembly were some way necessary in nominating or recommending the candidates to the people. This interpretation seems to be favoured by a passage in one of Pliny's letters. *Meo suffragio* (says he, speaking of a friend for whom, not being legally qualified to sue for the Tribunate, he had obtained a dispensation from the Emperor for that purpose) *Meo suffragio pervenit ad jus Tribunatum petendi, quem nisi obtinet in senatu, vercor ne decepissem Casarem videar*. ii. 9. That the Senate originally claimed this prerogative with respect to the election of kings, is indisputable. *Patres decreverunt* (as Livy informs us) *ut cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent*. i. 17. It is equally clear, likewise, that the Senate exercised a privilege of the same kind, after the republican government was established; for Cicero, taking notice, in one of his orations, of an unsuccessful attempt that had been formerly made by that August assembly, in order to extend their power, adds, *tum enim magistratum non gerebat is qui ceperat, si patres auctores non erant facti*. Orat. pro Planc. 3. But the difficulty is, this speech was delivered in the very same year in which the present letter was written; so that the passage quoted from it seems to imply that no such right subsisted at the time under consideration: and indeed Dr. Chapman produces it in confirmation of this notion, (Essay on R. S. p. 317.)

my resentment to the man himself, than in order to support the honour and interest of Cato. Soon after this, he was impeached; and it was in compliance with the earnest solicitation of Cæsar, that I undertook his defence. But you must not enquire why I appeared at this trial, or, indeed, at any other of the same kind, as a witness in favour of the accused, lest I should hereafter have an opportunity of retorting the question upon you. Though, to say truth, I may fairly ask it even now; for do you not remember, my friend, in whose behalf it was that you formerly transmitted certain honourable

The difficulty, however, may, perhaps, be solved by supposing that Cicero's meaning is to be taken restrictively, and that the prerogative of the senate, in the nomination of candidates for the several magistracies, or at least in confirming their election, was abolished only with respect to the election of Ædiles, which it is certain he had principally in view, but remained, nevertheless, in its usual force as to all others. Conjectures are allowable in points of so much obscurity, and in which neither critics nor commentators afford any light: but what solidity there may be in that which runs through the present remark, is submitted to the judgment of more successful inquirers.

^a Cato, the year before the date of this letter, had solicited the prætorship, in order to arm himself with the authority of that important office against the dangerous designs of Crassus and Pompey, who were at that time Consuls. But they were too well aware of the honest purposes of this inflexible patriot, not to obstruct his election; and accordingly they carried it against him in favour of the pliant and worthless Vatinius, whose pretensions they supported by every infamous method of artifice, corruption, and violence. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

nourable testimonials even from the utmost limits of the Roman Empire? You need not scruple, however, to acknowledge the fact: for I have acted, and shall continue to act, the same part towards those very persons. But to return to Vatinius: besides the reasons I have already assigned, I was provoked to engage in his defence, by an opposition of the same sort which the parasite recommends to the amorous soldier in the play³⁶. The obsequious Gnatho, you know, advises his friend, the captain, whenever his mistress endeavours to pique his jealousy, by mentioning his rival Phædria, to play off Pamphila upon her in return. Thus, as I told the judges at this trial, since certain honourable persons, who were formerly much in my interest, had thought proper, by many little mortifying instances in the senate, to caress my avowed enemy before my face, I thought it but equitable to have a Clodius on my part, in opposition to the Clodius on their's. Accordingly, I have upon many occasions acted suitably to this declaration, and all the world acknowledges I have reason³⁷.

Having

³⁶ The Eunuch of Terence.

³⁷ The conduct of Cicero, with regard to Vatinius, appears by no means parallel with that of the aristocratical party towards Clodius. The latter was now at variance with Cæsar and Pompey; and it was undoubtedly a just and rational policy to take advantage of that dissention,

Having thus explained my conduct with regard to Vatinius, I will now lay before you those motives which determined me in respect to Crassus³⁸. I was willing, for the sake of the common cause, to bury in oblivion the many and great injuries I had formerly received from him. Agreeably to this disposition, as we were then upon good terms, I should have borne his unexpected defence of Gabinius³⁹, (whom he had very lately with so much warmth

and endeavour by an artful management to gain him over to the cause of liberty. But Cicero's engaging in the support of Vatinius, cannot be justified by any political reasons of this nature; and, to speak truth, it seems to be altogether without excuse. For Vatinius was actually in league with the enemies of his country; to espouse his cause, therefore, was to strengthen their faction, and sacrifice public interest to private pique.

³⁸ See the remarks on the 7th letter of this B. particularly rem. 6. and 9. p. 128.

³⁹ Aulus Gabinius was consul the same year in which Cicero was so outrageously persecuted by Clodius; with whom (as has been observed in the notes above) Gabinius most zealously concurred. To give his character as Cicero himself has drawn it, in several of his orations, he was effeminate in his mien, dissolute in his principles, and a professed libertine in every kind. After the expiration of his consulate, in 696, he went governor into Syria; from whence he was recalled the following year by a decree of the senate. Cicero spoke very warmly in favour of the decree, and it is probable that the dispute here mentioned between him and Crassus, happened in the debates which arose upon this occasion. Not many months after the date of this letter, Gabinius was impeached for mal-practices during the administration of his proconsular government, and Cicero was now so entirely at the disposal of Cæsar and Pompey, that, in compliance with their request, he meanly undertook his defence

warmth opposed) if he had avoided all personal reflections on myself. But when, with the most unprovoked violence, he broke in upon me whilst I was in the midst of my speech, I must confess it raised my indignation; and, perhaps, I took fire so much the sooner, as possibly there still remained in my heart some latent sparks of my former resentment. However, my behaviour in the senate upon this occasion was much and generally applauded. Among the rest, I was complimented likewise by the same men whom I have often hinted at in this letter, and who acknowledged I had rendered a very essential service to their cause, by that spirit which I had thus exerted. In short, they affected to speak of me in public, as being now, indeed, restored to the commonwealth in the best and

most

fence. But it was not without great struggles with himself, that he submitted to an office so unworthy of his principles and his character. However, he endeavoured to represent it to the world as an act of pure generosity; and, indeed, the sentiment with which he defended himself from the censure that passed upon him on this occasion, is truly noble: *Neque me vero pœnitet mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere.* But Gabinius was by no means entitled to the benefit of this generous maxim, nor was it true (as will incontestibly appear by a passage I shall presently have occasion to produce) that Cicero was governed by it in the case under consideration. Cicero's conduct, indeed, upon this occasion, is so utterly indefensible, that his very ingenious and learned advocate, Dr. Middleton himself is obliged to confess, that it was "contrary to his judgment, his resolution, and his dignity." *Orat. pro. Sext. in Piso de Prov. consular. pro Rabir. Plut. in vit. Caton. Utcin. Life of Cicer. II. 121. 8vo. Edit. See remark 44 below.*

most glorious sense. Nevertheless, they had the malice in their private conversations (as I was informed by persons of undoubted honour) to express singular satisfaction in the new variance that had thus happened between Crassus and myself; as they pleased themselves with imagining it would for ever throw me at a distance from those who were joined with him in the same interest⁴⁰. Pompey, in the mean time, employed incredible pains to close this breach: and Cæsar also mentioned it in his letters, as an incident that gave him much concern. Upon these considerations, therefore, I thought it expedient to act agreeably both to the dictates of my natural temper, and to that experience which I had gained by my former misfortunes. In pursuance of the same sentiments, I consented to a reconciliation; and, in order to render it more conspicuous to the world, Crassus set out for his government⁴¹ almost from under my roof; for, having

⁴⁰ Cæsar and Pompey. The former (who was undoubtedly as much superior to the rest of his contemporaries in genius as in fortune) finding it necessary for his purposes that Crassus and Pompey should act in concert, procured a reconciliation between them; and by this means, says Plutarch, formed that invincible Triumvirate which ruined the authority both of the senate and the people; and of which he alone received the advantage. *Plut. in Crass.*

⁴¹ The province of Syria was allotted to Crassus, for which he set out a month or two before the expiration of his consulate, in the year 698, and from whence he never returned.

having invited himself to spend the preceding night with me; we supped together in the gardens of my son-in-law Crassipes⁴². It was for these reasons that I thought my honour obliged me to defend his cause in the senate⁴³, and I confess, I mentioned him with that high applause, of which, it seems, you have been informed.

Thus I have given you a full detail of the several views and motives by which I am governed in the present conjuncture, as well as of the particular disposition in which I stand with respect to the slender part I can pretend to claim in the administration of public affairs. And, believe me, I should have judged and acted entirely in the same manner, had I been totally free from every sort of amicable bias. For, on the one hand, I should have esteemed it the most absurd folly to have attempted to oppose so superior a force; and, on the other, supposing it possible, I should yet have deemed it imprudent to weaken the authority of persons so eminently and so justly distinguished in the commonwealth⁴⁴. Besides, it appears to me

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turned, as has already been observed in the notes on the 7th letter of this book. See p. 128.

⁴² These gardens were situated a small distance from Rome, on the banks of the Tiber. *Ad Att.* iv. 12. *Ad Q. F.* iii. 7.

⁴³ See rem. 7. p. 128. of this vol.

⁴⁴ It will appear very evident, perhaps, from the foregoing

to be the dictates of sound policy, to act in accommodation to particular conjunctures, and not inflexibly pursue the same unalterable scheme, when public circumstances, together with the sentiments of the best and wisest members of the community, are evidently changed. In conformity to this notion, the most judicious reasoners on the great art of government, have universally condemned an obstinate perseverance in one uniform tenor of measures. The skill of the pilot is shewn in weathering

going observations, that what Cicero here asserts, could not possibly be his real sentiments. That it was not practicable to bring down Cæsar and Pompey from that height of power to which they were now arrived, will not, probably, be disputed; though, at the same time, it is very difficult to set limits to what prudence and perseverance may effect. This, at least, seems undeniable, that if their power were absolutely immoveable, Cicero's conduct was in the number of those causes which contributed to render it so. However, one cannot but be astonished to find our author seriously maintaining, that, granting it had not been impossible, it would yet have been impolitic, to have checked these towering chiefs in their ambitious flight. For it is plain, from a passage already cited out of his letters to Atticus, (see above, remark 33.) that he long foresaw their immoderate growth of power, would at last overturn the liberties of the commonwealth. It had already, indeed, destroyed his own; and this too, by the confession of himself. For, in a letter which he writes to his brother, taking notice of the strong applications that Pompey had made to him to defend Gabinius, he declares he never will comply with that unworthy request, so long as he retained the least spark of liberty. But, comply, however, he actually did; equally, in truth, to his own disgrace, and to the confutation of the doctrine he here advances. *Ad Q. F.* iii. 1. See remark 39. above.

weathering the storm at least, tho' he should not gain his port; but if shifting his sails, and changing his direction will infallibly carry him with security into the intended harbour, would it not be an instance of most unreasonable tenaciousness to continue in the more hazardous course, wherein he began his voyage? Thus (and it is a maxim I have often had occasion to inculcate) the point we ought all of us to keep in view in our administration of the commonwealth, is the final enjoyment of an honourable repose; but the method of securing to ourselves this dignity of retreat, is by having been invariable in our intentions for the public welfare, and not by a positive perseverance in certain favourite modes of obtaining it⁴⁵. To repeat, therefore, what I just now declared, had I been absolutely uninfluenced by every motive of friendship, I should still have pursued the same public measures in which I

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⁴⁵ The reasoning which Cicero here employs is certainly just, considered abstractedly; but by no means applicable to the present case. The question between the aristocratical party, and those who were favourers of Cæsar and Pompey, was, not what road should be taken to the same end, but whether Rome should be free or enslaved. Let who would then have changed their sentiments in this point, it became not the *father of his country* to increase the number. But as Cicero acquired that most honourable of all appellations, by Catiline, he lost it again by Clodius; or, to express the same thing in his own words, *non recordor* (as he confesses to Atticus) *unde ceciderim, sed unde serrexerim*. *Ad Att.* iv. 16.

am now engaged. But when gratitude and resentment both conspire in recommending this scheme of action to me, I cannot hesitate a moment in adopting it, especially, since it appears most conducive to the interests of the republic in general, as well as to my own in particular. To speak freely, I act upon this principle so much the more frequently, and with the less reserve, not only as my brother is Lieutenant under Cæsar, but as the latter receives the slightest action or even word of mine in his favour, with an air that evidently shews he considers them as obligations of the most sensible kind. And, in fact, I derive the same benefit from that popularity and power which you know he possesses, as if they were so many advantages of my own. The sum of the whole, in short, is this: I imagined that I had no other method of counteracting those perfidious designs with which a certain party were secretly contriving to undermine me, than by thus uniting the friendship and protection of the men in power, with those internal aids which have never yet been wanting to my support.

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* There is no character in all antiquity, perhaps, that lies so open to discovery as that of Cicero; and yet there is none, at the same time, which seems to be less generally understood. Had there been no other of his writings extant, however, but this single letter, the patriot character, one
O 3

I am well persuaded, had you been in Rome, you would have concurred with me in these sentiments. I know, indeed, the candour and moderation of your temper; and I know, too, that your heart not only glows with friendship towards me, but is wholly untainted with malevolence towards others; in a word, I know that as you possess every sublime and generous affection, you are incapable of any thing so mean as artifice and disguise. Nevertheless, even this elevated disposition has not secured you from the same unprovoked malice, which I have experienced in my own affairs. I doubt not, therefore, if you had been an actor in this scene, the same motives would have swayed *your* conduct, which have governed *mine*. But, however

should have imagined, would have been the last that the world would ever have ascribed to our author. It is observable, and it is an observation for which I am obliged to a gentleman, who, amidst far more important occupations, did not refuse to be the censor of these papers) that "the principles by which Cicero attempts to justify himself in this epistle, are such as will equally defend the most abandoned prostitution and desertion in political conduct. Personal gratitude and resentment; an eye to private and particular interest, mixed with a pretended regard to public good; an attention to a brother's advancement and farther favour; a sensibility in being caressed by a great man in power; a calculation of the advantages derived from the popularity and credit of that great man to one's own personal self, are very weak foundations, indeed, to support the superstructure of a true patriot's character. Yet these are the principles which Cicero here expressly avows and defends!"

however that may be, I shall most certainly submit all my actions to your guidance and advice, whenever I shall again enjoy your company; and I am sure you will not be less attentive to the preservation of my honour, than you formerly were to that of my person. Of this, at least, you may be persuaded, that you will find me a faithful friend and associate in all your counsels and measures; as it will be the first and daily purpose of my life, to supply you with additional and more powerful reasons for rejoicing in those obligations you have conferred upon me.

As you desire me to send you those compositions which I have written since you left Rome, I shall deliver some orations into the hands of Menocrates for that purpose. However, not to alarm you, their number is but inconsiderable; for I withdraw as much as possible from the contention of the bar, in order to join those more gentle Muses which were always my delight, and are particularly so at this juncture. Accordingly, I have drawn up three dialogues upon oratory, wherein I have endeavoured to imitate the manner of Aristotle. I trust they will not prove altogether useless to your son, as I have rejected the modern precepts of rhetoric, and adopted the ancient

Aristotelian and Isocratic rules. To this catalogue of my writings, I must also add an historical poem which I have lately composed in three cantos, upon the subject of my banishment⁴⁶, and as a lasting memorial likewise of your friendship and my gratitude. This I should long since have transmitted to you, had it been my immediate intention to make it public. But I am discouraged from this design at present, not, indeed, as fearing the resentment of those who may imagine themselves the objects of my satire, (for, in this respect, I have been extremely tender) but as finding it impossible to make particular mention of every one from whom I received obligations at that season. However, when I shall meet with a proper opportunity, I will send it to you; submitting my writings as well as my actions entirely to your judgment. I know, indeed, these literary meditations have ever been the favourite employment of your thoughts, no less than of mine⁴⁷.

Your

⁴⁶ This poem Cicero delivered, sealed up, to his son; enjoining him, at the same time, not to publish or read it till after his death. *Manut.*

⁴⁷ To turn from the actions of Cicero to his writings, is changing our point of view, it must be acknowledged, extremely to his advantage. It is on this side, indeed, that his character can never be too warmly admired; and admired it will undoubtedly be, so long as manly eloquence and genuine philosophy have any friends. Perhaps there is something

Your family concerns, which you recommend to me, are so much a part of my own, that I am sorry you should think it necessary even to remind me of them. I could not, therefore, read your solicitations for that purpose, without some uneasiness.

I find you were prevented, by an indisposition, from going the last summer into Cilicia; which was the occasion, it seems, of your not settling my brother's affairs in that province. However, you give me assurance that you will now take all possible methods of adjusting them. You cannot, indeed, oblige him more: and he will think himself as much indebted to you for procuring him this additional farm, as if you had settled him in the possession of his patrimony. In the mean time, I entreat you to inform me frequently and freely of all your affairs, and particularly give me an account of the studies and exercises in which your son is engaged. For be well persuaded, never friend was more agreeable or more endeared to another, than you

something in that natural mechanism of the human frame necessary to constitute a fine genius, which is not altogether favourable to the excellencies of the heart. It is certain, at least, (and let it abate our envy of uncommon parts) that great superiority of intellectual qualifications, has not often been found in conjunction with the much nobler advantages of a moral kind.

you are to me: and of this truth I hope to render, not only you, but all the world, and even posterity itself, thoroughly sensible.

Appius⁴⁹ has lately declared in the senate (what he had before, indeed, often intimated in conversation) that if he could get his proconsular commission confirmed in an assembly of the *Curiae*⁵⁰, he would cast lots with his colleague for the particular province to which they should respectively succeed; if not, that, by an amicable agreement between themselves, he had resolved upon yours⁵¹. He added, that, in the case of a consul, it was not absolutely necessary, tho', perhaps, it might be expedient, to procure a law of this kind: and, as a government had been appointed him by a decree of the senate, he was entitled, he said, in consequence

⁴⁹ Appius Claudius Pulcher, one of the present consuls. See remark 3. p. 225 of this vol.

⁵⁰ Romulus divided the city into a certain number of districts called *Curiae*, which somewhat resembled our parishes. When the people were summoned together, to transact any business agreeably to this division, it was called an assembly of the *Curiae*: where the most votes in every *Curia* was considered as the voice of the whole district, and the most *Curia* as the general consent of the people. *Ken. R. A.*

⁵¹ The senate annually nominated the two provinces to which the consuls should succeed at the expiration of their office; but it was left to the consuls themselves to determine, either by casting lots, or by private agreement, which of the particular provinces so assigned, they should respectively administer. *Manut. de leg. c. x.*

quence of the Cornelian law, to a military command, till the time of his entrance into Rome⁵². I know not what accounts you may have received of this matter from your other friends: but I find the sentiments of the world are much divided. Some are of opinion, that you are not obliged to resign your government, if your successor should not be authorised by an assembly of the *Curiae*: whilst others maintain, that, notwithstanding you should think proper to leave the province, you may, nevertheless, depute a person to preside in your absence. As to myself, I am not altogether so clear with respect to the law in question: tho'

I must

⁵² Tho' the nomination of the proconsular provinces was a privilege reserved to the senate, yet it was the prerogative of the people to confer on the proconsuls the power of executing the military functions, and likewise it should seem to grant the necessary appointments for conveying them to their respective governments. By a law, however, which was made by Cornelius Sylla, during his Dictatorship, in the year 672, it was enacted, that, whatever magistrate, at the expiration of his office, should obtain a province by a decree of the senate, he should be invested with the full power of a proconsul, notwithstanding his commission were not confirmed by an assembly of the *Curiae*. But Sylla's dictatorship being considered as an usurpation, it is probable, from the passage before us, that this law was not generally esteemed valid. Appius, nevertheless, endeavoured to avail himself of it, from an apprehension that he might meet with some obstruction in the usual method of applying for a ratification of his powers: and, indeed, it may be collected from a letter to Atticus, that he at last set forward to his government without the sanction of the people. *Manut. de Leg. Grav. præf. in antiq. 1. Ad Att. iv. 16.*

I must own, at the same time, that my doubts are by no means considerable. Of this, however, I am perfectly sure, that it is agreeable to your honour, and to that generosity of conduct in which I know you place your highest gratification, quietly to yield up your province to your successor; especially as you cannot in this instance oppose his ambitious views, without incurring the suspicion of being influenced by the same motives yourself. But, be that as it will, I thought it incumbent upon me to inform you of my sentiments, as I shall certainly defend yours, whichever way they may determine you to act.

After I had finished my letter, I received your last concerning the farmers of the revenues⁵². Your decision appears to me, I must own, perfectly equitable; yet, at the same time, I cannot but wish you might be so happy as not to disgust a body of men whose interest you have hitherto always favoured. However, you may be assured I shall support the decrees
you

⁵² The society of farmers of the public revenues, among the Romans, was a body of men in high repute, as being composed of the principal persons of the equestrian order: *Flos equitum Romanorum*, says Cicero, *ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum reip. Publicanorum ordine continetur. Pro Planc.* Disputes frequently arose between these and the tributary provinces: and it is to some difference of this kind wherein Lentulus had given judgment against them, that Cicero seems to allude.

you have made upon this occasion: tho' you well know the temper and disposition of these people, and what formidable enemies they proved to the excellent Quintus Scævola⁵⁴. I would recommend it to you, therefore, if possible, to recover their good graces, or at least to soften them. The task, I confess, is difficult; but prudence, I think, requires you should use your best endeavours for that purpose. Farewel.

⁵⁴ There were two very eminent persons of this name in Cicero's time. The first, the most celebrated lawyer and politician of his age, is distinguished by the title of Augur. The other, who was high Priest, was slain at the entrance of the temple of Vesta, as he was endeavouring to make his escape from that general massacre of the senators which was perpetrated by the orders of the young Marius. To which of these Tully alludes is uncertain. Manutius supposes to the former, but without assigning his reasons. It seems not unlikely, however, to be the latter, as there is a passage in Valerius Maximus, by which we find that he exercised his Asiatic government with so much honour and integrity, that the senate, in their subsequent decrees for nominating the Proconsuls to that province, always recommended him as an example worthy of their imitation. It appears, by a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, that he endeavoured, during his administration in Asia, to reform the great abuses which were committed by the farmers of the revenues in his province, and imprisoned many of them for their cruel oppressions of the people. This drew upon him their indignation: but in what particular instance he was a sufferer by it, history does not mention. *Liv. epit. 86. Val. Max. viii. 15.*

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 699.]

To LUCIUS CULLEOLUS, Proconsul¹.

IT was with the warmest expressions of gratitude, that my friend Luceius² acquainted me, you had generously assured his agents of your assistance: as, indeed, I know not a man in the world who has a heart more sensible of obligations. But if your promises only were thus acceptable to him, how much more will he think himself indebted to you when you shall have performed (as I am well persuaded you will most faithfully perform) these your obliging engagements?

The people of Bullis³ have intimated a disposition to refer the demands in question between Luceius and themselves, to Pompey's arbitration: but as the concurrence of your influence and authority will be necessary, I very strongly entreat you to exert both for this purpose.

It

¹ The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the province of which he was proconsul, are equally unknown.

² An account of Luceius has already been given in rem. 1. p. 75 of this vol.

³ Geographers are not agreed as to the situation of this city, some placing it in Illyria, others in Macedonia.

It affords me great satisfaction to find that your letter to Luceius, together with your promises to his agents, have convinced them that no man has more credit with you than myself: and I earnestly conjure you to confirm them in these sentiments, by every real and substantial service in your power. Farewel.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

YOU could never have disposed of your favours where they would be more gratefully remembered, than on my friend Luceius. But the obligation is not confined to him only; Pompey likewise takes a share in it: and whenever I see him (as I often do) he never fails to express, in very strong terms, how much he thinks himself indebted to you. To which I will add (what I know will give you great satisfaction) that it afforded me also a very sensible pleasure. As you cannot now discontinue these obliging offices, without forfeiting your character of constancy, I doubt not of your persevering in the same friendly services for your own sake, which you at first engaged in for ours. I cannot forbear, nevertheless, most earnestly

earnestly entreating you to proceed in what you have thus generously begun, till you shall have perfectly completed the purposes for which we requested your assistance. You will by these means greatly oblige not only Lucceius, but Pompey: and never, I will venture to assure you, can you lay out your services to more advantage. I have nothing further to add, having given you my full sentiments of public affairs, in a letter which I wrote to you a few days ago, by one of your domestics.—Farewel.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 699.]

To CURIUS, Proconsul^a.

I HAVE long been intimately connected with Quintus Pompeius, by a variety of repeated good offices. As he has upon many former occasions supported his interests, his credit, and his authority in your province, by my influence; so, now the administration is in your hands, he ought undoubtedly to find, by the effects of this letter, that none of your predecessors have ever paid a greater regard to my recommendations. The strict union indeed that subsists between you and myself, gives me a right

^a The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the time when it was written, are unknown.

right to expect that you will look upon every friend of mine as your own. But I most earnestly entreat you to receive Pompeius in so particular a manner into your protection and favour, as to convince him that nothing could have proved more to his advantage and his honour than my applications to you in his behalf. Farewel.

Philolexian Society

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 699.]

To BASILIUS^b.

I CONGRATULATE both you and myself on the present joyful occasion. All your affairs here are much my concern, as your person is infinitely dear to me. Love me in return, and let me know what you are doing, and what is going forward in your part of the world.—Farewel.

LETTER

^b If Basilius be the true name of the person to whom this letter is inscribed, (and, indeed, all the editions agree in calling him so) no account can be given concerning him. But, if we may be allowed to suppose the genuine reading to be *Bacilus*, he was prætor in the year 708: and Cæsar not having given him a province, as was usual, at the expiration of his office, he was so mortified with the affront, that he put an end to his life. *Dio*, xliii. p. 237.

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LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 690.]

TO QUINTUS PHILIPPUS, Proconsul^b.

I CONGRATULATE your safe return from your province, in the fulness of your fame, and amidst the general tranquillity of the republic. If I were in Rome, I should have waited upon you, for this purpose, in person, and in order, likewise, to make my acknowledgments to you for your favours to my friends Egnatius and Oppius.

I am extremely sorry to hear that you have taken great offence against my friend and host, Antipater. I cannot pretend to judge of the merits of the case; but I know your character too well, not to be persuaded that you are incapable of indulging an unreasonable resentment. I conjure you, however, by our long friendship, to pardon, for my sake, his sons, who lie entirely at your mercy. If I imagined you could not grant this favour consistently with your honour, I should be far from making the request; as my regard for your reputation is much superior to all considerations of friendship which I owe to this family. But,
if

^b See rem.^a p. 127 of this vol.

if I am not mistaken, (and, indeed, I very possibly may) your clemency towards them will rather add to your character, than derogate from it. If it be not too much trouble, therefore, I should be glad you would let me know how far a compliance with my request is in your power; for that it is in your inclination, I have not the least reason to doubt.—
Farewel.

P 2 LETTER

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO LUCIUS VALERIUS⁴, the Lawyer.

FOR⁵ why should I not gratify your vanity with that honourable appellation? Since, as the times go, my friend, confidence will readily pass upon the world for skill.

I have executed the commission you sent me, and made your acknowledgments to Lentulus. But I wish you would render my offices of this kind unnecessary, by putting an end to your tedious absence. Is it not more worthy of your mighty ambition to be blended with your learned brethren at Rome, than to stand the sole great wonder of wisdom, amidst
a parcel

⁴ Valerius is only known by this letter and another, wherein Cicero recommends him to Appius as a person who lived in his family, and for whom he entertained a very singular affection. By the air of this epistle he seems to have been one of that sort of lawyers who may more properly be said to be of the profession than the science. But, as the vein of humour which runs through this letter partly consists in playing upon words, it is not very easy, perhaps it is impossible, to be preserved in a translation; and, as it alludes to circumstances which are now altogether unknown, it must necessarily lose much of its original spirit.

⁵ The abrupt beginning of this letter has induced some of the commentators to suspect that it is not entire. But Manutius has very justly observed, that it evidently refers to the inscription: and he produces an instance of the same kind

a parcel of paltry provincials⁶? But I long to rally you in person: for which merry purpose I desire you would hasten hither as expeditiously as possible. I would by no means, however, advise you to take Apulia in the way, lest some disastrous adventure, in those unlucky regions, should prevent our welcoming your safe arrival. And, in truth, to what purpose

kind from one of the epistles to Atticus. *Vid. Ad Att. iii. 20.*

⁶ After this passage in the original, Cicero goes on in the following strain: *Quanquam qui istinc veniunt, partim te superbum esse dicunt, quod nihil respondeas; partim contumeliosum, quod male respondeas.* The translator, however, has ventured to omit this witticism, upon the advice of Horace.

Quæ
Desperat tentata nitescere posse, relinquit.

It is a pun, indeed, which has already occurred in one of the preceding letters to Trebatius, where our author plays in the same manner upon the equivocal sense of the verb *respondere*. See p. 156 of this vol. Voiture has managed an allusion of this kind much more successfully. *Si vous prétendez* (says that agreeable writer to his friend the plenipotentiary at Munster) *que la dignité de plenipotentiaire vous dispense de répondre, Papinian avoit à sa charge toutes les affaires de l'empire Romain, et je vous montrerai en cent lieux dans de gros livres, Papinianus respondit, et respondit Papinianus. Les plus sages et les plus prudents étoient ceux qui avoient accoustumé de répondre, et de la responsa sapientum, et prudentum responsa. Les oracles mêmes, quand vous en seriez un, répondoient; et il n'est pas qu'aux choses inanimées, qui ne se mettent quelquefois en devoir de répondre:*

Les eaux et les rochers et les bois lui répondent.
Let. de Voit. i. 165.

pose should you visit this your native province?⁷
For, like Ulysses, when he first returned to
his

⁷ Manutius imagines that Cicero means to rally the obscurity of his friend's birth. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth, to acknowledge, that it is impossible to know what he means: yet, as this sense is as consistent with the original as any other, it is adopted in the translation. But if this very learned commentator be right in his general notion of this passage, he is certainly deceived in his interpretation of *tantumquam Ulysses, cognosces tuorum neminem*, with which the letter concludes. For he takes the verb *cognosco* in its usual acceptation: by which means he makes Cicero mistake so well known a story as that of the behaviour of Ulysses upon his first return to Ithaca. However, he is persuaded that this is a designed misrepresentation in his author: and discovers I know not what improvement of the humour by this very perversion of the fable. The labours of this penetrating commentator have cast such a light upon the writings of Cicero, that even his errors deserve to be treated with respect, otherwise one might justly laugh at a notion so exactly in the true spirit of a fanciful critic, who refines upon his own mistakes. It is a mistake, nevertheless, in which all the succeeding commentators concur with him, except Mr. Ross, who has removed the whole difficulty of the passage, by explaining *cognosco* in the sense of *agnosco*. This sense (in which, indeed, it is not unfrequently used) reconciles the allusion to the truth of the fact: and where a word has several significations, it would be out of all rule of criticism to understand it in an application the least favourable to an author's meaning. It is not always so easy, however, to justify Cicero with respect to Homer; and he has, in one instance, at least, been betrayed into an error in quoting that poet. The instance occurs in his Tusculan disputations, where he takes notice of that passage in the seventh Iliad, in which Ajax is described as going forth to accept the challenge of Hector. *Videmus*, says he, *progredientem apud Homerum, Ajacem multa cum hilaritate cum depugnaturus esset cum Hectore; cujus, ut arma sumpsit, ingressio latitiam attulit sociis, terrorem autem hostibus: ut ipsum Hectorem, quemadmodum est apud Homerum, toto pectore tremementem, provocasse ad pugnam paniteret. Tusc. disp. iv. 22.* But Homer by no means represents Hector thus totally

dismayed

his Ithaca, you will be much too prudent, undoubtedly, to lay claim to your noble kindred.
Farewel.

LETTER

dismayed at the approach of his adversary: and, indeed, it would have been inconsistent with the general character of that hero to have described him under such circumstances of terror.

Τὸν δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μέγ' ἐγηθεὶν ἐκδορῶντες·
Τροῶς δὲ τρόμος αἶνος ὑψηλὸς γαῖα ἔκασον,
Ἐκτορι τ' αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πατάσσειν

Ver. 214.

But there is a great difference (as Dr. Clarke observes, in his remarks upon these lines) between *θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πατάσσειν*, and *καρδίῃ ἐξῆς στήθεων εὐρωσκει*, or *τρόμος αἶνος ὑψηλὸς γαῖα*. The Trojans, says Homer, trembled at the sight of Ajax; and even Hector himself felt some emotion in his breast; or to express it in the same spirit of poetry which distinguishes the original,

Thro' ev'ry Argive heart new transport ran:
All Troy stood trembling at the mighty man.
E'en Hector paus'd; and, with new doubt opprest,
Felt his great heart suspended in his breast.

POPE.

Perhaps this slip of attention in so great an author may not be improperly pointed out, as engaging the candour of the reader towards those errors of the same nature, which he will too probably meet with in the course of this attempt.

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK III.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO¹.

THOUGH I am sorry you should suspect me of neglecting you, I will acknowledge that I am not so much concerned at your reproaches for my not writing, as I am pleased to find that you are desirous of hearing from me. Conscious, indeed, of not meriting your friendly accusation, the instance it afforded
me

¹ Curio was a young nobleman of great parts, spirit, and eloquence; but addicted, beyond all modesty or measures, to

me that my letters were acceptable to you,
was a very agreeable proof of the continuance
of

to the prevailing luxury and gallantries of a most dissolute age. After having dissipated his fortune by extravagant indulgences, for which no estate could suffice, he fell an easy prey to corruption. Accordingly, Cæsar paid his debts, amounting to almost 500,000l, and by that means gained him over from the cause of liberty, to become one of the warmest and most active of his partizans. It is generally imagined that Virgil glances at him in those well-known lines, *tendit hic auro patriam*, &c. though, indeed, they are applicable to so many others of his contemporaries, that there seems no great reason to imagine the poet had Curio particularly in his view. Lucan mentions him as one whose talents would probably have been of the highest honour and benefit to his country, if he had lived in times of less contagious depravation:

*Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent, recta sequenti.
Perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt secula, postquam
Ambitus et luxus, et opum metuenda facultas,
Transverso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt.*

*A soul more form'd to aid his country's cause,
Avenge her insults, and support her laws,
Rome never knew; but ah! in evil hour,
Fate bade thee live when virtue was no more!
When lawless lust of power, and avarice dread,
And baneful luxury the land o'erspread.
Thy wav'ring mind the torrent ill-withstood,
Borne, scarce resisting, down th' impetuous flood.*

He distinguished himself with great bravery in support of Cæsar's cause in Africa, where Varus commanded on the part of the republic. But, after some successful engagements, he lost his life before the battle of Pharsalia, in an action against the troops of Juba, near Utica. At the time when this letter, and the rest that are addressed to him in the present book, were written, he resided in Asia, where, as Manutius conjectures, he was employed in quality of quæstor to Caius Clodius. *Vel. Pat. ii. 48. Plut. in vit. Cæs. Val. Max. ix. 6. Æn. vi. 620. Luc. iv. 814. Liv. epit. 110.*

of that affection which I have already so frequently experienced. Believe me, I have never omitted writing, whenever any person offered whom I imagined likely to convey my letters into your hands; and, which of your acquaintance, I will venture to ask, is a more punctual correspondent than myself? In return, however, I have scarce received more than one or two letters from you since you left Rome; and those two extremely concise. Thus, you see, I can justly retort your charge; you must not, therefore, pass too severe a sentence on your part, if you hope to receive a favourable one on mine. But I will dwell no longer on this article than to assure you, that since you are disposed to accept these memorials of my friendship, I doubt not of acquitting myself to your full satisfaction.

Tho' I regret extremely the being thus long² deprived of your very agreeable company, yet I cannot but rejoice at an absence which has contributed so much to your honour; as fortune, indeed, has, in all that concerns you, answered my warmest wishes. I have only to offer you one short piece of advice, and I offer it in compliance

² "Curio had been most probably absent from Rome about two years; for Caius Clodius, to whom he is supposed to have been quæstor, obtained the government of Asia an urb. 698. Pig. Annual." Mr. Ross.

compliance with the sincere dictates of that singular affection I bear you. Let me earnestly then, entreat you, to come well-prepared, at your return, to act up to those great ideas which the world has, with so much reason, conceived of your spirit and talents. And as nothing can ever wear out the deep impressions your good offices have stamped upon my mind³; so, I hope, you will not forget, on your side, that you could not have attained those honours or advantages that attend you, if you had not, in the earlier part of your life, complied with my faithful and affectionate admonitions⁴. Have I not reason, then, to expect in return, that as the weight of old age now begins to bend me down⁵, you will suffer me to repose my declining years upon your youth and friendship? Farewel.

LETTER

³ Curio assisted him in his contest with Clodius.

⁴ Curio, when he was a very young man, had entered into a commerce of the most criminal and detestable kind with Antony. His father, in order to break off this infamous intercourse, was obliged to call in Cicero to his assistance; who, by his prudent and friendly advice, weaned the son from a passion not less expensive, it seems, than it was execrable; and, by this means, (as Cicero reproaches Antony in one of his Philippics) he saved an illustrious family from utter ruin. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Cic. Plut. ii. 18.*

⁵ Cicero was at this time in the 54th year of his age. *Manut.*

LETTER II.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

IF you were not already in the number of our absentees, undoubtedly you would be tempted to leave us at this juncture, for what business can a lawyer expect in Rome, during this long and general suspension of all juridical proceedings⁶! Accordingly, I advise my friends who have any actions commenced against them, to petition each successive interrex⁷ for a double enlargement of the usual time for putting in their pleas: and is not this a proof how wonderfully I have profited by your sage instructions in

⁶ The feuds in the republic were raised to so great a height towards the latter end of the preceding year and the beginning of the present, that the office of the late consuls had expired several months before new ones could be elected. In exigencies of this kind, the constitution had provided a magistrate called an *Interrex*, to whom the consular power was provisionally delegated. But public business, however, was at a stand, and the courts of judicature, in particular, were shut up during this interregnum, a circumstance from which Cicero takes occasion to enter into his usual vein of pleasantry with Trebatius, and to rally him in perpetual allusions to his profession. *Dio. xl.*

⁷ This office of *Interrex* continued only five days; at the expiration of which, if consuls were not chosen, a new *Interrex* was appointed for the same short period. And in this manner the succession of these occasional magistrates was carried on, till the elections were determined.

in the law¹? But tell me, my friend, since your letters, I observe, have lately run in a more enlivened strain than usual, what is it that has elevated you into so gay a humour? This air of pleasantry I like well, it looks as if the world went successfully with you, and I am all impatience to know what it is that has thus raised your spirits. You inform me, indeed, that Cæsar does you the honour to advise with you. For my own part, however, I had rather hear that he *consulted* your interest, than your judgment. But seriously, if the former is really the case, or there is any probability of its proving so, let me entreat you to continue in your present situation, and patiently submit to the inconveniences of a military life; as, on my part, I shall support myself under your absence with the hopes of its turning to your advantage. But if all expectations of this kind are at an end, let us see you as soon as possible; and, perhaps, some method may be found here, of improving your

¹ The minute forms of law-proceedings among the Romans, are not sufficiently known to distinguish precisely the exact point on which Cicero's humour in this passage turns; and, accordingly, the explanations which the commentators have offered, are by no means satisfactory. It would be foreign to the purpose of these remarks, to lay before the reader their several conjectures; it will be sufficient, in general, to observe, that there was some notorious impropriety in the advice which Cicero here represents himself as having given to his friends, and in which the whole force of his pleasantry consists.

your fortunes. If not, we shall at least have the satisfaction of enjoying each other's company, and one hour's conversation together is of more value to us, my friend, than the whole city of Samarobriva². Besides, if you return soon, the disappointment you have suffered may pass unremarked; whereas a longer pursuit to no purpose, would be so ridiculous a circumstance, that I am terribly afraid it would scarce escape the drollery of those very arch fellows³,

Laberius

² A city in Belgic Gaul, and probably the place wherein Trebatius had his present quarters.

³ Laberius was a Roman knight, who distinguished himself by his comic humour, and he had written several farces which were acted with great applause. He was prevailed upon by Cæsar to take a part himself in one of his own performances, and the prologue which he spoke upon that occasion is still extant. The whole composition is extremely spirited, and affords a very advantageous specimen of his genius; but there is something so peculiarly just and beautiful in the thought of the concluding lines, that the reader, perhaps, will not regret the being carried out of his way in order to observe it. Laberius was sixty years of age, when, in complaisance to Cæsar, he thus made his first entrance upon the stage; and, in allusion to a circumstance so little favourable to his appearing with success, he tells the audience,

*Ut hederæ serpens vires arboreas necat;
Ita me vetustas amplexu annorum enecat:
Sepulchri similis, nihil nisi nomen retineo!*

*While round the oak the fraudulent ivy twines,
Robb'd of its strength, the sapless tree declines,
Thus envious age, advanc'd with stealing pace,
Clasps my chill'd limbs, and kills with cold embrace.
Like empty monuments to heroes fame,
Of all I was retaining but the name!*

Macrob. Saturn. ii. 7.

Laberius and my companion Valerius². And what a burlesque character would a British lawyer furnish out for the Roman stage! You may smile, perhaps, at this notion; but tho' I mention it in my usual style of pleasantry, let me tell you it is no jesting matter. In good earnest, if there is any prospect that my recommendations will avail in obtaining the honours you deserve; I cannot but exhort you, in all the sincerity of the warmest friendship, to make yourself easy under this absence, as a means of increasing both your fortunes and your fame: if not I would strongly advise your return. I have no doubt, however, that your own merit, in conjunction with my most zealous services, will procure you every advantage you can reasonably desire. Farewel.

LETTER

² This Valerius is supposed by some of the commentators to be Quintus Valerius Catullus, a celebrated poet, who, as appears by his works, which are still extant, was patronized by Cicero. But the opinion of Manutius is much more probable, that the person here meant is the same to whom the 13th letter of the first book in this collection is addressed, and who is likewise mentioned in the following epistle.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 700.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER³.

IF the genius of Rome were himself to give you an account of the commonwealth, you could not be more fully apprised of public affairs, than by the information you will receive from Phnias: a person, let me tell you, not only of consummate politics, but of infinite curiosity. I refer you, therefore, to him, as to the shortest and safest means of being acquainted with our situation. I might trust him likewise with assuring you, at the same time, of the friendly disposition of my heart towards you: but that is an office which I must claim the privilege of executing with my own hand. Be persuaded then, that I think of you with the highest affection: as, indeed, you have a full

³ Appius Clodius Pulcher had been consul the preceding year, and was, at this time, governor of Cilicia. The particular traits of his character will be occasionally marked out in the observations on the several letters addressed to him in this and the subsequent books. In the mean time it may be sufficient to observe that Cicero very zealously cultivated his friendship, not from any real opinion of his merit, but as one whose powerful alliances rendered him too considerable to be despised as an enemy. For one of Appius's daughters was married to Pompey's son, and the other to Brutus. See *Life of Cic.* ii. 204. 8vo. ed. *Ep. Fam.* ii. 13.

full right to these sentiments, not only from the many generous and amiable qualities of your mind, but from that grateful sensibility, with which, as I am informed, both by your own letters and the general account of others, you receive my best services. I shall endeavour, therefore, by my future good offices, to compensate for that long intermission which unhappily suspended our former intercourse⁴. And since you seem willing to renew our amicable commerce, I doubt not of engaging in it with the general approbation of the world⁵.

Your freedman Cilix, was very little known to me before he delivered your obliging letter into my hands: the friendly purport of which he confirmed with great politeness. The account indeed

⁴ Appius was brother to Cicero's declared enemy, the turbulent Clodius; which occasioned that interruption of their friendship to which he here alludes. It appears by a passage in the oration for Milo, that Clodius, in the absence of his brother, had forcibly taken possession of an estate belonging to Appius; and the indignation which this piece of injustice must necessarily raise in the latter, rendered him, it is probable, so much the more disposed to a re-union with Cicero. *Orat. pro Mil. 27.*

⁵ The whole passage, in the original, stands thus: "*Idque me, quoniam tu ita vis, puto non invita Minerva facturum: quam quidem ego, si forte de tuis sumpsero, non solum Pallada, sed etiam Appiada nominabo.*" The former part of this sentence is translated agreeably to the interpretation of the learned Gronovius: but the latter is wholly omitted. For, notwithstanding all the pains of the commentators to explain its difficulties, it is utterly unintelligible: at least, I do not scruple to confess, it is so to me.

indeed he gave me of you sentiments, as well as of the frequent and favourable mention you are pleased to make of my name, were circumstances which I heard with much pleasure. In short, during our two days conversation together, he entirely won my heart: not to the exclusion, however, of my old friend Phantias, whose return I impatiently expect. I imagine you will speedily order him back to Rome: and I hope you will not dismiss him without sending me, at the same time, your full and unreserved commands.

I very strongly recommend to your patronage Valerius the lawyer⁶; even though you should discover that he has but a slender claim to that appellation. I mention this, as being more cautious in obviating the flaws in his *title*, than he usually is in guarding against those of his clients. But, seriously, I have a great affection for the man: as indeed he is my particular friend and companion. I must do him the justice to say, that he is extremely sensible of the favours you have already conferred upon him. Nevertheless he is desirous of my recommendation, as he is persuaded it will have much weight with you. I entreat you to convince him that he is not mistaken. Farewel.

LETTER

⁶ See p. 212. of this vol.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS MEMMIUS⁷.

YOUR tenant Caius Evander, is a person with whom I am very intimate: as his patron Marcus Æmilius is in the number of my most particular friends. I entreat your permission, therefore, that he may continue some time longer in your house, if it be not inconvenient to you: for as he has a great deal of work upon his hands, he cannot remove so soon as the first of July, without being extremely hurried. I should be ashamed to use many words in soliciting a favour of this nature at your hands: and I am persuaded that, if it is not very much to your prejudice, you will be as well inclined to grant me this request, as I should be to comply with any of yours. I will only add, therefore, that your indulgence will greatly oblige me. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ See an account of him in remark 5. on the 27th letter of this book, p. 281.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I WAS wondering at the long intermission of your letters, when my friend Pansa accounted for your insolence, by assuring me that you were turned an Epicurean. Glorious effect indeed of camp-conversation! But if a metamorphosis so extraordinary has been wrought in you amidst the martial air of Samarobriva, what would have been the consequence had I sent you to the softer regions of Tarentum⁸? I have been in some pain for your principles, I confess, ever since your intimacy with my friend Seius. But how will you reconcile your tenets to your profession, and act for the interest of your client, now that you have adopted the maxim of doing nothing but for your own? With what grace can you insert the usual clause in your deeds of agreement: *The parties to these presents as becomes good men and true, &c.*? For neither truth nor trust can there be in those who professedly

⁸ Tarentum was a city in Italy distinguished for the softness and luxury of its inhabitants. Geographers inform us that the greatest part of their year was consumed in the celebration of stated festivals. *Vid. Bunon. comment. in Cluverii Geograph.*

fessedly govern themselves upon motives of absolute selfishness? I am in some pain, likewise, how you will settle the law concerning the partition of "rights in common:" as there can be nothing in common between those who make their own private gratification the sole criterion of right and wrong. Or can you think it proper to administer an oath, while you maintain that Jupiter is incapable of all resentment? In a word, what will become of the good people of Ulubræ⁹ who have placed themselves under your protection; if you hold the maxim of your sect, "that a wise man ought not to engage himself in public affairs?" In good earnest I shall be extremely sorry, if it is true that you have really deserted us. But if your conversion is nothing more than a convenient compliment to the opinions of Pansa, I will forgive your dissimulation, provided you let me know soon how your affairs go on, and in what manner I can be of any service in them. Farewel.

LETTER

⁹ "Cicero jocosely speaks of this people, as if they belonged to the most considerable town in Italy; whereas it was so mean and contemptible a place, that Horace, in order to shew the power of contentment, says, that a person possessed of that excellent temper of mind, may be happy even at Ulubræ:

"*Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus.*"

Mr. Ross.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

OUR friendship, I trust, needs not any other evidence to confirm its sincerity, than what arises from the testimony of our own hearts. I cannot, however, but consider the death of your illustrious father, as depriving me of a most venerable witness to that singular affection I bear you¹. I regret that he had not the satisfaction of taking a last farewell of you, before he closed his eyes: it was the only circumstance wanting to render him as much superior to the rest of the world in his domestic happiness, as in his public fame².

I sincerely wish you the happy enjoyment of your estate: and be assured, you will find in me a friend who loves and values you with the same tenderness as your father himself conceived for you. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ See remark 4th on the first letter of this book.

² He was consul in the year of Rome 676, when he acted with great spirit in opposition to the attempts of Sicinius, for restoring the tribupitral power, which had been much abridged by Sylla. In the following year he went governor into Macedonia, and, by his military conduct in that province, obtained the honour of a triumph. He distinguished himself among the friends of Cicero when he was attacked by Clodius. *Freinshem. supplem. in Liv. xci. ciii.*

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

CAN you seriously suppose me so unreasonable as to be angry, because I thought you discovered too inconstant a disposition in your impatience to leave Gaul? And can you possibly believe it was for that reason I have thus long omitted writing? The truth is, I was only concerned at the uneasiness which seemed to have overcast your mind: and I forebore to write upon no other account, but as being entirely ignorant where to direct my letters. I suppose, however, that this is a plea which your loftiness will scarce condescend to admit. But tell me then, is it the weight of your purse, or the honour of being the counsellor of Cæsar, that most disposes you to be thus insufferably arrogant? Let me perish if I do not believe that thy vanity is so immoderate; as to choose rather to share in his councils than his coffers. But should he admit you into a participation of both, you will undoubtedly swell into such intolerable airs, that no mortal will be able to endure you: or none, at least, except myself, who am philosopher enough, you know, to endure

endure any thing. But I was going to tell you, that as I regretted the uneasiness you formerly expressed, so I rejoice to hear that you are better reconciled to your situation. My only fear is, that your wonderful skill in the law will little avail you in your present quarters; for I am told, that the people you have to deal with,

"Rest the strength of their cause on the force of their might,

And the sword is supreme arbitrator of right?" *C. C. C.*

As I know you do not choose to be concerned in forcible entries, and are much too peaceably disposed to be fond of making assaults, let me leave a piece of advice with my lawyer, and by all means recommend it to you to avoid the Treviri⁴: for I hear they are most formidable fellows. I wish from my heart they were as harmless as their name-sakes round the edges of our coin⁵. But I must reserve the rest of my jokes

⁴ The Treviri were a most warlike people, bordering on Germany. They were defeated about this time by Labienus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul. *Cæsar. Bel. Gal. viii.*

⁵ The public coin was under the inspection of three officers called *Treviri monetales*: and several pieces of money are still extant in the cabinets of the curious, inscribed with the names of these magistrates. *Vid. Petri Bembi epist. apud Manut.*

jokes to another opportunity: in the mean time, let me desire you would send me a full account of whatever is going forward in your province. Farewel.

March the 4th.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CORNIFICIUS^a.

YOUR letter was extremely agreeable to me in all respects, except that I was sorry to find by it, you had slighted my lodge at Sinnuessa. I shall not excuse the affront you have thus passed upon my little hovel, unless you give me double satisfaction by making use both of my Cuman and Pompeian villas. Let me entreat you then to do so, and to preserve me likewise in your affection. I hope you will provoke me to enter into a literary contest with you, by some of your writings: as I find it much easier to answer a challenge of this kind, than to send one. However, if you should persevere in your usual indolence, I shall venture to lead the way myself; in order to shew you, that your idleness has not infected me.

I steal

^a See an account of him, vol. iii. p. 61. rem. 6.

I steal a moment to write this whilst I am in the senate: but you shall have a longer letter from me when I shall be less engaged. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I AM giving you an instance, that those who love are not easily to be pleased, when I assure you, that though I was very much concerned when you told me that you continued in Gaul with reluctance, yet I am no less mortified now your letter informs me, that you like your situation extremely well. To say the truth, as I regretted you should not approve a scheme, which you pursued upon my recommendation; so I can ill bear that any place should be agreeable to you where I am not. Nevertheless, I had much rather endure the uneasiness of your absence, than suffer you to forego the advantages with which, I hope, it will be attended. It is impossible, therefore, to express how much I rejoice in your having made a friendship with a man of so improved an understanding and so amiable a disposition as Matius: whose esteem, I hope, you will endeavour to cultivate,

vate, by every means in your power. For, believe me, you cannot bring home a more valuable acquisition. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

YOU must not impute it to any neglect in Rupa, that he has not executed your commission; as he omitted it merely in compliance with the opinion of myself and the rest of your friends. We thought it most prudent that no steps should be taken during your absence, which might preclude you from a change of measures after your return: and, therefore, that it would be best he should not signify your intentions of entertaining the people with public games⁶. I may, perhaps, in some future letter, give you my reasons at large, against your executing that design: or rather, that you may not come prepared to answer my objections,

⁶ Curio's pretence for exhibiting these games, was to pay an honour to the memory of his father, lately deceased: but his principal motive was to ingratiate himself with the people, who were passionately attached to entertainments of this kind. As Cicero well knew the profusion of Curio's temper, and that the scheme he was meditating could not be executed without great expence, he acted a very judicious and honest part, in labouring to turn him aside from a project that would contribute to embarrass his finances, and most probably, therefore, impair the foundation of his integrity.

objections, I believe it will be the wisest way to reserve them till we meet. If I should not bring you over to my sentiments, I shall have the satisfaction, at least, of discharging the part of a friend: and should it happen, (which I hope, however, it will not) that you should hereafter have occasion to repent of your scheme; you may then remember that I endeavoured to dissuade you from it. But this much I will now say, that those advantages which fortune, in conjunction with your own industry and natural endowments, have put into your possession, supply a far surer method of opening your way to the highest dignities, than any ostentatious display of the most splendid spectacles. The truth of it is, exhibitions of this kind, as they are instances of wealth only, not of merit, are by no means considered as reflecting any honour on the authors of them: not to mention that the public is quite satiated with their frequent returns.—But I am fallen unawares into what I designed to have avoided, and pointing out my particular reasons against your scheme. I will wave all farther discussions, therefore, of this matter, till we meet; and in the mean time, inform you, that the world entertains the highest opinion of your virtues. Whatever advantages may be hoped

hoped from the most exalted patriotism united with the greatest abilities, the public, believe me, expects from you. And should you come prepared (as I am sure you ought, and I trust you will) to act up to these its glorious expectations, then, indeed, you will exhibit to your friends, and to the commonwealth in general, a spectacle of the noblest and most affecting kind⁷. In the mean while, be assured, no man has a greater share of my affection and esteem than yourself. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Curio was not of a disposition to listen to this prudent council of his friend: but, in opposition to all the grave advice of Cicero, he persevered in his resolution, and executed it with great magnificence. The consequence was, just what Cicero foresaw and dreaded: he contracted debts which he was incapable of discharging, and then sold himself to Cæsar, in order to satisfy the clamours of his creditors. See rem. 1. on the first letter of this book,

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

Two or three of your letters which lately came to my hands at the same time, though of different dates, have afforded me great pleasure: as they were proofs that you have reconciled yourself, with much spirit and resolution, to the inconveniences of a military life. I had some little suspicion, I confess, of the contrary: not that I questioned your courage, but as imputing your uneasiness to the regret of our separation. Let me entreat you then to persevere in your present temper of mind: and, believe me, you will derive many and considerable advantages from the service in which you are engaged. In the mean while, I shall not fail to renew my solicitations to Cæsar in your favour, upon all proper occasions; and have herewith sent you a Greek letter to deliver to him for that purpose: for, in truth, you cannot be more anxious than I am that this expedition may prove to your benefit. In return, I desire you would send me a full relation of the Gallic war: for you must know, I always depend
most

most upon the accounts of those who are *least engaged* in the action.

As I do not imagine you are altogether so considerable a person as to retain a secretary in your service, I could not but wonder you should trouble yourself with the precaution of sending me several copies of the same letter. Your parsimony, however, deserves to be applauded; as one of them, I observed, was written upon a tablet that had been used before. I cannot conceive what unhappy composition could be so very miserable as to deserve to give place upon this occasion: unless it were one of your own conveyances. I flatter myself, at least, it was not any sprightly epistle of mine that you thus disgraced, in order to scribble over it a dull one of your own. Or was it your intention to intimate affairs go so ill with you, that you could not afford any better materials? If that should be your case, you must even thank yourself for not leaving your modesty behind you.

I shall recommend you in very strong terms to Balbus, when he returns into Gaul. But you must not be surprised if you should not hear from me again so soon as usual: as I shall be absent from Rome during all this month. I

write this from Pomptinus, at the villa of Metrilus Philemon, where I am placed within hearing of those croaking clients whom you recommended to my protection: for a prodigious number, it seems, of your^{*} Ulubrean frogs are assembled, in order to compliment my arrival among them. Farewel.

April the 8th.

P. S. I have destroyed the letter I received from you by the hands of Lucius Aruntius, though it was much too innocent to deserve so severe a treatment: for it contained nothing that might not have been proclaimed before a general assembly of the people. However it was your express desire I should destroy it: and I have complied accordingly. I will only add, that I wonder much at not having heard from you since; especially as so many extraordinary events have lately happened in your province.

LETTER

^{*} Cicero ludicrously gives the inhabitants of Ulubra this appellation, in allusion to the low and marshy situation of their town. See rem. 9, p. 230. of this vol.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

NUMBERLESS are the subjects which may enter into a correspondence of the epistolary kind: but the most usual, and which indeed gave the first rise to this amicable commerce is, to inform an absent friend of those private affairs, which it may be necessary, either for his interest or our own, that he should know. You must not, however, expect any thing of the latter sort from me: as your family correspondents, I am sensible, communicate to you what relates to your own concerns; and nothing new has happened in mine. There are two other species of letters, with which I am particularly pleased: those, I mean, that are written in the freedom and pleasantry of common conversation; and those which turn upon grave and moral topics. But in which of these it would be least improper for me to address you at this juncture, is a question not easily determined. Ill, indeed, would it become me to entertain you with letters of humour, at a season when every man of common sensibility has bidden adieu to mirth.

mirth? And what can Cicero write that shall deserve the serious thoughts of Curio, unless it be on public affairs? My situation, however, is such, that I dare not trust my real sentiments of those points in a letter: and none other will I ever send you. Thus precluded as I am from every other topic, I must content myself with repeating what I have often urged: and earnestly exhort you to the pursuit of true and solid glory. Believe me, it will require the utmost efforts of your care and resolution, to act up to those high and uncommon expectations which the world has conceived of your merit. There is, indeed, but one possible method that can enable you to surmount this arduous task.

The
 9 Affairs at Rome were, at this time, in the utmost confusion, occasioned (as has already been observed in the notes above) by the factious interruption that was given to the usual election of the magistrates. See note 6. p. 221. of this vol. This state of tumult, or indeed, to speak more properly, of almost absolute anarchy, was, however, somewhat composed towards the latter end of the present year, by the election of Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Messala to the consular office. *Dio*, xl. p. 141.

1 The disturbances mentioned in the preceding note, were artfully fomented by Cæsar and Pompey, in order to turn them to the advantage of their ambitious purposes. But this was too delicate a circumstance for Cicero to explain himself upon, especially as he was now cultivating a friendship with both.

2 The text in the original is evidently defective: *atque in hoc genere hac mea causa est, ut neque ea quæ non sentio velim scribere*. The sense is supplied in the translation, in a way that seemed to coincide best with this mutilated sentence.

The method I mean is, by diligently cultivating those qualities which are the foundation of a just applause: of that applause, my friend, which I know is the constant object of your warmest ambition. I might add much more to this purpose: but I am sensible you stand not in need of any incitements. And indeed I have thrown out these general hints, far less with a view of inflaming *your* heart, than of testifying the ardency with which I give you *mine*. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO MEMMIUS.

I CLAIM the promise you gave me when we met last, and desire you to treat my very intimate and zealous friend Aulus Fusius in the manner you assured me you would. He is a man of letters as well as great politeness: and, indeed, in every view of his character, he is highly deserving your friendship. The civilities you shall shew him will be extremely agreeable to me: as they will, at the same time, for ever attach to your interest a person of a most obliging and friendly disposition. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

PUBLIC affairs are so circumstanced, that I dare not communicate my sentiments of them in a letter. This, however, I will venture in general to say, that I have reason to congratulate you on your removal from the scene in which we are engaged. But I must add, that in whatever part of the world you might be placed, you would still (as I told you in my last¹) be embarked in the same common bottom with your friends here. I have another reason likewise for rejoicing in your absence, as it has placed your merit in full view of so considerable a number of the most illustrious citizens, and allies of Rome: and indeed the reputation you have acquired is universally, and without the least exception, confirmed to us on all hands. But there is one circumstance attending you, upon which I know not whether I ought to send you my congratulations, or not; I mean with respect to those high and singular advantages

¹ The letter to which Cicero refers is not extant.

advantages which the commonwealth promises itself from your return amongst us. Not that I suspect your proving unequal to the opinion which the world entertains of your virtues; but as fearing that whatever is most worthy of your care will be irrecoverably lost ere your arrival to prevent it: such, alas, is the weak and well-nigh expiring condition of our unhappy republic! But prudence, perhaps, will scarce justify me in trusting even this to a letter: for the rest, therefore, I must refer you to others. In the mean while, whatever your fears or your hopes of public affairs may be; think, my friend, incessantly think on those virtues which that generous patriot must possess, who, in these evil times, and amidst such a general depravation of manners, gloriously purposes to vindicate the ancient dignity and liberties of his oppressed country. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

IF it were not for the compliments you sent me by Chrysippus, the freedman of Cyrus the architect, I should have imagined I no longer possessed a place in your thoughts. But surely you are become a most intolerable fine gentleman, that you could not bear the fatigue of writing to me; when you had the opportunity of doing so by a man, whom, you know, I look upon as one almost of my own family. Perhaps, however, you may have forgotten the use of your pen, and so much the better, let me tell you, for your clients; as they will lose no more causes by its blunders. But if it is myself only that has escaped your remembrance, I must endeavour to refresh it by a visit, before I am worn out of your mind beyond all power of recollection. After all, is it not the apprehensions of the next summer's campaign, that has rendered your hand too unsteady to perform its office? If so, you must e'en play over again the same gallant stratagem you practised last year in relation to your British expedition, and frame some heroic excuse for your absence.

R 4

How-

However, I was extremely glad to hear, by Chrysippus, that you are much in Cæsar's good graces. But it would be more like a man of equity, methinks, as well as more agreeable to my inclinations, if you were to give me frequent notice of what concerns you, by your own hand: a satisfaction I should undoubtedly enjoy, if you had chosen to study the laws of good fellowship, rather than those of contention. You see I rally you as usual, in your own way, not to say a little in mine. But to end seriously; be assured, as I greatly love you, I am no less confident than desirous of your affection in return. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO PUBLIUS SEXTIUS^a.

I HOPE you will not imagine by my long silence that I have been unmindful of our friendship, or that I had any intention of dropping my usual correspondence with you. The sincere

^a The commentators are greatly divided as to the time when this letter was written, and the person to whom it is addressed. To examine the several reasons upon which they support their respective opinions, would be leading the English reader into a field of criticism, which could afford him neither amusement nor instruction. The subject, indeed, of this letter, which is merely consolatory, to a friend in exile, is not of consequence enough to merit any pains in ascertaining (if it were possible to ascertain) its

its

gere truth is, I was prevented from writing during the former part of our separation, by those calamities in which the general confusion of the times had involved me: as I afterwards delayed it, from an unwillingness to break in upon you; whilst your own severe and unmerited injuries were yet fresh upon your mind. But when I reflect that a sufficient time has elapsed, to wear off the first impressions of your misfortunes; and consider, likewise, the virtues and magnanimity of your heart; I think I may now write to you consistently with my general caution of avoiding an unseasonable officiousness.

You are sensible, my dear Sextius, that I warmly stood forth your advocate, when a prosecution was formerly commenced against you in your absence; as afterwards, when you was involved in that accusation which was brought against your friend, I exerted every means in my power for your defence. Thus, likewise, upon my return into Italy^b, tho' I found your affairs had been managed in a very different manner than

its precise date: and it is sufficient to observe, that it contains nothing but what perfectly coincides with the circumstances both of Cicero's affairs and those of the republic in the present year. As to the person to whom this letter is written; it is impossible to determine any thing concerning him: for the MSS. and printed copies are by no means agreed as to his name; some calling him *Titius*, others *Sitius*, and others *Sextius*.

^b Probably, when he returned from exile: in the year 696.

than I should have advised; yet, I omitted no opportunity of rendering you my utmost services. And, upon this occasion, when the clamour that was raised against you, on account of the corn^c, by those that were the enemies, not only of yourself, but of all who endeavoured to assist you: when the general corruption of the judges, and, in short, when many other public iniquities had prevailed to your condemnation against all truth and justice, I was not wanting in my best good offices of every kind towards your son. Having, therefore, thus faithfully performed every other sacred duty of friendship, I would not omit this likewise of entreating and exhorting you to bear your afflictions as becomes a man of your distinguished spirit and fortitude. In other words, let me conjure you to support with resolution, those common vicissitudes of Fortune, which no prudence can prevent, and for which no mortal is answerable; remembering, that, in all popular governments, as well as in our own, it has been the fate of many of the best and greatest men to fall a sacrifice to the injustice of their country. I will add, (and

I wish

^c It was the business of the *Ædiles*, amongst other parts of their duty, to superintend the markets and public magazines of corn. It seems probable, therefore, from this passage, that *Sextius* was banished for some real, or pretended misconduct in the administration of that office.

I wish I could, with truth, be contradicted) that the injurious sentence you lament, has only banished you from a commonwealth in which no rational mind can receive the least satisfaction.

If I were to say nothing of your son, it would look as if I were inattentive to that general applause which his virtues so justly receive: on the other hand, were I to tell you all that I hear and think of him, I am afraid I should only renew your grief for being thus separated from his company. However, you should wisely consider his uncommon virtues as a possession which inseparably attends you, in whatever part of the world you may be placed. For surely the objects of the mind are not less intimately present with us, than those of the eye. The reflection, therefore, on his singular merit and filial piety, the fidelity of myself and the rest of those friends whom you have found, and will ever find, to be the followers, not of your fortune, but of your virtue; and, above all, the consciousness of not having deserved your sufferings, are circumstances which ought to administer the highest consolation to you. And they will more effectually do so, if you consider, that it is guilt, and not misfortune; one's own crimes, and not the injustice of others, which

ought

ought to disturb the serenity of a well-regulated mind. In the mean time, be assured, that, in compliance with the dictates of that friendship I have long entertained for you, and of that esteem which I bear for your son, I shall neglect no opportunity, both of alleviating your afflictions, and of contributing all I can to support you under them. In a word, if, upon any occasion, you should think it necessary to write to me, you shall find that your application was not made in vain. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 700.]

To CURIO.

I DISPATCH Sextus Villius, a domestic of my friend Milo, to meet you with this letter, notwithstanding we have received no account of your being yet advanced near Italy. However, we are assured that you are set forward from Asia^{*}: and as it is generally believed, it will not be long ere you arrive in Rome, I persuade myself that the importance of the affair which occasions you this application, will justify my desire of making it as early as possible.

* See p. 218. rem. 1. towards the end.

If I estimated my services towards you by the same enlarged standard that you gratefully measure them yourself, I should be extremely reserved in requesting any considerable favour at your hands. It is painful, indeed, to a man of a modest and generous mind, to solicit great obligations from those whom he has greatly obliged; lest he should seem to claim the price of his good offices, and ask a matter of right rather than of grace. But I can have no scruples of this sort with respect to you; as the services you have conferred upon me, and particularly in my late troubles, are not only of the highest, but most conspicuous nature. An ingenuous disposition, where it already owes much, is willing to owe more: and it is upon this principle, that I make no difficulty of requesting your assistance in an article of the last importance to me. I have no reason, indeed, to fear, that I should sink under the weight of your favours, even if they were to rise beyond all number: as I trust there is none so considerable that I should not only receive with gratitude, but return with advantage.

I am exerting the utmost efforts of my care, my industry, and my talents, in order to secure the election of Milo to the consulate; and I think myself bound, upon this occasion, to give
a proof

a proof to the world, of the more than common affection with which I enter into his interest. I am persuaded, no man ever was so anxious for the preservation of his own person and fortunes, as I am, that Milo may obtain this honour: an event upon which the security of my own dignities, I am sensible, depends. Now, the assistance which it is in your power to give my friend, is so very considerable, that it is all we want to be assured of victory: for thus our forces stand. In the first place, Milo's conduct towards me in his tribunate⁶, has gained him (as I hope you perfectly well know) the affections of all our patriots: as the liberality of his temper and the magnificence of his shews have secured to him the favour of the populace⁷. In the next place, all the young part of the republic, together with those who have the most influence in elections, are wholly in his interest, as having received, or expecting to receive, the benefit of his own popularity and active offices

⁶ Milo was tribune in the year of Rome 696: at which time he conferred very singular obligations on Cicero, by most zealously exerting all his power and credit in promoting his recall from exile. *Orat. pro Milon.*

⁷ Milo had dissipated three very considerable estates in the extravagant shews which, upon different occasions, he had exhibited to the people; as he was likewise at this time proposing to entertain them in the same magnificent manner, at the expence of 250,000l. *Orat. pro Milon. 25. Ad Q. F. iii. 9.*

offices upon occasions of a like nature. I will add, likewise, that he has my suffrage: which, though it may not draw after it any considerable effects, is, however, universally approved as a tribute which is justly his due: and so far, perhaps, it may be considered as of some weight with the public. All, therefore, that we farther require, is a person to appear as the leader of these our rude forces, and to unite them together under one head: and had we the choice of the whole world, we could not fix upon a man so well qualified for this purpose as yourself. If you believe then, that I have any worth or gratitude; or can even infer it from these my earnest endeavours to serve Milo; in a word, if you esteem me deserving of your favours, I entreat you to co-operate with me in this affair, upon which my character (or to come still nearer to the truth) upon which almost my very preservation depends⁸. With regard to Milo

⁸ Cicero was particularly concerned to secure Milo's election, not only from a principle of gratitude, but of self-preservation. For Clodius, our author's implacable enemy, was now soliciting the office of praetor: and if Milo were rejected from the consulship, it would fall into the hands of Plautus Hypsaëus and Metellus Scipio, who were both under the influence of Clodius. By these means, the latter would once again have been armed with the principal authority of the commonwealth; and Cicero knew, by sad and recent experience, that he had every thing to fear from such

Milo himself, I will only assure you, that you never can oblige a man of a more solid turn of mind, of a more resolute spirit, or one who, if you should embrace his interest, will receive your good offices with a more affectionate gratitude. You will at the same time also confer so singular an honour upon myself, as to convince me, that you have no less regard for the support of my credit, than you formerly shewed for the safety of my person. I should enlarge much farther upon this subject, if I were not persuaded that you are perfectly sensible of the infinite obligations I have received from Milo; and that it is incumbent upon me to promote his election with my utmost zeal, and even at the hazard of my life⁹. I will only then, in one word, recommend this affair, and therein

such an enemy when he could add power to malice. His interest, therefore, conspired with his friendship in supporting the pretensions of Milo, who had, upon all occasions, opposed the designs of Clodius with great warmth and spirit: and who, in the present instance, would have proved a counter-balance, if Clodius should have attempted a second time to fall with his whole weight upon Cicero. *Vid. Orat. pro Milon. passim.*

⁹ In this declining state of the republic, the elections were carried on, not only by the most shameful and avowed bribery, but by the several mobs of the respective candidates. These, it may well be imagined, were both disposed and prepared to commit every outrage, that the cause of their leaders should require. Accordingly, the party of Milo, and that of his competitors, had such frequent and bloody engagements with each other, as to raise a general apprehension of a civil war. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

therein the most important of my concerns, to your favour and protection: and be assured, I shall esteem your compliance with my request as an obligation superior, I had almost said, even to that for which I am so greatly indebted to Milo. The truth of it is, it would give me more pleasure to make him an effectual return for the very considerable part he bore in my restoration, than I received even from the benefit of his good offices themselves. And this, I am confident, your single concurrence will fully enable me to perform¹. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ Soon after this letter was written, an unfortunate adventure disconcerted all Cicero's measures in behalf of his friend, and obliged him, instead of soliciting any longer for Milo as a candidate, to defend him as a criminal. It happened that Milo and Clodius having met, as they were travelling the Appian road, a rencounter ensued, in which the latter was killed. Milo was arraigned for this murder: and being convicted, was sentenced to banishment. Cicero, in his defence, laboured to prove, by a variety of circumstances, that this meeting could not have been premeditated on the part of his client: and, indeed, it seems probable that it was not.

ut however casual that particular incident might have been, Milo, it is certain, had long before determined to assassinate Clodius: and it appears too, that Cicero himself was apprised of the design. This is evident from a letter to Atticus, written about four years antecedent to the fact of which I am speaking. *Reum Publium, says Cicero, (nisi ante occisus erit) fore a Milone Puto. Si se inter viam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere; præ se fert.* Dio, xl. p. 143, 146. *Orat. pro Milon. ad Att. iv. 3.*

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TITUS FADIUS².

I KNOW not any event which has lately happened, that more sensibly affects me than your disgrace. Far, therefore, from being capable of giving you the consolation I wish, I greatly stand in need of the same good office myself. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear, not only to exhort, but to conjure you likewise by our friendship, to collect your whole strength of reason, in order to support your afflictions with a firm and manly fortitude. Remember, my friend, that calamities are incident to all mankind, but particularly to us who live in these miserable and distracted times. Let it be your consolation, however, to reflect, that you have lost far less by fortune, than you have acquired by merit: as there are few under the circumstances of your birth, who ever raised themselves to the same dignities; though there are numbers of
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² It is altogether uncertain to whom this letter is addressed; as there is great variety in the several readings of its inscription. If the title adopted in the translation be the true one, (and it is that which has the greatest number of commentators on its side,) the person to whom it is written was quæstor to Cicero in his consulate; and afterwards one of those tribunes who, in the year of Rome 696, promoted the law by which he was restored to his country. *Vid. Ad Att. iii. 23.*

the highest quality who have sunk into the same disgrace. To say truth; so wretched is the fate which threatens our laws, our liberties, and our constitution in general, that well may he esteem himself happily dealt with, who is dismissed from such a distempered government upon the least injurious terms. As to your own case, in particular, when you reflect that you are still undeprived of your estate: that you are happy in the affections of your children, your family, and your friends; and that, in all probability, you are only separated from them for a short interval: when you reflect, that among the great number of impeachments which have lately been carried on³, yours is the only one that was considered as entirely groundless; that you were condemned by a majority only of one single vote; and that, too, universally supposed to have been given in compliance with some powerful influence.— These, undoubtedly, are considerations which
ought

³ The circumstance here mentioned renders it probable that the letter before us was written in the present year: For Pompey being at this time appointed sole consul, made several salutary regulations with respect to the method of trials, and encouraged prosecutions against those who had been guilty of illegal practices in order to secure their elections. Accordingly, many persons of the first rank in Rome were arraigned and convicted: and Fadius seems to have been one of that number. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. et Caton.*

ought greatly to alleviate the weight of your misfortune. I will only add, that you may always depend upon finding in me that disposition both towards yourself and your family, as is agreeable to your wishes, as well as to what you have a right to expect. Farewel.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TITUS TITIUS.

IT is by no means as suspecting that my former recommendation was not sufficient, that I give you this second trouble, but merely in compliance with the request of my friend Avianus Flaccus: to whom I neither can, nor indeed ought to refuse any thing. The truth is, notwithstanding your very obliging answer when I mentioned his affair to you in person, and that I have already written to you in strong terms upon the same subject; yet he imagines I cannot too often apply to you in his behalf. I hope, therefore, you will excuse me, if in thus yielding to his inclinations, I should seem to forget

* The person to whom this letter is inscribed, is wholly unknown: and the occasion upon which it was written is not of importance enough to deserve any animadversions.

forget that you are incapable of receding from your word; and again entreat you to allow him a convenient port and sufficient time for the exportation of his corn. Both these favours I obtained for him when Pompey had the commission in which you are now employed: and the term he granted him was three years. To say all in one word, you will very sensibly oblige me by convincing Avianus, that I enjoy the same share in your affection, which he justly imagines he possesses of mine. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I ACQUAINTED you with the affair of Silius. He has since been with me: when I informed him that it was your opinion we might safely enter into the usual recognizance. But he has consulted, he tells me, with Servius, who assures him, that where a testator has no power to make a will, it must be considered, to all intents and purposes, as if it had never subsisted: and Offilius, it seems, agrees in this opinion. He told me, at the same time, that he had not applied to you upon this subject: but desired I would recommend both himself

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and his cause to your protection. I do not know a worthier man than Silius, nor any one, excepting yourself, who is more my friend. You will extremely oblige me, therefore, my dear Trebatius, by calling upon him in order to give him the promise of your assistance: and I earnestly entreat you, if you have any regard for me, to pay this visit as soon as possible. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS.

I SHALL punctually execute your commission: But is it not a most wonderful specimen of your sagacity, thus to employ a man in making a purchase for you, whose interest it is to advance the price as high as possible? Above all, I most admire the wisdom of your restriction, in confining me to a particular sum. For had you trusted me with an unlimited order, I should have thought myself obliged, in point of friendship, to have settled this affair with my coheirs upon the most advantageous terms in your behalf: whereas, now I know your price, you may depend upon it, I shall rather set up a fictitious bidder, than suffer the

estate to be sold for less than the money you mention. But jesting apart; be assured I shall discharge the commission you have assigned me, with all the care I ought.

I know you are well pleased with my victory over Bursa^s; but why then did you not more warmly congratulate me upon the occasion? You were mistaken in imagining the character of the man to be much too despicable to render this event a matter of any great exultation. On the contrary, the defeat of Bursa has afforded me a more pleasing triumph, even than the fall of Clodius. Much rather, indeed, would I see my adversaries vanquished by

^s Minutius Plancus Bursa was tribune the year before this letter was written, and had distinguished himself by inflaming those disturbances in Rome, which were occasioned by the assassination of Clodius. The body of Clodius being produced before the people in the Forum, Bursa, together with one of his colleagues, infused such a spirit of riot into the populace, that, snatching up the corpse, they instantly conveyed it to the *curia hostilia*; (a place in which the senate sometimes assembled,) where they paid it the funeral honours. This they executed in the most insolent and tumultuous manner, by erecting a funeral pile with the benches, and setting fire to the senate-house itself. Bursa, not satisfied with these licentious outrages, endeavoured likewise to instigate the mob to fall upon Cicero, the avowed friend and advocate of Milo, by whom Clodius had been killed. Cicero, therefore, as soon as Bursa was out of his office (for no magistrate could be impeached during his ministry) exhibited an information against him, for this violation of the public peace: and Bursa being found guilty, was sentenced to suffer banishment. *Dio*, xl. p. 143, 146. *Ascon. argument*, in *Orat. pro Milon.*

by the hand of justice, than of violence: as I would choose it should be in a way that does honour to the friends of my cause, without exposing them, at the same time, to any uneasy consequences. But the principal satisfaction I derive from this affair, is in that honest and undaunted zeal with which I was supported against all the incredible efforts of a very great man⁶, who most warmly exerted his power in favour of my antagonist. I will mention another circumstance, likewise, that recommends this victory to me, and which, though perhaps you will scarcely think it a probable one, is, nevertheless, most assuredly the case: I have conceived a much stronger aversion to this man, than I ever entertained even against Clodius himself. To speak truth, I had openly declared war against the latter: whereas I have been the advocate and protector of the former. Besides, there was something enlarged, at least, in the views of Clodius, as he aimed, by my destruction, at overturning the whole commonwealth: and even in this he acted less from the motions of his own breast, than by the instigations of a party, who were sensible they could never be secure, whilst I had any remaining credit. But the contemptible Bursa, on the contrary,

⁶ Pompey, *Vid. Dio*, p. 146.

contrary, singled me out for the object of his malice, in mere gaiety of heart: and without the least provocation, offered himself to some of my enemies as one who was entirely at their service upon any occasion wherein they could employ him to my prejudice. Upon these considerations, my friend, I expect that you warmly congratulate my success, as, indeed, I esteem it an event of very considerable importance. Never, in truth, did Rome produce a set of more inflexible patriots, than the judges who presided at this trial: for they had the honest courage to pass sentence against him, in opposition to all the power and influence of the very person by whom they were appointed⁷ to this honourable office. And, undoubtedly, they would not have acted with such uncommon spirit, had they not considered the insults I suffered from this man, as so many indignities offered to themselves.

I have, at present, a great deal of troublesome business upon my hands: as several considerable impeachments are going forward, and many new laws are in agitation. It is my daily wish,

⁷ Pompey, in his late consulship, made some alterations with respect to the method of choosing the judges, and elected a certain number out of the three orders of the state, for the cognizance of civil and criminal causes. *Menut. de leg.* p. 122. *Vcl. Paterc.* ii. 76.

wish, therefore, that no intercalation^s may protract these affairs beyond the usual period, and prevent the pleasure I propose to myself, of paying you a visit very soon. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

YOU laughed at me yesterday, when I asserted, over our wine, that it was a question among the lawyers, whether an action of theft could be brought by an heir, for goods stolen before he came into possession. Though it was late when I returned home, and I had drunk pretty freely, I turned to the place where this question is discussed, and have sent you an extract

^s The Roman months being lunar, a proper number of supplemental days were added every two years in order to adjust their reckoning to the course of the sun. This was called an *intercalation*; and was performed by the pontifical college at their own discretion. Accordingly they often exercised this important trust as interest or ambition dictated: and by their arbitrary intercalations, either advanced or retarded the stated times for transacting civil or religious affairs, as best suited the private purposes of themselves or their friends. By these means, these unworthy observers of the heavenly motions, had introduced so great a confusion into their calendar, that, when Cæsar undertook its reformation, all the seasons were misplaced; and the appointed festivals for harvest and vintage, were no longer found in the summer and autumn quarters. *Suet. in Jul. 40. Macrob. Saturn. 1.*

tract of the passage: in order to convince you, that a point which you imagined had never been maintained by any man, was actually holden by Sextus Ælius, Marcus Manlius, and Marcus Brutus^a. But, notwithstanding these great names, I agree in opinion with Scævola and Trebatius^b. Farewel.

LETTER

^a These were all of them lawyers of great note in their respective generations, and whose writings in the science they professed were in much esteem. The two former flourished about the year of Rome 545, and 600: the latter about the year 630. *Pompon. de orig. Juris.*

^b Scævola was one of the names of Trebatius, as appears by a letter to Atticus wherein he is so called. There was likewise a Quintus Mucius Scævola, a lawyer of very considerable eminence, who lived about fifty years before the present date, and who compiled a body of laws in eighteen volumes. Manutius imagines, therefore, that in allusion to this person, Cicero jocularly separates the names *Scævola* and *Trebatius* by an intervening copulative, as if he were speaking of two different men, though he only means his friend to whom he is writing.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I FIND myself obliged, contrary, indeed, to my expectation, as well as my wishes, to accept the government of your province². Amidst the numberless uneasy thoughts and occupations which this circumstance occasions me, it is my single consolation, that I could not have succeeded any man in this employment who would be more disposed than yourself, to deliver

² The great commotions that had been raised the last year in Rome, on account of the elections, have already been mentioned in the notes above. In order, therefore, to remedy these evils for the future, by abating the intemperate ardour with which the magistracies were pursued; it was thought expedient to deprive the prætorship and consulate of one of their principal and most tempting advantages. This consisted in the government of provinces: to which those magistrates of course succeeded at the expiration of their respective administrations. For these governments not only secured them from any impeachments during the time they continued in them, but were likewise inexhaustible sources of wealth to those who were not scrupulous in the means of obtaining it. Accordingly a law passed, by which it was enacted, that no future prætor or consul should be capable of a provincial charge, till five years after the expiration of his office: and, in the mean time, that the provinces should be supplied from among those of prætorian and consular rank, who had laid down their offices without succeeding to any government. Cicero was of this number: and it is probable, there were so few of them, that he was not at liberty to refuse, what it is very certain he had no inclination to accept. *Dio*, xl. p. 142.

liver it up to me as little embarrassed as possible. I hope you entertain the same opinion of my disposition with regard to you: and be assured I shall never disappoint you in this expectation. I most earnestly then entreat you, by all the ties of our friendship in particular, as well as by that uncommon generosity which distinguishes your actions in general, to render me, upon this occasion, every good office in your power: as undoubtedly there are many.

You will observe, from the decree of the senate, that I was under a necessity of accepting the government of some province: and I must repeat it once more, the ease with which I shall pass through the functions of my ministry, depends upon your smoothing, as far as in you lies, the difficulties at my first entrance. You are the best judge in what particular instances you can contribute to this end: I will only, in general, beseech you to do so in every article wherein you imagine your services may avail me. I might enlarge on this subject, if either your own generous temper, or our mutual friendship, would suffer me to dwell upon it any longer: and I may add too, if the nature of my request did not sufficiently speak for itself. I will only, therefore, assure you, that if I should not make this application in vain, you may

may depend upon receiving a strong and lasting satisfaction from the faithful returns of my gratitude. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 700.]

To the same.

I ARRIVED on the 22d of May at Brutidisium, where I found your lieutenant¹ Quintus Fabius: who, agreeably to your orders, informed me, that it is highly expedient Cilicia should be strengthened with an additional number of forces. This was conformable, not only to my own sentiments, who am more immediately concerned in the security of that province, but to the opinion likewise of the senate: who thought it reasonable, that both Bibulus² and myself should reinforce our respective legions with recruits from Italy. But it was strongly opposed

¹ Every proconsul, or governor of a province, was accompanied with a certain number of lieutenants, in proportion to his rank and quality. These officers served him as a kind of first ministers in civil affairs: and they commanded in chief under him when he took the field.

² Some account has already been given of Bibulus in the notes on the preceding book. See rem. 10. p. 163. He was appointed governor of Syria, a province bordering on that of Cilicia; to which Cicero was on his way when he wrote the present letter, and all the subsequent ones in this book.

opposed by Sulpicius³ the consul: though not without very warm remonstrances on our parts. However, as it seemed to be the general inclination of the senate that we should hasten our departure, we were obliged to submit: and we set forward accordingly.

Let me now repeat the request I made in my last from Rome, and again entreat you to favour me in all those instances wherein one friend can oblige another who succeeds to his government. In short, let it be *your* care to convince the world that I could not have followed a more affectionate predecessor: as it shall be *mine* to give conspicuous proofs, that you could not have resigned your province to one more sincerely devoted to your interest.

I understood by the copy which you communicated to me of those dispatches you sent to the senate, that you had actually disbanded a considerable part of your army. But Fabius assures me, this was a point which you only had in your intention; and that when he left you, the whole number of your legions was complete. If this be the case, you will greatly oblige me by keeping the few forces under your command

³ Servius Sulpicius Rufus was consul this year, together with Marcus Claudius Marcellus. For a more particular account of the former, see rem. 1. p. 119. vol. ii. and of the latter, rem. 3. let. 35. of this book.

command entire: as I suppose the decree of the senate which passed in relation to this article, has already been transmitted to you. To comprise all in one word, I pay so great a deference to your judgment, that whatever measures you may think proper to pursue, I shall, undoubtedly, believe them reasonable: though I am persuaded, at the same time, you will pursue such only as shall appear to be for my benefit.

I am waiting at Brundisium for my lieutenant Caius Pontinius, whom I expect here on the first of June: and I shall take the earliest opportunity, after his arrival, of proceeding on my voyage. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 702.]

CÆLIUS⁴ to CICERO.

AGREEABLY to my promise when we parted, I have sent you a full account of every event that has happened since you left Rome. For this purpose, I employed a person to collect the news of the town: and am only

afraid

⁴ Manutius has, with great industry, drawn together the several scattered passages in the ancient historians, relating to Cælius: and it is but a piece of justice due to that learned critic to acknowledge, that the following account is extracted from those materials, which his labours spared me the trouble of collecting.

afraid you will think he has executed his office much too punctually. I am sensible, at the same time, that you are a man of infinite curiosity; and that travellers take pleasure in being informed of every little circumstance transacted at home. But I hope you will not impute it to any want of respect, that I assigned over this employment to another hand. On the contrary, as much engaged as I really am, and as little fond of writing as you know me to be, I should with great pleasure execute my commission, which gave me occasion to think of you.

Marcus Cælius was tribune of the people, the year before this letter was written. He distinguished himself in that office by zealously and boldly supporting the claims of the senate and the interests of the aristocratical party, against the attacks of the opposite faction. When the civil war broke out between Pompey and Cæsar, he affected at first to stand neuter: he afterwards, however, thought proper to join with the latter. But Cæsar not gratifying his ambition in the manner he expected, he changed sides, and raised great disturbances in Rome in favour of Pompey.

Cælius applied himself early to the art of oratory: and, for that purpose, was introduced by his father to the acquaintance of Cicero, under whose direction he formed his eloquence. His parts and genius soon distinguished him in the forum: but, though his speeches were conceived with peculiar spirit and vivacity, his language was thought forced, and the harmony of his periods too much neglected. His morals were suitable to the degenerate age in which he lived; luxurious and dissolute: as his temper was remarkably inflammable, and apt to kindle into the most implacable resentments. *Cic. orat. pro Cælio. Cæs. Bel. Civ. iii. Vel. Patere. ii. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. Senec. de Ira. iii. See rem. 6. p. 145. and rem. 12. p. 147. of vol. ii.*

you. I trust, however, when you cast your eye upon this volume of news, you will very readily admit my excuse; as I know not, indeed, who else, except the compiler, could find leisure, I will not say to transcribe, but even to peruse such a strange medley. It contains a collection of decrees of the senate and rumours of the people; of private tales and public edicts. Should it happen, nevertheless, to afford you no sort of entertainment, give me due notice, that I may not put myself to this *prodigious* expence only to be impertinent. If any events of more importance should arise, and which are above the force of these hackney news-writers, I will take the relation upon myself, and give you a full account of the sentiments and speculations of the world concerning it: but, at present, there is little of this kind stirring.

As to the report which was so current when we were at Cumæ⁵, of enfranchising the colonies on the other side the Po⁶; it does not seem to

⁵ A city in Campania, situated upon the sea coast: near which Cicero had a villa.

⁶ Cisalpine Gaul was divided into two parts by the river Po; and, accordingly, as the inhabitants were situated with respect to Italy, either on one side or the other of that river, they were called *Cispadani*, or *Transpadani*. Caesar had a scheme of putting the latter on the same foot with the municipal towns of Italy; the chief magistrates whereof had a right of suffrage in the assemblies of the Roman people, and were capable of being elected to the offices of the republic.

This

to have travelled beyond that city: at least, I have heard no mention of this affair since my return to Rome. Marcellus not having yet moved that Cæsar may be recalled from his government in Gaul, and intending to defer it, as he told me himself, to the first of June, it has occasioned the revival of those suspicions to his disadvantage, which so strongly prevailed when you were here⁷.

If you had an interview⁸ with Pompey (as I remember it was your intention) let me know the conversation that passed between you, and what you could discover of his designs: for though he seldom speaks his real sentiments, he has not artifice enough to conceal them⁹. As to

This seems to be the circumstance to which Cælius here alludes: as Cicero obscurely hints at it likewise in one of his letters to Atticus. See *Ad Att.* v. 2. and the remark of Mongault upon that passage.

⁷ Marcellus, the present consul, distinguished himself throughout his whole administration by a warm opposition to Cæsar: as he afterwards actually made the motion, of which Cælius here speaks. He was not, however, so fortunate as to succeed in it; being opposed by his colleague Sulpicius in conjunction with some of the tribunes. *Dio.* xli. p. 148. See his character in remark 3. on the 35th letter of this book, p. 320.

⁸ Pompey was at this time at Tarentum, a maritime city of Calabria: where Cicero spent a few days with him in his way to Cilicia, while he waited the arrival of his lieutenant Pontinius. *Ad Att.* v. 6.

⁹ Cicero in his letters to Atticus often mentions the difficulty of penetrating into Pompey's real designs: but if Cælius may be credited, he was, it seems, one of those over-

to Cæsar, we have frequent, and no very favourable reports concerning him: however, they are at present, nothing more than rumours. Some say he has lost all his cavalry; and I believe this is the truth of the case: others, that the seventh legion has been entirely defeated, and that he himself is surrounded by the Bellovacî¹, that he cannot possibly receive any succours from the main body of his army. But this news is not publicly known: on the contrary, it is only the whisper of a party which I need not name, and who mention it with great caution; particularly Domitius², who tells it in your ear with a most important air of secrecy.

A strong report prevailed here, that you were assassinated upon the road on the 24th of May, by Quintus Pompeius³. I heartily cursed the idle authors of this alarm: however, it did not give me any great disturbance, as I knew Pompeius

refined dissemblers, who, as our British Horace observes, are,

—So very close they're hid from none. POPE.

¹ A most martial and powerful people in Belgic Gaul, against whom Cæsar was at this time making war.

² Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, one of Cæsar's avowed enemies. A particular account will be given of him in the remarks on the letter addressed to him in this collection.

³ Quintus Pompeius Rufus was tribune the last year, and a principal author of those disturbances which ensued upon the death of Clodius. See remark 5. p. 263. of this vol.

At

peius to be then at Baulis⁴, where the poor man is reduced to exercise the miserable office of a pilot, to keep himself from starving. May you ever be as secure from all other dangers, as you were from this!

Your friend⁵ Plancus is at Ravenna; and, notwithstanding the very considerable benefaction he has lately received from Cæsar⁶, the man is still in distress.

Your political treatise⁷ is universally read and much admired. Farewell.

LETTER

At the expiration of his office, therefore, being convicted of these misdemeanors, he was banished from Rome. *Dio. xl. p. 146.*

⁴ A city in Campania.

⁵ Munatius Plancus Bursa: of whom an account has been given in remark 5. p. 263. of this vol. Cælius speaks ironically, when he calls him Cicero's friend.

⁶ See remark^b, p. 166. of this vol.

⁷ "It was drawn up in the form of a dialogue, in which the greatest persons of the republic were introduced. From the fragments of this work which still remain, it appears to have been a noble performance, and one of his capital pieces; where all the important questions in politics and morality were discussed with the greatest elegance and accuracy." *Mid. Life of Cic. vol. ii. p. 94. 8vo. edit.*

T 3

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I RECEIVED your letter at this place⁹ on the 4th of June, by which I am informed that you have charged Lucius Clodius with a message to me. I am therefore waiting for his arrival, that I may hear, as early as possible, whatever he has to say on your part. In the mean time, notwithstanding I have already, by many instances convinced you, I hope, of my friendship: yet, let me assure you, that I shall particularly endeavour to shew it upon every occasion, by the most tender regard for your character. I have the satisfaction in return to be informed, not only by Fabius and Flaccus, but particularly by Octavius, of the share you allow me in your esteem. I had before, indeed, many reasons for believing I enjoyed that privilege; but, chiefly by that very agreeable present of your treatise upon augury, which

⁹ Brundisium. This letter was written but a few days after the last addressed to Appius, which is likewise dated from this place: where Cicero continued about a fortnight. He was prevented from embarking sooner, not only as he waited the arrival of his lieutenant Pontinius, but also by a slight indisposition. *Ad Att.* v. 8.

which you have so affectionately addressed to me'. No testimony shall be wanting on my part, likewise, of the singular friendship I bear you. The truth is, you have continually risen in my affection ever since you first distinguished me with yours: but you are now still more endeared to me from that regard I entertain for those illustrious persons with whom you have formed a family alliance². For Pompey and Brutus, though so distant from each other in point of age, have both of them the same high rank in my esteem. I must add, that the connexion between us as fellow-members of the same sacred college³, especially after the honourable applause I have lately received from you,

¹ This treatise was drawn up in vindication of the augural science, or the art of foretelling events, from certain signs which providence was supposed to have intended as intimations of futurity. This science was generally exploded by the wiser part of their philosophers, as having no foundation in reason or experience: but Appius was so weakly credulous, it seems, as seriously to believe and maintain the contrary. See *Life of Cic.* v. iii. p. 348. 8vo. *Edit.*

² See the latter end of remark 3. on letter 3. of this book, p. 225.

³ The college of Augurs, of which Cicero and Appius were members, consisted at this time of fifteen *Fellows*, (if that term may be allowed) who were all of them persons of the first distinctions in Rome. Their office was to determine whether the omens, which were always consulted previously to the transacting of any public business, were favourable for that purpose, or observed in a proper manner. This gave them a very considerable authority in the commonwealth;

you⁴, is a very powerful cement of our mutual friendship.

If I should have an interview with Clodius, whom I shall endeavour to see as soon as possible, I shall have occasion to write to you more fully. I will at this time, therefore, only farther assure you, that I read with great pleasure, that part of your letter where you tell me, your single reason for continuing in the province, is in order to give me a meeting. Farewel.

LETTER

as it was in their power to obstruct the most important affairs of the state, by declaring that they were unwarranted by the auspices. Cicero, about two years before the date of the present letter, was elected into this college, in the place of young Crassus: who perished (as has already been observed) in the unfortunate expedition which is father undertook against the Parthians.

⁴ This alludes to the treatise mentioned above, which Appian inscribed to Cicero.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MEMMIUS⁵.

I AM doubtful whether I have more reason to regret or rejoice, that I did not find you, as I expected,

⁵ The family of Caius Memmius was esteemed one of the most ancient in all Rome; being descended, it was said, from Mnestheus, a companion of Æneas in his expedition into Italy. Memmius, having passed through the offices of tribune and prætor, offered himself as a candidate for the consulship, in the year of Rome 699: and the iniquitous engagement into which he entered, in order to secure his election, affords a very remarkable specimen, not only of his own character, but of the unparalleled degeneracy of the age in which he lived. The consuls of that year were Domitius Ænobarbus, and Appius Pulcher, the person to whom the preceding letter, and several others in this book, are addressed. It was stipulated between these worthy magistrates, and the two associates who were joint-candidates to succeed them, that they should mutually assist each other in their respective views. On the part of the consuls it was agreed, that they should promote the election of Memmius and his friend Calvinus, with all their credit and power. These, in return, entered into a bond in the penalty of somewhat more than 3000l. by which they obliged themselves to procure three Augurs, who should attest, that they were present in the Comitia when a law passed to invest these consuls with the military command in their provinces. The contract farther added, that they would also produce three persons of consular rank, who should likewise depose, that they were not only present in the senate, but actually in the number of those who signed a decree, by which the usual proconsular appointments were granted to Appius and Ænobarbus. The truth, however, was, that so far from any law or decree of this nature ever having passed, it had not even been proposed either to the people or the senate. En.

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!

Extraordinary

expected in Athens⁶. On the one hand, if that meeting would have renewed my concern for the

Extraordinary as this infamous association was, it is still more surprising that Memmius should have had the front publicly to avow it, by becoming himself the informer of the whole transaction. Yet so the fact is: and, in compliance with the persuasions of Pompey, he laid open the whole of this shameful agreement to the senate. It is difficult to imagine the motive that could induce Memmius to make a discovery, which must shew him to the world, in every view, so completely abandoned. But Pompey, it is highly probable, instigated him to this resolution, with the hope that the rendering public so unexampled a violation of all that ought to be held most sacred in society, would add strength to those flames which now raged in the commonwealth. For most of the historians agree, that Pompey secretly fomented the present tumults, in order to reduce the republic to the necessity of investing him with the supreme authority. What resolutions were taken in the senate, upon this occasion, do not clearly appear: for those passages in the letters to Atticus wherein their proceedings in relation to this affair seem to be hinted at, are extremely dark; and rendered still more obscure by the negligence of the transcribers, in blending epistles together of different and distant dates. It is certain, however, that Memmius lost his election: some time after which, being impeached, and sentenced to banishment, he retired to Athens; where he seems to have spent the remainder of his days. He was a man of greater parts than application, and would have proved an excellent orator, if he had trusted less to the strength of his natural genius: or rather, indeed, if he had not been too indolent to improve his faculties of this kind, by an habitual exercise. He was not too lazy, however, to employ them with the ladies: in which he was extremely successful: particularly with the wife of Marcus Lucullus, brother to the celebrated Lucius Lucullus, so well known to every reader of the Roman story. He seems, in truth, to have been one of that sort of men, who, in the language of Shakespear, is *formed to make woman false*; at least if a poet may be supposed no flatterer in the picture he draws of his patron. For Lucretius, who inscribed his poem to Memmius, represents Venus, in his invocation to that goddess,

the injustice⁷ which has been done you; I should have had the satisfaction, on the other, of being a witness of your supporting it with the most philosophical magnanimity. Upon the whole, however, I cannot but lament that I did

dess, as having bestowed upon this her favourite, every charm that could render him the most graceful and accomplished of the sons of men:

*Te sociam studeo scribundis versibus esse,
Quos ego de Rerum Natura pangere conor
Memmiadæ nostro: quam tu, Dea, tempore in omne
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.*

Thy aid, celestial Queen of beauty, bring,
While nature's laws in vent'rous verse I sing;
To Memmius sing: the man by Thee design'd,
With ev'ry grace and ev'ry art refin'd,
To shine the first and fairest of his kind.

Giffanii prolegom. in Lucret. de gent. Memmia. Ad Att. iv. 18. Suet. in Aug. 40. Virgil. Æn. i. 286. De clar. orat. 70. Ad Att. i. 18. Lucret. i. 25.

⁶ Cicero took Athens in his way to Cilicia: and Memmius left that city the day before his arrival. Manutius supposes that he withdrew on purpose to avoid our author, with whom, he imagines, Memmius was disgusted for not having given him his assistance at his trial. But this is merely conjecture: and has so much the less foundation, as there is not the least hint of this kind in the letter to Atticus, wherein Cicero acquaints him with the circumstance of his not meeting with Memmius. *Ad Att. v. 10.*

⁷ It is by no means certain upon what occasion Memmius was banished. The principal commentators, indeed, are of opinion, that it was in consequence of a prosecution that was commenced against him for those corrupt practices mentioned in the first remark on this letter. But it seems to appear from Cicero's epistles to his brother, either that Memmius and his associates were all acquitted of that impeachment, or that their several prosecutions were dropped. *Vid. ad Q. F. iii. 2. 3. 8.*

I did not see you: for the uneasiness I feel at your unmerited sufferings is too great to have admitted of much increase by that interview; and, in all other respects, it would have added very considerably to my pleasure. It is a pleasure, therefore, in which I shall, without scruple, indulge myself, the first convenient opportunity. In the mean time, so much of the purpose of my intended visit as may be explained, and, I should hope, settled too, in a letter I will now lay before you. The favour I am going to request, though of little consequence to you, is of much importance to me: however, ere I enter upon the subject, let me previously assure you, that I do not desire you to comply with my inclinations any farther than it shall be agreeable to your own. I must inform you then, in the first place, that I am most intimately united with Patro, the Epicurean; in every article, I mean, except his philosophy: for there, indeed, we are at a great distance. I received the first marks of his esteem, so long ago as when he distinguished himself at Rome by his singular attachment to you and your family: and in the cause which he lately gained in our courts, I was a principal advocate both for him and his associates. I must add, that he was recommended to me by my very worthy

3

friend^b Phædrus: a man whom, long before I became acquainted with Philo^c, and, indeed, from my childhood, I always highly valued. The first quality that recommended him to my esteem, was his philosophical abilities: as I afterwards had reason to admire him for his moral and social virtues. Before I left Rome, I received a letter from Patro requesting me, in the first place, to intercede with you to be reconciled to him; and in the next, that you would make him a grant of an old ruinous edifice which belongs, it seems, to the college of Epicurus^d. I forbore writing to you, however, upon this subject, as being unwilling to interrupt you in the design, which I then thought you entertained, of building upon that spot. But I now comply with his solicitation, as he has assured me, since my arrival in Athens, that it is the general opinion of your friends, that you have totally laid aside this scheme.

^b Phædrus, it is supposed, was the predecessor of Patro in the Epicurean college.

^c Cicero, in another part of his writings, mentions an Academic philosopher of this name, whose lectures he attended. If the same person be meant in both places, as indeed is highly probable, Mr. Ross is undoubtedly right in charging the learned Manutius with a mistake, in imagining Philo to have been an Epicurean, and predecessor to Phædrus.

^d Memmius had obtained a grant of this edifice from the Athenians, in order to build a house for his own use.

scheme. Should this prove to be the real case, and your particular interest should no longer interfere, let me prevail with you to grant his petition. And if you should have taken any little prejudice against my friend, by the ill offices of his countrymen, (whose capricious tempers I am well acquainted with) I entreat you to renounce your resentment, not only for my sake, but in compliance also with the suggestions of your own generous nature. Shall I freely own to you my real sentiments? To confess the truth then, there does not appear any just reason either for his being so earnest in pressing this affair of the edifice, or for your persisting in your refusal. This, at least, is most evident, that it is much more suitable to a man of his character, than of yours, to be obstinate in trifles. You are well apprised, I know, of the plea which Patro alledges, to justify his warmth upon this occasion. I need not mention, therefore, that he urges the honour and reverence which is due to the last injunctions of Epicurus³; the particular regard he

³ "Diogenes Laertius hath preserved, in his life of Epicurus, the will of that great philosopher. In the first article, the schools and gardens, and every thing belonging to them, are entailed upon his successors in that sect of philosophy, which should be called after his name." Mr. Ross.

he owes to the earnest request of Phædrus: together with that veneration which ought to be paid to a mansion impressed with the foot-steps of so many celebrated philosophers. One cannot, indeed, condemn his zeal in this instance, without deriding, at the same time, the whole system of his philosophy. But neither you nor I are such enemies to those of his sect, as not to be inclined to pardon an enthusiasm of this sort; especially as it is a prejudice (if it be a prejudice) that arises from the weakness, not the wickedness, of his heart. But I must not forget to mention another inducement, which engaged me to apply to you in his favour. I will introduce it by assuring you, that I look upon Atticus as my brother; and, indeed, there is no man who has a more considerable share of my heart, or from whose friendship I derive greater satisfaction⁴. It is in pursuance of his most earnest entreaty, as well as of Patro's, that I make the present application. And, though Atticus is by no means of a temper to be importunate, nor has any ambitious

⁴ The friendship which subsisted between Cicero and Atticus is so well known, even to the most common reader, that it would be impertinent to make it the subject of a note: as it would be foreign to the purpose of these remarks, to enter into the character of that celebrated Roman, who is only mentioned incidentally in this place, and bears no part in the correspondence contained in the present collection.

bitious purposes of his own to gratify; yet he has desired me, with all the ardour imaginable, to exert my utmost interest with you in this affair. Not that he is influenced by his particular attachment to this sect; for he has too much learning as well as judgment, to be a bigot to their unphilosophical tenets: but he is swayed entirely by his friendship for Patro, and the esteem he entertained for his predecessor in this college, the worthy Phædrus. He is persuaded that my influence with you is so great, that the slightest intimation from me would prevail with you to relinquish your right to this edifice, even though you had intended to make use of it for your own purposes. If he should hear, therefore, that notwithstanding you have no such design, I have, nevertheless, proved unsuccessful in my application; he will have a worse opinion of *my* friendship than of *yours*, and imagine I did not sufficiently enforce his request. I entreat you then to signify to your agents at Athens, your consent to the repeal of the decree of the Areopagites³, which has been made in relation to this structure. Nevertheless, I will end as I began, and again assure

³ The Areopagites were magistrates who presided in the supreme council and court of judicature at Athen, called the Areopagus.

assure you, that although nothing will be more acceptable to me, than your compliance in the present instance; yet I press it no farther than as it may co-incide with your own inclinations. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS⁴.

COULD you seriously then imagine, my friend, that I commissioned you to send me the idle news of the town; matches of gladiators, adjournments of causes, robberies, and the rest of those uninteresting occurrences which no one ventures to mention to me, even when I am in the midst of them at Rome? Far other are the accounts which I expect from your hand, as I know not any man whose judgment in politics I have more reason to value. I should esteem it a misemployment of your talents, even were you to transmit to me those more important transactions that daily arise in the republic, unless they should happen to relate immediately to myself. There are other less penetrating politicians, who will send me intelligence

⁴ This letter, as well as the preceding one, was written from Athens, and is an answer to the 25th of this book, p. 272.

intelligence of this sort, and I shall be abundantly supplied with it likewise by common fame. In short, it is not an account either of what has lately been transacted, or is in present agitation, that I require in your letters: I expect, as from one whose discernment is capable of looking far into futurity, your opinion of what is likely to happen. Thus, by seeing a plan, as it were, of the republic, I shall be enabled to judge what kind of structure will probably arise. Hitherto, however, I have no reason to charge you with having been negligent in communicating to me your prophetic conjectures. For the events which have lately happened in the commonwealth, were much beyond any man's penetration; I am sure, at least, they were beyond mine.

I passed several days with Pompey⁷ in conversation upon public affairs; but it is neither prudent, nor possible, to give you the particulars in a letter. In general, however, I will assure you, that he is animated with the most patriot sentiments⁸, and is prudently prepared,

as

⁷ See rem. 8. p. 275. of this vol.

⁸ Cicero so often changed his opinion, or, at least, his language, in regard to Pompey, that it is difficult to determine what his true sentiments of him were. It is probable, however, that he here speaks the dictates of his real thoughts, not only as he gives the same account to Atticus, but because Pompey received him with particular civility, a circumstance

as well as resolutely determined, to act as the interest of the republic shall require. I would advise you, therefore, wholly to attach yourself to him; and, believe me, he will rejoice to embrace you as his friend. He now, indeed, entertains the same opinion both with you and myself, of the good and ill intentions of the different parties in the republic.

I have spent these last ten days at Athens; from whence I am this moment setting out. During my continuance in this city, I have frequently enjoyed the company of our friend Gallus Caninius⁹.

I recommend all my affairs to your care and protection, but particularly (what, indeed, is my principal concern) that my residence in the province may not be prolonged¹. I will not pre-

scribe

cumstance which seems at all times to have had a very considerable influence upon Cicero's judgment, concerning the characters and designs of men. *Vid. Ad Att. v. 6, 7.*

⁹ It appears, by the fifth letter of the preceding book, that when Pompey was exhibiting his entertainments at the opening of his celebrated theatre; Cicero was engaged in the defence of one Gallus Caninius. Manutius conjectures, that this is the same person, who, in consequence of that impeachment, was now, he supposes, an exile at Athens.

¹ The succession to the several provinces was usually annual. As Cicero entered upon his government much against his inclinations, he was extremely uneasy, lest, by any accidental circumstances of the republic, he should be continued in it beyond the expiration of his year. The province was a scene by no means suitable to his temper or talents; and he was impatient to return to the forum, and the senate,

scribe the methods you should employ for that purpose, as you are the most competent judge by what means, and by whose intervention it may be best effected. Farewel.

July the 6th.

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS^a TO CICERO.

YES, my friend, Messalla^b is most certainly acquitted, and acquitted too, not only by a majority in the several orders^c, which compose the

senate, where he imagined he could shine with a much more advantageous lustre. His conduct, however, was in no part of his life so unquestionably laudable, as in his administration of Cilicia, as will appear, perhaps, from the remarks on the following book. *Ad Att.* v. 10. 15.

^a It seems probable, from one of the epistles to Atticus, that Cicero received this letter at Gyarus, a little island in the Ægean sea, at which he touched in his voyage to Cilicia. *Ad Att.* v. 12.

^b Marcus Valerius Messalla was consul in the year of Rome 700. The corrupt measures which he, as well as the rest of those who were joint-candidates with him, pursued, in order to secure their election, were so extravagantly profuse, as to occasion the interest of money to advance to double the usual rate. It was for those illegal practices, that he was this year brought upon his trial. *Ad Att.* iv. 13.

^c The bench of judges, by a late regulation of Pompey, was composed of senators, knights, and certain officers always chosen from among the Plebeians, called *Tribuni æarii*, who, in modern language, might, perhaps, be styled auditors of the treasury. These judges (somewhat in the nature of our juries) were divided into three classes, agreeably

the bench of judges, but by every individual member of each respective class. I give you this as a fact within my own knowledge, for I was present when their verdict was delivered. You must not imagine, however, that the world is convinced of his innocence; on the contrary, never was there an event more unexpected, or which raised so universal an indignation. For my own part, even with all my prejudices in his favour, I was under the utmost astonishment when I heard him pronounced not guilty; and, indeed, it was a circumstance I so little expected, that I was actually preparing to condole with him on the reverse. What must have been the surprise then of others, less biassed in his behalf! The whole assembly, in truth, warmly exclaimed against the judges, and very strongly intimated, that they looked upon them as guilty of the most insufferable corruption. My friend, in the mean time, is in much greater danger than he was before, as he will now most assuredly be indicted on the Licinian law^d. I must not forget ably to their respective orders, and gave their verdict by ballots.

^d The author of this law was M. Licinius Crassus, when he was consul with Pompey, an. urb. 698. It was called *de Sodalitiis*, by which seems to have been understood an unlawful making of parties at elections. See *Ken. R. Antiq.* p. 177.

forget to add, that the day after his trial, his advocate Hortensius⁶ appeared in Curio's theatre⁷, with a view, as I suppose, of receiving the general congratulations. But he no sooner entered, than lo !

*The hiss contemptuous, and indignant roar,
With thunder harsh the rending concave tore.*

This circumstance is so much the more observable, as Hortensius has passed on to a good old age, without ever having before been thus insulted. But it broke out upon him with so much violence in the present instance, that it might well suffice for a whole life ; as I am persuaded, indeed, it occasioned him heartily to repent of the victory he had obtained.

I have no political news to send you. Marcellus has dropped the design⁸, upon which he was lately so intent ; but not so much from indolence, I believe, as prudence. It is wholly uncertain

⁶ Hortensius was uncle to Messalla, and the only orator of this age whose eloquence stood in any degree of competition with Cicero's. See vol. ii. p. 45. rem. 5.

⁷ This theatre was erected by Curio on occasion of those games which he exhibited in honour of his father's memory. See rem. 6. p. 236. of this vol.

⁸ Cælius in this instance was not so happy in his conjectures, as Cicero represents him in the foregoing letter. For Marcellus had not dropped the design to which Cælius here alludes ; as appears, not only from the authority cited in rem. 7. p. 275. of this vol. but also from one of his own subsequent epistles. See the 7th letter of the following book. p. 359.

uncertain who will be our succeeding consuls. As to my own pursuits, there are two competitors with me for the Ædileship ; the one really is, and the other would fain be thought a man of quality. In short, Marcus Octavius⁹, and Caius Hirrus¹ are candidates with me for that office². I mention this, as I know your contempt

⁹ No particular account can be given of the person here mentioned. It is certain, however, he was not the same Octavius who was father of Augustus Cæsar. For it appears by the epistles to Atticus that the latter was governor of Macedonia long before the time when this letter was written ; and consequently could not now be a candidate for the office of Ædile.

¹ Hirrus was a warm partizan of Pompey ; but if Cicero, who was his declared enemy, may be credited, he was of a character more likely to prejudice than advance any cause he should espouse ; for he represents him as an empty conceited coxcomb, who had the mortification to stand unrivalled in the good opinion he entertained of his own merit and importance. *O Dii !* (says he, speaking of Hirrus in a letter to his brother) *O Dii ! quam ineptus ; quam se ipse amans sine rivali !* Yet a time came when Cicero did not scruple to court the friendship of this man, whom he so much affected to despise, and when he was making interest to obtain the honour of a triumph for his exploits in Cilicia, we find him applying to Atticus for his good offices, in order to close the breach between Hirrus and himself. Cicero seems, indeed, upon many occasions, to have recollected too late, that in popular governments, a man who is not superior to the ambition and interests of the world, can scarcely make a contemptible enemy. *Ad Q. F. iii. 8. Ad Att. vii. 1.*

² The Ædiles were of two kinds, plebeian and curule ; and it was the latter office that Cælius was at this time soliciting. They had the care of the temples, theatres, and other public structures ; they were the judges, likewise, in all causes relative to the selling or exchanging estates. *Rosin. Antiq.*

tempt for the latter will raise your impatience to be informed of the event of this election. I entreat you, as soon as you shall hear that I am chosen, to give proper directions about the Panthers'; and, in the mean time, that you would endeavour to procure the sum of money which is due to me on the bond of Sittius.

I sent my first collection of domestic news by Lucius Castrinius Pætus, and I have given the subsequent part to the bearer of this letter. Farewel.

LETTER

³ It was customary for the Ædiles to entertain the people with public shews twice, during their office. The principal part of these entertainments consisted in combats of wild beasts of the most uncommon kind. *Manut.*

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 702.]

From the same.

OWN the truth, my friend: have I not verified what I could not persuade you to believe, when you left Rome, and written to you as frequently as I promised? I am sure, at least, if all my letters have reached your hands, you must acknowledge that I have been a more punctual correspondent than yourself. I am the more regular in my commerce of this kind, as it is the only method I have of amusing those few vacant hours I can steal from business, and which I used to take so much pleasure in passing with you. I greatly, indeed, lament your absence, and look upon it, not only as having reduced me, but all Rome in general, to a state of total solitude. When you were within my reach, I was careless enough to let whole days slip by me without seeing you: but now you are absent, I am every moment regretting the loss of your company. Thanks to my noble competitor, Hirrus, for giving me an additional reason thus frequently to wish for you. It would afford you high diversion, in truth, to observe with what a ridiculous awkwardness

wardness this formidable rival of yours⁴ endeavours to conceal his mortification, in finding that my interest in the approaching election⁵ is much stronger than his own. Believe me, however, it is more for your gratification than mine, that I am desirous you may soon receive such an account of his success in this pursuit, as I know you wish. For, as to myself, his disappointment may possibly prove a means of my being chosen in conjunction with a colleague, whose superior finances will draw me, I fear, into much inconvenient expence. But, however that may be, I shall rejoice if Hirrus should be thrown out, as it will supply us with an inexhaustible fund of mirth. And this appears likely enough to prove the case; for the disgust which the people have conceived against the other candidate, Marcus Octavius, does not seem to have any great effect in lessening their many objections to Hirrus.

As to what concerns the behaviour of Philotimus, in relation to Milo's estate⁶, I have endeavoured

⁴ Hirrus stood in competition with Cicero for the office of Augur, when the latter was chosen.

⁵ See the preceding letter.

⁶ Milo having been sentenced to banishment, (See rem. 1. p. 257. of this vol.) his estate was sold for the benefit of his creditors. Philotimus, a freedman of Cicero, bought this estate, in partnership with some others, at an undervalue. It was thought strange that Cicero should suffer Philotimus,

deavoured that he shall act in such a manner as to give full satisfaction to Milo and his friends, and at the same time clear your character from all imputation.

And now I have a favour to beg in my turn: let me entreat you, when your leisure shall permit (as I hope it soon will) to give me an instance of your regard, by inscribing to me some of your literary performances. You will wonder, perhaps, at the oddness of this request; but I am very desirous, I confess, that posterity should see, among the many ingenious monuments you have erected to friendship, some memorial, likewise, of the amity which subsisted between us. You who possess the whole circle of science will best judge what would be the most proper subject for this purpose; but I should be glad it might be of a kind

Philotimus, who acted as a sort of steward in his family, to engage in a purchase of this kind, which was always looked upon as odious, and was particularly so in the present case: for Cicero had received great obligations from Milo. Accordingly the latter complained of it, in the letters he wrote to his friends at Rome. This alarmed Cicero for his reputation, and he seems to have written to Cælius, as he did to several others of his correspondents, to accommodate this affair in the way that would be most to his honour. It was not easy, however, entirely to vindicate him upon this article: for though he pleaded in his justification an intent of serving Milo, yet it appears very evidently, from his letters to Atticus upon this subject, that he shared with Philotimus in the advantages of the purchase. *Ascon. in orat. pro Milon. Ad Att. v. 8. vi. 4. 5. See also Mong. rem. sur les let à Att. vol. iii. p. 48.*

kind that will take in the greatest number of readers, and at the same time bear a proper relation to my own studies and character.— Farewel.

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I ARRIVED at Tralles⁷ on the 27th of July, where I found Lucilius waiting for me with your letter, which he delivered, together with your message. You could not have employed upon this occasion a more friendly hand, or one who is better qualified to give me light into those affairs concerning which I was so desirous of being informed. Accordingly I listened to his account with great attention, as I read your letter with much pleasure. I will not remind you of the numerous good offices which have passed between us; since that part of my last, you tell me, tho' extremely agreeable to you, was by no means necessary. I entirely agree with you, indeed, that a well-confirmed friendship needs not to be animated with any memorials of this nature.— You must allow me, however, to return those acknowledgments I so justly owe you, for the obliging

⁷ A city in Asia Minor.

obliging precautions which I find, by your letter, you have taken, in order to ease me in the future functions of my government.— Highly acceptable to me as these your generous services are, can I fail of being desirous to convince both you and the world that I am most warmly your friend? If there be any who pretend to doubt of this truth, it is rather because they wish it otherwise, than because it is not sufficiently evident. If they do not yet perceive it, however, they certainly shall: as we are neither of us so obscure, that our actions can pass unregarded: and the proofs I purpose to give, will be too conspicuous not to force themselves upon their observation.— But I will not indulge myself any farther on this subject, choosing to refer you to my actions, rather than my professions.

As I find the route I proposed to take has raised some doubt in you, whether you shall be able to give me a meeting, I think it necessary to explain that matter. In the conversation which I had with your freedman, Phantias, at Brundisium, I told him I would land in any part of the province that should be most convenient to you. Accordingly he mentioned Sida, as being the port, he said, where you intended to embark. It was my resolution, therefore,

therefore, to have sailed thither; but meeting afterwards with our friend Clodius at Corcyra¹, he dissuaded me from that design; assuring me that you would be at Laodicea on my arrival. I should have preferred the former, as being much the nearest port, and, indeed, the most agreeable to me, especially as I imagined it would be so to you. But you have since, it seems, altered your plan; and, therefore, you now can best settle the measures for our interview. As for myself, I propose to be at Laodicea² about the first of August, where I shall continue a few days, in order to get my bills exchanged. From thence I intend to go to the army; so that I hope to reach Iconium³ towards the 13th of the same month. But if any accident should prevent or retard these designs, (as, indeed, I am at present far distant both from the places and the purposes of my destination) I will take care to give you as frequent and as expeditious notice as possible of the several times and stages of my journey. I neither ought, nor, in truth, desire to lay you under any difficulties: however, if it might be effected

¹ An island in the Ionian sea, at which Cicero touched in his voyage to Cilicia. It is now called *Corfou*, and belongs to the republic of Venice.

² A city in Phrygia, situated on the river Lycus.

³ A principal city in the province of Cilicia. It still subsists under the name of *Cogni*, and belongs to the Turkish dominions.

effected without inconvenience to yourself, it seems greatly for our mutual interest that we should have a conference before you leave the province. Nevertheless, if any disappointment should obstruct our interview, you may still rely upon my best services, and with the same security as if we had met. In the mean while, I shall forbear to enter upon the subject of our affairs by letter, till I despair of talking them over with you in person.

I spent the three days I continued at Ephesus², with Scævola³. But though we entered very freely into conversation, he did not mention the least word of your having desired him to take upon himself the government of the province, during the interval between your leaving it and my arrival. I wish, however, it had been in his power (for I cannot persuade myself it was not in his inclination) to have complied with your request. Farewel.

LETTER

² A very celebrated city in Ionia, situated not far from Smyrna.

³ He was probably either quæstor, or lieutenant, to Ap-
pius.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

YOU are certainly to be envied, who have every day some new wonder to enjoy : as your admiration receives constant supplies in the accounts of those strange events that happen amongst us. Thus, with what astonishment will you hear that Messalla⁴, after having been acquitted of his first impeachment, was condemned on a second ; that Marcellus⁵ is chosen consul ; that Calidius⁶, after having lost his election, was

⁴ He was cousin to the present consul, Marcus Marcellus. The reader will find an account of him in the farther progress of these remarks.

⁵ In the text he is called Marcus Claudius ; but Manutius and Corradus both agree in the reading here adopted, which is likewise confirmed by Pighius. He was competitor for the consulate with Marcellus, mentioned in the preceding note. The wonder, therefore, in these two instances, was, (as Mr. Ross observes) that Marcellus should be chosen consul, who was an avowed enemy to Cæsar ; while Calidius, though supported by the Cæsarian party, lost his election.

⁶ Calidius was one of the most agreeable orators of his age, as Cicero, who has drawn his character at large, informs us. His sentiments were conceived with uncommon delicacy, as they were delivered in the most correct, perspicuous, and elegant expression. His words were so happily combined together, and accorded with each other in such a well-adjusted arrangement, that Cicero, by a very

was immediately impeached by the two Galli ; and that Dolabella⁷ is appointed one of the Quindecimvirs⁸ ! In one article, however, you are a loser by your absence ; as it deprived you of a most diverting spectacle in the rueful countenance which Lentulus⁹ exhibited, when he found himself disappointed of his election. It was an event for which he was so little prepared, that he entered the field in all the gay confidence of victory : whilst his competitor Dolabella, on the contrary, was so diffident of success, that if our

very strong image, compares his style to a piece of beautiful in-laid work. His metaphors were so justly imagined and so properly introduced, that they rather seemed to arise spontaneously out of his subject, than to have been transplanted from a foreign soil. His periods, at the same time, were exquisitely musical. They did not, however, lull the ear with one uniform cadence ; but were artfully diversified with all the various modulations of the most skilful harmony. In short, if to instruct and to please had been the single excellencies of an orator ; Calidius would have merited the first rank in the Roman Forum. But he forgot that the principal business of his profession was to animate and to inflame. *Cic de clar. orat.* 274.

⁷ A particular account will be given of him in the notes on the following book.

⁸ They were the presiding magistrates at the Appollinarian and secular games, and entrusted likewise with the care of the Sibylline oracles. See Mr. Ross on this epistle.

⁹ There is some variation amongst the MSS. in the reading of this name. The best commentators, however, suppose, that this person is the same who was advanced to the consulship two years after the date of this letter : that is, in the year of Rome 704. It appears he was a competitor with Dolabella for the office of Quindecimvir.

our friends of the Equestrian order had not been too wise to have suffered him, he would have tamely retreated without the least contest. But as much disposed as you may be to wonder at our transactions, you will not be surprised, I dare say, when I inform you that Servius, the Tribune elect, has been tried and convicted; and that Curio¹⁰ is a candidate to succeed him. This last circumstance greatly alarms those who are unacquainted with the real good qualities of Curio's heart. I hope, and indeed believe, he will act agreeably to his professions, and join with the senate in supporting the friends of the republic. I am sure, at least, he is full of these designs at present: in which Cæsar's conduct has been the principal occasion of engaging him. For Cæsar, though he spares no pains or expence to gain over even the lowest of the people to his interest¹¹, has thought fit to treat Curio with singular contempt. The latter has behaved with so much temper upon this occasion, that he, who

¹⁰ See rem. 1. p. 217. of this vol.

¹¹ The account which Dion Cassius gives of Cæsar, exactly corresponds with what Cælius here asserts. For it appears, from this historian, that Cæsar, when he could not by direct means secure the master in his interest, insinuated himself by proper applications into the good graces of the favourite slave: and, by condescensions of this political kind, he gained over many persons of principal rank in Rome. *Dio*, xl. p. 149.

who never acted with artifice in all his life¹², is suspected to have dissembled his resentment, in order, the more effectually, to defeat the schemes of those who oppose his election: I mean the Lælii and the Antonii, together with the rest of that wonderful party.

I have been so much engaged by the difficulties which have retarded the several elections, that I could not find leisure to write to you sooner: and, indeed, as I every day expected they would be determined, I waited their conclusion, that I might give you, at once, an account of the whole. But it is now the first of August, and they are not yet over; the elections of prætors having met with some unexpected delays. As to that in which I am candidate, I can give you no account which way it is likely to be decided: only it is generally thought that Hirrus will not be chosen. This is collected from the fate that has attended Vinicianus, who

was

¹² If Curio did not act with artifice in the present instance: (of which, however, there is great reason to doubt) it is certain, at least, that he was far from being so incapable of assuming that character, as Cælius here represents him. On the contrary, it appears by the concurrent testimony of the ancient historians, that he secretly favoured the cause of Cæsar, long before he avowed his party. And Dion Cassius, in particular, assures us, that Curio, at the same time that he pretended to act in concert with the enemies of Cæsar, was only gaining their confidence, in order to betray them. *Vel Patere*. ii. 48. *Dio*, xl. p. 149.

was a candidate for the office of Plebeian *Ædile*¹³. That foolish project of his for the nomination of a dictator¹⁴ (which we formerly, you may remember, exposed to so much ridicule) suddenly turned the election against him: and the people expressed the loudest acclamations of joy at his repulse. At the same time, Hirrus was universally called upon by the populace to give up his pretensions at the ensuing election. I hope, therefore, you will very soon hear that this affair is determined in the manner you wish with respect to me, and which you scarce dare promise yourself¹⁵, I know with regard to Hirrus.

As to the state of the commonwealth; we begin to give up all expectation that the face of public

¹³ The Plebeian *Ædiles* were chosen out of the commons: and were, in some respects a sort of coadjutors to the Tribunes.

¹⁴ The dictator was a magistrate invested with supreme and absolute power: but was never created unless on emergencies of great and sudden danger, which required the exertion of an extraordinary authority. Accordingly, it was on occasion of the disturbances that happened at Rome in the year 700, (See rem. 9. p. 256. and rem. 5. p. 263. of this vol.) that some of the friends and flatterers of Pompey proposed him for this office. Vinicianus and Hirrus were the principal promoters of this scheme: but it was so unacceptable to the people in general, that this single circumstance, it appears, turned the election against the former; and, probably, was the chief reason that the latter was likewise disappointed of the *Ædileship*. See let. 29. of this book, p. 295. *Ad. Q. F. iii. 8.*

¹⁵ Because Hirrus was supported by Pompey.

public affairs will be changed. However, at a meeting of the senate, holden on the 22d of the last month in the temple of Apollo, upon a debate relating to the payment of the forces commanded by Pompey¹⁶, mention was made of that legion, which, as appeared by his accounts, had been lent to Cæsar: and he was asked, of what number of men it consisted, and for what purposes it was borrowed. In short, Pompey was pushed so strongly upon this article, that he found himself under a necessity of promising to recal this legion out of Gaul: but he added, at the same time, that the clamours of his enemies should not force him to take this step too precipitately. It was afterwards moved, that the question might be put concerning the election of a successor to Cæsar. Accordingly the senate came to a resolution that Pompey (who was just going to the army at Ariminum¹⁷, and is now actually set out for that purpose) should be ordered

¹⁶ Pompey, though he remained in Rome, was at this time governor of Spain: which had been continued to him for four years at the end of his late consulship. It was the payment of his troops in that province, which was under the consideration of the senate. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

¹⁷ Now called Rimini, situated upon the Rubicon: a river which divided Italy from that part of the Roman province called Cisalpine Gaul. The army here mentioned, is supposed to be part of those four legions which were decreed to Pompey for the support of his government in Spain. *Vid. Plut. ibid.*

ordered to return to Rome with all expedition, that the affair relating to a general election of new governors for all the provinces, might be debated in his presence. This point, I imagine, will be brought before the senate on the 13th of this month: when, if no infamous obstacles should be thrown in the way by the tribunes¹⁸, the house will certainly come to some resolution. For Pompey, in the course of the debate, let fall an intimation, that he "thought every man owed obedience to the authority of that assembly." However, I am impatient to hear what Paulus, the senior consul elect, will say when he delivers his opinion upon this question.

I repeat my former request in relation to the money due to me on the bond of Sittius: and I do so, that you may see it is an article in which I am greatly interested. I must again, likewise, entreat you to employ the Cybiratæ¹⁹,
in

¹⁸ Some of the tribunes, together with Sulpicius, one of the present consuls, were wholly in Cæsar's interest.—They thought, or pretended to think, that it was highly unjust to divest Cæsar of his government, before the time was completed for which it had been decreed: and of which there now remained about two years unexpired. *Dio*, xl. p. 148.

¹⁹ "Cibyra was a city of Phrygia major, situated upon the banks of the river Meander, and gave name to one of the three Asiatic dioceses, which were under the jurisdiction of the governor of Cilicia." *Mr. Ross*.

in order to procure me some Panthers. I have only to add, that we have received certain accounts of the death of Ptolemy²⁰. Let me know, therefore, what measures you would advise me to take upon this occasion; in what condition he has left his kingdom; and in whose hands the administration is placed. Farewel.

August the first.

LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 702.]

From the same.

How far you may be alarmed at the invasion¹ which threatens your province and the neighbouring countries, I know not; but for myself,

²⁰ Ptolemy Auletes: of whom an account has been given in the notes on the first book. By the following inquiries which Cælius makes, it is probable, he was one of those who had lent money to that king when he was at Rome, soliciting the senate to assist him with troops for the recovery of his dominions. See rem. 2. p. 51. of this vol.

¹ The Parthians, having lately obtained a most signal victory over Crassus, (an account of whose unfortunate expedition has already been given in the course of these notes) were preparing to make an incursion in the Roman provinces that lay contiguous to their dominions.—Accordingly they soon afterwards executed this design by invading Syria and Cilicia: as will be related at large in the letters of the following book.

The kingdom of Parthia is now included in the empire of Persia; of which it makes a very considerable province.

myself, I confess, I am extremely anxious for the consequence. Could we contrive, indeed, that the enemy's forces should be only in proportion to the number of yours, and just sufficient to entitle you to the honour of a triumph²; there could not be a more desirable circumstance. But the misfortune is, if the Parthians should make any attempt, I well know it will be a very powerful one: and I am sensible, at the same time, that you are so little in a condition to oppose their march, that you have scarce troops to defend a single defile. But the world, in general, will not be so reasonable as to make the proper allowances for this circumstance. On the contrary, it is expected from a man in your station, that he should be prepared for every occurrence that may arise, without once considering whether he is furnished with the necessary supplies for that purpose. I am still the more uneasy upon your account, as I foresee the contests concerning affairs in Gaul will retard the nomination of your successor: and though I dare say you have already had this contingency in your view, yet I thought proper to apprise you of its probability,

² No general could legally claim this honour, unless he had destroyed 5000 of the enemy in one engagement. *Val. Max.* ii. 8.

lity, that you might be so much the more early in adjusting your measures accordingly. I need not tell you that the usual artifices will undoubtedly be played off. A day will be appointed for considering of a successor to Cæsar: Upon which some tribune³ will interpose his negative; and then a second will probably declare, that unless the senate shall be at liberty to put the question freely, concerning all the provinces in general, he will not suffer it to be debated with regard to any in particular. And thus we shall be trifled with for a considerable time; possibly, indeed, two or three years may be spun out by these contemptible artifices.

If any thing new had occurred in public affairs, I should, as usual, have sent you the account, together with my sentiments thereupon: but, at present, the wheels of our political machine seem to be altogether motionless. Marcellus is still pursuing his former designs concerning the provinces: but he has not yet been able to assemble a competent number of senators. Had⁴ this motion been brought on the preceding

³ See rem. 18. on the foregoing letter.

⁴ There is an obscurity in the original, which the commentators have endeavoured to dissipate by various readings. None of their conjectures, however, appear so much to the purpose as that of an ingenious gentleman, to whose animadversions I have already acknowledged myself indebted. See rem.⁶ p. 197 of this vol. My judicious friend supposes that some

preceding year, and had Curio at the same time been tribune: *it would, probably, have succeeded*: but as affairs are now circumstanced, you are sensible how easy it will be for Cæsar, regardless as he is of the public interest, when it stands in competition with his own, to obstruct all our proceedings. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 702.]

From the same.

WILL you not be surprised when I tell you of the victory I have gained over Hirrus? But if you knew how easy a conquest he proved, you would blush to think, that so powerless a competitor once ventured to stand forth as your rival. His behaviour, since this repulse, affords us much diversion: as he now affects, upon all occasions, to act the patriot, and vote against Cæsar. Accordingly, he insists upon Cæsar's being immediately recalled: and most unmercifully inveighs against the conduct of Curio.

some words of the same import with those which are distinguished by Italics in the translation, have been omitted by the carelessness of transcribers; a supposition extremely probable, and which solves the principal difficulty of the text.

^s At the election for curule Ædiles. See let. 29. of this book.

^a As a candidate with Cicero for the office of Augur.

Curio. In a word, as little conversant as he is in the business of the Forum, he is now become an *advocate* professed; and most magnanimously pleads the cause of liberty*. You are to observe, however, that it is only in a morning he is seized with these violent fits of patriotism: for he is generally much too elevated in an afternoon to descend into so grave a character.

I mentioned, in one of my former, that the affair of the provinces would come before the senate on the 13th of the last month: nevertheless, by the intervention of Marcellus, the consul elect, it was put off to the first of this instant. But when the day arrived, they could not procure a sufficient number of senators to be present. It is now the second of September, and nothing has yet been done in this business: and I am persuaded it will be adjourned to the following year. As far as I can foresee, therefore, you must be contented to leave the administration of your province in the hands of some person, whom you shall think proper to appoint for that purpose: as I am well convinced you will not soon be relieved by a successor. For as Gaul must take the same fate with the rest of the provinces; any attempt that shall be made for settling the general succession, will certainly

be
^a Instead of *agit causas liberalis*, as in the common editions, I read with Gronovius, *agit causam libertatis*.

be obstructed by Cæsar's party. Of this I have not the least doubt, and therefore I thought it necessary to give you notice, that you may be prepared to act accordingly.

I believe I have reminded you of the Panthers, in almost every one of my letters: and surely you will not suffer Patiscus to be more liberal in this article than yourself. He has made Curio a present of no less than half a score: great, therefore, will be your disgrace, if you should not send me a much larger number. In the mean time, Curio has given me those he received from Patiscus, together with as many more from Africa: for you are to know, it is not only in granting away the lands of the public, that the generous Curio displays his liberality. As to yourself, if you can but charge your memory with my request, you may easily procure me as many of these animals as you please: it is only sending for some of the Cybiratæ to hunt them, and issuing forth your orders, likewise, into Pamphylia; where, I am told, they are taken in great abundance. I am the more solicitous upon this article, as I believe my colleague and I shall exhibit our games separately; so that the whole preparation for them

⁷ This seems to allude to some attempts which Curio had lately made to revive the Agrarian law. See rem. 13. p. 165. of this vol.

them must lie singly upon myself. I know you love ease as well as I do: but I should be glad if you could by any means prevail with yourself to part with a little of it upon the present occasion. In good earnest, you will have no other trouble, than merely to give your commands: as my people, whom I have sent into your province, in order to recover the money due to me from Sittius, will be ready to receive the Panthers, and convey them into Italy. It is probable, likewise, if you should give me any hopes of succeeding in my request, that I may send a reinforcement to assist them.

I recommend Marcus Feridius, a Roman knight, to your protection and friendship, who comes into Cilicia to transact some business relating to his private affairs. He is a young man of great worth and spirit; and his father is my very particular friend. He holds an estate under certain cities in your government, of which he is desirous to procure the enfranchisement: and I am persuaded he may easily obtain his point, by the intervention of your good offices. Your employing them upon this occasion, will, indeed, be doing an honour to yourself: as it will oblige two men of great merit, who, I will venture to assure you, are not capable of proving ungrateful.

You

You were mistaken when you imagined that Favonius⁸ was opposed by the more contemptible part of the people: on the contrary, it was all the better sort that voted against him. Your friend Pompey openly declares that Cæsar ought not to be admitted as a candidate for the consulship, while he retains his command in the province⁹. He voted, however, against passing a decree for this purpose at present.— Scipio¹ moved, that the first of March next, might be appointed for taking into consideration the nominating a successor in the Gallic provinces; and that this matter should be proposed to the house separately, and without blending it with any other question. Balbus

Cornelius

⁸ He was a great admirer and imitator of the virtues and manners of Cato: as he was also in the number of those who assassinated Cæsar. Manutius conjectures that he was at this time chosen prætor. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Dio, xlvii. p. 356.*

⁹ Pompey, who contributed more than any man to the advancement of Cæsar's power, had lately procured a law, by which the personal appearance of the latter was dispensed with in soliciting the consular office. But Pompey now began to repent of a concession so entirely unconstitutional: not that his own designs were more favourable to the liberties of Rome, than those of Cæsar: but as discovering at last that they could not both subsist together. His present opposition, however, was as impotent as his former compliances were impolitic; and only tended to bring on so much the sooner his own destruction, together with that of the republic. *Vid. ad Att. viii. 3.*

¹ Metellus Scipio: he was chosen consul by Pompey the latter end of the last year, agreeably to a power with which he was invested by the senate, for nominating his colleague.

Cornelius² was much discomposed at this motion: and I am well assured, he has complained of it to Scipio in very strong terms.

Canidius defended himself, upon his trial, with much eloquence: but in the impeachment which he afterwards exhibited, he supported his charge with little force or spirit. Farewel.

LETTER

league. Pompey likewise married his daughter, the amiable Cornelia: who added to the charms of her person every moral and intellectual qualification that could render her the most estimable and accomplished of her sex. And yet with all these extraordinary endowments, she was still more distinguished by that singular modesty and humility with which they were accompanied. It is Plutarch who gives her this character: upon which Monsieur Dacier remarks; *Je dois être plus persuadé qu'un autre, que l'éloge que Plutarque donne à Cornélie, peut n'être point flatté. J'ai un exemple domestique, qui prouve que beaucoup d'esprit et de savoir, et de grands talens peuvent se trouver dans une femme, et être accompagnés d'une modestie aussi grande et plus estimable encore que ses talens.* May I add my suffrage to that of this celebrated critic, by declaring from the same domestic experience, that uncommon knowledge and a superior understanding, are perfectly consistent with those more valuable qualities of the heart, which constitute the principal grace and ornament of the female character. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Les vies de Plut. par Dac. vol. v. p. 498. rem. 89.*

² He was inviolably attached to Cæsar, and seems to have been the principal manager of his affairs at Rome.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS³, Consul.

I VERY warmly congratulate you on your relation Caius Marcellus being elected to succeed you: as I sincerely rejoice in your having received this happy fruit of your pious affection to your family, of your patriot zeal to your country, and of your illustrious deportment in the

³ He was distinguished by a long line of ancestors, who had borne the most honourable offices in the republic: as he himself was advanced to the consular dignity this year, in conjunction with Servius Sulpicius Rufus. It is mentioned to the credit of both these illustrious magistrates, that they were chosen without having employed those corrupt and violent measures, which were at this period so generally practised: and Marcellus, in particular, had recommended himself to the people by the superior grace and energy of his eloquence. It has already been observed in these remarks, that he was extremely zealous in promoting the decree by which Cæsar was recalled from his province, and which forwarded the flames of that unhappy civil war, which soon afterwards broke out to the destruction of the commonwealth. Upon that occasion Marcellus took the part of Pompey. But after the battle of Pharsalia, he threw down his arms, and withdrew to Mitylenæ, the capital of Lesbos, where he purposed to devote the remainder of his days to a philosophical retirement. But being persuaded by his friends, and particularly by Cicero, to accept the clemency of the victor; he, at length, yielded to their solicitation: and was preparing to return home, when he was cruelly assassinated by a man who had been in the number of his clients. The reader will find a particular account of this murder, together with some other circumstances concerning Marcellus, in the farther progress of these letters and remarks. *Suet. in vit. Tiber. 1. Dio, xl. p. 148. Cic. de clar. orat. 250. ep. Fam. iv. 12.*

the consular office. I can easily imagine the sentiments which your address, upon this occasion, has created in Rome: and, as to myself, whom you have sent to these far distant parts of the globe, believe me, I speak of it with the highest and most unfeigned applause. I can, with strict truth, assure you, that I have ever had a particular attachment to you from your earliest youth: and I am sensible, you have always shewn, by your generous offices in promoting my dignities, that you deemed me worthy of the most distinguished honours. But this late instance of your judicious management in procuring the consulship for Marcellus, together with the proof it affords of the favour in which you stand with the republic, has raised you still higher in my esteem. It is with great complacency, therefore, that I hear it observed by men of the first distinction for sense and merit, that, in all our words and actions, our tastes and studies, our principles and pursuits, we bear a strong resemblance to each other. The only circumstance that can render your glorious consulate still more agreeable to me, will be your procuring a successor to be nominated to this province, as soon as possible. But if this cannot be obtained, let me entreat you, at least, not to suffer my continuance here to be prolonged beyond the time

limited

limited by your decree and the law which passed for that purpose. In a word, I hope, upon all occasions, to experience, in my absence, the benefit of your friendship and protection. Farewel.

P. S. I have received some intelligence concerning the Parthians: but as it is not at present sufficiently confirmed, I forbear to communicate the particulars to you. For, as I am writing to a consul, my letter, perhaps, might be considered as an information to the senate.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS⁴, Consul elect.

I RECEIVED great pleasure in hearing of your advancement to the consulate. May the gods give you success in the enjoyment of this honour; and may you discharge its important duties in a manner worthy of your own illustrious character and that of your excellent father! You have my best wishes indeed upon this occasion, not only from affection, but gratitude, and in return to those warmest instances of your friendship

⁴ He was cousin german to Marcus Marcellus, to whom the preceding letter is addressed: and by whose interest, in conjunction with that of Pompey, he was elected to succeed him in the consular office. He pursued the politics of his illustrious relation and predecessor, by firmly opposing the views of Cæsar. *Dio*, xl.

friendship, which I have ever experienced in all the various incidents of my life. Many and important are the obligations, likewise, which I have received from your father, both as my protector in adversity, and as having contributed to adorn my prosperity. I must add, also, to this family-list of my benefactors, your worthy mother: whose zealous services in behalf both of my person and dignities have risen much higher than could have been expected from one of the tender sex. Being then, as I most certainly ought, entirely devoted to your family, let me earnestly entreat your friendship and protection in my absence. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS⁵.

THE advancement of your son to the consular dignity, and your enjoying a pleasure you so much wished to obtain, are circumstances which afford me a very uncommon satisfaction. They do so not only upon his account, but yours, whom I esteem as highly deserving of every advantage that Fortune can bestow. Let me

⁵ Father of Caius Marcellus, to whom the foregoing letter is written.

me acknowledge, at the same time, that I have experienced your singular good-will towards me, both in the adverse and prosperous seasons of my life: and, indeed, my welfare and honours have been the zealous concern of your whole family. I shall be extremely obliged to you, therefore, for making my sincere and particular congratulations upon this occasion, to that excellent woman your wife. To which request, I will only add, that I entreat the continuance of your friendship and protection in my absence. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO LUCIUS PAULUS⁶, Consul elect.

THOUGH I never once doubted, that, in consideration of your most illustrious family, and of those important services you have yourself likewise rendered to the commonwealth, you would be unanimously elected consul; yet, the confirmation of this desirable news, afforded me
an

⁶ He was colleague with Caius Marcellus, mentioned in the last note. He set out in his administration, it was thought, with principles agreeable to those of his associate. But Cæsar perfectly well knew how to make him change his sentiments: and, by proper applications to his avarice and profusion, he added him to the number of his supple mercenaries. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

an inexpressible satisfaction. It is my sincere wish, that the gods may give success to your administration, and that you may acquit yourself of this honourable and important trust, as becomes your own character and that of your distinguished family. I should have thought myself extremely happy to have been present at your election, and to have contributed those services which your extraordinary favours to me require. But, as the unexpected government of this province has deprived me of that pleasure, I hope I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you, at least, in the worthy exercise of your consular office. For this purpose, I most earnestly entreat you not to suffer me to be injuriously continued in this province beyond the expiration of my year: a favour which I shall esteem as a very considerable addition to those instances of friendship I have already received at your hands. Farewel.

Y 3

LETTER

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK IV.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 702.]

To the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of
the People, and the Senate.

THE many obstructions I met with in my
way to this province¹, both by sea and land,
prevented me from reaching it sooner than the
last of July. I thought it my first duty, on
my

¹ Cicero's province comprehended not only Cilicia, but
Pamphylia, Lycaonia, part of Phrygia, and the island of Cy-
prus, together with some other less considerable appendages.
Y 4 Cilicia

my arrival, to see that the Militia and Garrisons were in good order; being articles in which the interest of the republic is principally concerned. Accordingly, I have taken all proper measures to that end: though I cannot forbear adding, that I have been enabled to effect this, more by my own care and diligence, than from any supplies I was furnished with for that purpose. Having thus adjusted my military preparations, and receiving daily intelligence that the Parthians had actually invaded Syria, I thought it adviseable to move with my forces through Lycaonia, Isaurica, and Cappadocia. It seemed highly probable, indeed, if the enemy had any design of attempting an irruption into my province, that they would direct their route thro' Cappadocia; as being a country that could give them the least opposition. I marched, therefore, into that part of Cappadocia which lies contiguous to Cilicia, and encamped at Cybistra: a town at the foot of Mount Taurus. I had a double view in leading my troops to this place. The first was, that in whatever disposition Artuases, king of Armenia, stood towards us, he might be sensible

Cilicia was first added to the Roman provinces by Publius Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, in the year of Rome 680. *Att. v. 21. Am. Marcellin. xiv. 8.*

sible that a Roman army was not far from his frontiers; and in the next place, that I might be as near as possible to Deiotarus²: a prince, I well knew, extremely our friend, and whose counsel and assistance might prove of great advantage in the present conjuncture. As soon as I had finished my encampment, I detached my cavalry before me into Cilicia. This I did in order to confirm the several cities in that part of my province in their allegiance, by giving them notice of my arrival: and likewise that I might have the earliest intelligence of what was transacting in Syria. During the three days that I continued in this camp, I was engaged in discharging a commission equally necessary and important. I had received your express commands to take the worthy and faithful Ariobarzanes

² He was prince of Galatia; a country bordering on Phrygia. He distinguished his zeal for the republic in all the Asiatic wars in which the Romans were engaged during his reign, and was particularly serviceable to Pompey in his expedition against Mithridates: for which he was honoured by the senate with the title of king. Some time after the battle of Pharsalia, (in which he joined with Pompey) his own grandson came to Rome with an impeachment against him. He pretended that Deiotarus formed a design, when Cæsar was his guest, as he lately passed through his dominions, of assassinating that general. This cause seems to have been pleaded in Cæsar's own house: where both Cicero and Brutus appeared as advocates for Deiotarus. The speech which the former made upon this occasion is still extant: and if an orator may be credited in the character he gives of his client, this prince was endowed with every royal virtue. *Orat. pro Deiot.*

Ariobarzanes³ under my particular protection; and to defend both his person and his kingdom to the utmost of my power. In your decree, which passed for this purpose, a clause was inserted, declaring that "the welfare of this province was much the concern of the people and senate of Rome:" an honour which was never before paid to any potentate. For this reason, I thought it became me to signify to him, in person, the distinction which you had conferred upon him. I acquainted him, therefore, in the presence of my council, with the instructions you had given me in his behalf: and called upon him to let me know if there was any instance in which he had occasion for my service. I assured him at the same time,

³ The kingdom of Cappadocia, of which Ariobarzanes was monarch, was of a very large extent; comprehending the greater part of those countries, at present under the Ottoman dominion, which are now called Amasia, Genec, and Tocat. It appears, however, by the letters to Atticus, that this kingdom was so extremely impoverished, that the crown was almost wholly destitute of any revenues: a circumstance to which Horace alludes in one of his epistles.

Mancipis locuples eget aris Cappadocum Rex.

The instance that Plutarch gives of the great scarcity of money among these people is indeed almost incredible, if what the ancient geographers assert be true, that their country abounded in silver mines: for that historian tells us, that when Lucullus was carrying on the war against Mithridates, in this part of the world, an ox sold in Cappadocia for about fourpence, and a slave for sixpence. *Ad Att. vi. 1. Hor. ep. i. 6. Plut. in vit. Luculli.*

time, on my own part, that I offered him my protection with the utmost zeal and fidelity. He began his speech with expressing a proper sense of the high honour thus conferred upon him by the people and senate of Rome. He then addressed his acknowledgments to me in particular, for having executed my commission in such a manner as to convince him both of the sincerity with which I proffered him my good offices, and of the strong injunctions I had received from the republic for that purpose.

It gave me great satisfaction to hear him say in this our first interview, that he neither knew, nor indeed suspected, any designs to be carrying on either against his life, or his crown. After I had congratulated him upon so happy a circumstance, and exhorted him, in remembrance of his father's fate, carefully to observe the admonitions of the senate in being particularly cautious of his person, he took his leave, and returned to Cybistra. The next day, however, he paid me a second visit in my tent, accompanied by his brother Ariarathes, together with several venerable old ministers of his late father: who, in a very plaintive and affecting manner, all joined with him in imploring my protection. Upon my inquiring, with

with much surprise, what sudden accident had occasioned this unexpected visit, he told me that he had just received certain information of a design to seize his crown: that those who were apprised of this conspiracy, had not the courage to disclose it till my arrival, but in confidence of my protection, had now ventured to lay open to him the whole plot; and that the disaffected party had actually made treasonable applications to his brother, of whose singular loyalty and affection he expressed, at the same time, the strongest assurance. This account was confirmed to me by Ariarathes himself, who acknowledged that he had been solicited to accept the government: which, in effect, he said, was avowing their intention of destroying Ariobarzanes, as he could never reign during his brother's life. He added, that he had not acquainted the king with these treasonable overtures before, as being apprehensive for his own person, if he had ventured to reveal them sooner. When he had finished, I exhorted Ariobarzanes to take all proper precautions for his security: and then turning to the approved and experienced ministers of his father's and grandfather's reign, I reminded them of the cruel fate that had attended their late sovereign, and admonished

admonished them to be so much the more particularly vigilant in protecting their present.

The king requested me to supply him with some troops both of horse and foot; which, however, I refused, notwithstanding I was empowered, and indeed directed, to do so by your decree. The truth is, the daily accounts I received of what was transacting in Syria, rendered it expedient, for the interest of the republic, that I should march my whole army, with all expedition, to the borders of Cilicia. Besides, as the conspiracy against Ariobarzanes was now fully detected, he appeared to be in a condition of defending his crown without the assistance of a Roman army. I contented myself, therefore, with giving him my advice: and recommended it to him, as the first art of government, to found his security on the affections of his people. With this view, I persuaded him to exert his royal authority in the present conjuncture, no farther than necessity should require, and against those only whom he perceived to be most deeply engaged in the plot: as for the rest, that he should grant them a free and general pardon. To which I added, that the best use he could make of my army was, to intimidate the guilty from persevering in their designs, rather

rather than actually to turn it against them: and that, when the decree of the senate in his favour should be generally known, the disaffected party would be well convinced that I should not fail of assisting him, pursuant to your orders, if occasion required.

Having thus encouraged him, I struck my tents: and am now proceeding on my march to Cilicia. I had the satisfaction, in leaving Cappadocia, to reflect, that my arrival had wonderfully, and indeed almost providentially, delivered that monarch from a conspiracy which was upon the very point of taking effect. This reflection was so much the more agreeable to me, as you had not only voluntarily, and without any application for that purpose, honoured Ariobarzanes with the acknowledgment of his regal title, but had particularly recommended him to my protection, and expressly declared in your decree that his security was highly your concern. I judged it proper, therefore, to send you this minute account of what has passed in relation to Ariobarzanes, that you might see with how much prudence you had long before provided against a contingency which had well nigh happened. And this I the rather do, as that prince appears to be so faithfully attached to the republic, as well

as

as endowed with such great and excellent qualities, as to justify the extraordinary zeal you have shewn for his interest.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 702.]

To THERMUS, Proprætor⁴.

LUCIUS GENUCILIUS CURVUS, has been long in the number of my most intimate friends: and indeed no man possesses a worthier or more grateful heart. I recommend him, therefore, most warmly and entirely to your protection; beseeching you to assist him upon every occasion that shall not be inconsistent with your honour and dignity. This is a restriction, however, which I might well have spared; as I am sure he will never make you a request unworthy either of your character or his own. But I must particularly entreat your favour in relation to his affairs in Hellespontus. In the first place, then, I beg you would confirm the grant of certain lands which was made to him by the city of Parion⁵, and which he has hitherto enjoyed without

⁴ Quintus Minucius Thermus, was prætor in the year of Rome 701. At the expiration of his office, he was appointed proprætor, or governor of that part of the Asiatic continent, styled *Asia proper*; which included Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Mysia, and part of Phrygia. Cicero speaks of him in a letter to Atticus, as exercising his administration with great integrity. *Ad Att. vi. 1.*

⁵ A city in Hellespont.

without molestation: in the next place, that if any inhabitant of Hellespontus should controvert his rights of this kind, you would direct the cause to be heard in that district. But, after having already assigned him wholly to your patronage, it is unnecessary to point out particular articles wherein I request your good offices. To say all then in one word: be assured I shall consider every instance wherein you shall advance either his honour or his interest, as so many immediate favours conferred upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

THOUGH I am by no means disposed to be more favourable to myself than to you, in judging of the part we have respectively acted towards each other; yet, when I reflect on our late mutual behaviour, I have far greater reason to be satisfied with my own conduct than with yours. As I knew the high rank which Phantias justly possesses in your confidence and esteem, I enquired of him when we met at Brundisium, in what part of the province he imagined you chose I should

should receive the resignation of your government. He assured me it would be extremely agreeable to you if I landed at Sida⁶. For this reason, notwithstanding I could not have made so splendid an entrance from that city, and it was inconvenient to me, likewise, upon many other accounts, yet I told him I would certainly comply with your inclinations. Sometime afterwards, I had a conference with your friend Clodius, at Corcyra, and I always consider myself as talking to you, whenever I am conversing with him. I repeated, therefore, the same promise I had given to Phantias, and assured him that I intended to pursue the route which the latter had marked out to me. Clodius made many acknowledgments upon this occasion in your name, but entreated me to change my design, and proceed directly to Laodicia. For it was your purpose, he said, to advance towards the maritime part of the province, in order to embark as soon as possible. He added, at the same time, that it was from your great desire to see me that you had deferred your departure; for, had any other person been your successor, you would not have waited his arrival. And this, indeed, corresponded with the letters

⁶ A sea-port town of considerable note in Pamphylia.

letters I received from you at Rome, by which I perceived your great impatience to leave the province. I informed Clodius that I would comply with his request, and with much more willingness, I told him, than if I had been to have executed my first engagement with Pharnias. I, therefore, changed my plan, and immediately gave you notice of it with my own hand: which, I find by your letter, you received in due time. When I reflect upon my conduct in this instance, I have the satisfaction to be assured that it is perfectly consonant to the strictest friendship. And now let me desire you to consider your behaviour in return. You were so far then from waiting in that part of the province which would have given us the earliest opportunity of an interview, that you withdrew⁷ to such a distance, as to render it impossible for me to reach you within the thirty days limited (if I mistake not) by the Cornelian law,

⁷ It was usual for the governors of provinces when they entered upon their administration, to publish what they styled an *edict*; which was a kind of code or formulary of laws, by which they intended to proceed in the dispensation of justice. Cicero's institutes of this sort were founded upon maxims so extremely different from those by which Appian had regulated himself, that the latter looked upon them as so many indirect reflections upon his own unworthy conduct. And this seems to have been the occasion of his treating Cicero in the manner, of which he here, and in other subsequent letters, so much and so justly complains. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.

law⁸, for your departure. This proceeding (to speak of it in the softest terms) must look with no friendly aspect in the eye of those who are unacquainted with our real sentiment towards each other; as it has the appearance of your industriously avoiding a conference. Whereas, mine, on the contrary, must undoubtedly be deemed conformable to whatever could be expected from the strongest and most intimate union.

In the letter I received from you before my arrival in the province, though you mentioned your design of going to Tarsus⁹, you still flattered me with hopes of a meeting. In the mean time, there are some who have the malice (for malice, I suppose, is their motive, as that vice, indeed, is widely diffused among mankind) to lay hold of this plausible pretence to alienate me from you, little aware that I am not easily shaken in my friendships. They assure me, that when you had reason to believe I was arrived in the province, you held a court of judicature

⁸ This law was so called from its author, Cornelius Sylla, the dictator.

⁹ The capital city of Cilicia. It is celebrated by Strabo, for having once vied with Athens and Alexandria in polite and philosophical literature; but it is far more worthy of notice as being the birth-place of that great apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul.

judicature at Tarsus, and exercised such other acts of authority, as even those who have yet some little time unexpired in their ministry, do not usually choose to discharge. Their insinuations, nevertheless, are far from making any impression upon me. On the contrary, I rather consider you as having kindly eased me of part of my approaching trouble; and I rejoice that you have thus abridged me of one fatiguing month out of the twelve I must pass through in my government. To speak freely, however, there is a circumstance that gives me concern; and I cannot but regret to find, that out of the small number of forces in the province, there are no less than three complete cohorts wanting, and I know not in what part they are dispersed. But my principal uneasiness is, that I cannot learn where I shall see you; and I should have sooner told you so, if I had not concluded, from your total silence, both as to what you were doing, and where you proposed to give me an interview, that I might daily expect your arrival. I have, therefore, dispatched my brave and worthy friend Antonius, præfect of the Evocati¹, with this letter; and, if
you

¹ These were troops composed of experienced soldiers, who had served out their legal time, or had received their dismissal as a reward of their valour. They usually guarded

you think proper, you may deliver up to him the command of the troops, that I may be able to enter upon some action ere the season is too far advanced. I had reason to hope, both from our friendship and your letters, to have had the benefit of your advice upon this occasion; and, indeed, I will not even yet despair of enjoying that advantage. However, unless you give me notice, it is impossible I should discover either when or where I am to have that satisfaction. In the mean while, I shall endeavour to convince even the most uncandid, as well as the equitable part of the world, that I am sincerely your friend. I cannot forbear saying, nevertheless, that those who are not disposed to judge in the most favourable manner, have some little cause to imagine that you do not bear the same amicable disposition towards me, and I shall be much obliged to you for endeavouring to remove their suspicions.

That you may not be at a loss what measures to take in order to our meeting consistently²
with

ed the chief standard, and were excused from the more servile employments of the military functions.

² It appears, by what follows, that this time was already elapsed. Mr. Ross was aware of this difficulty, and has solved it by supposing that Cicero "must mean some place *without* the limits of the province." For otherwise Cicero's request cannot be reconciled, that commentator observes, to the terms of the Cornelian law.

with the terms of the Cornelian law; I think it necessary to inform you, that I arrived in the province on the last day of July; that I marched from Iconium on the 31st of August, and am now advancing to Cilicia by the way of Cappadocia. After having thus traced out my route, you will let me know, in case you should think proper to meet me, what time and place will be most convenient to you for that purpose. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CATO³.

I THOUGHT it agreeable to our friendship to communicate to you the intelligence I have lately received. I am to inform you, then, that envoys from Antioches, king of Commagene⁴, arrived in my camp at Iconium, on the 30th of August. They brought me advice that the king of Parthia's son, who is married, it seems, to a sister of the king of Armenia, was advanced to the banks of the Euphrates; that he was at the head of a very considerable army, composed

³ Some account will be given of this great and celebrated patriot, in the notes on the first letter of the following book.

⁴ Commagene was a part of Syria not subjected to the Roman dominion.

composed of his own nation, together with a large body of foreign auxiliaries: that he had actually begun to transport his troops over the river; and that it was reported the king of Armenia had a design to invade Cappadocia. I have forborne to acquaint the senate with this news, for two reasons. The first is, because the Commagenian envoys assured me that Antiochus had immediately dispatched an express to Rome with this account; and, in the next place, knowing that the proconsul Marcus Bibulus^a had sailed from Ephesus with a favourable wind about the 13th of August, I imagined he had by this time reached his province, and would be able to give the senate a more certain and particular intelligence.

As to my own situation with respect to this important war, it is my utmost endeavour to find that security from the clemency of my administration, and the fidelity of our allies, which I can scarce expect from the strength and number of my troops. I have only to add my entreaties that you would continue, as usual, to favour me with your friendly offices in my absence. Farewel.

LETTER

^a Proconsul of Syria.

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LETTER V.

[A. U. 702.]

To THERMUS, Proprætor.

CLUVIUS PUTEOLANUS distinguishes me, upon all occasions, with the highest marks of esteem; indeed, we are united in the strictest bands of amity. He has some affairs in your province, and, unless he should be able by my means to settle them during your administration, he looks upon them as utterly desperate. This task, my very obliging friend having assigned to my care, I take the liberty (in confidence of that most amicable disposition you have ever discovered towards me) of transferring it to yours; with this restriction, nevertheless, that it do not engage you in too much trouble. I am to inform you, then, that the corporations of Mylata and Alabanda³, are respectively indebted to Cluvius; and that Euthydemus assured me, when I saw him at Ephesus, he would take care that Syndics⁶ should be sent to Rome from the former, in order to adjust the matters in controversy between them. This, however, has not been

³ Two cities of Caria, in Asia Minor.

⁶ These officers were a kind of solicitors to the treasury of their respective corporations.

been performed: on the contrary, I hear they have commissioned deputies to negotiate this affair in their stead. But Syndics are the proper persons, and therefore I entreat you to command these cities to dispatch those officers to Rome, that this question may be soon and finally determined. I am farther to acquaint you, that Philotes, of Alabanda, has assigned certain effects to Cluvius by a bill of sale. But the time for payment of the money, for which they are a security, being elapsed, I beg you would compel him either to discharge the debt, or to deliver the goods to the agents of Cluvius. My friend has likewise some demands of the same kind upon the cities of Heraclea and Bargylos⁷. I beseech you, therefore, either to procure him satisfaction, by an immediate payment, or to oblige them to put him in possession of a proportionable part of their demesnes. The corporation of Caunus⁸ is also indebted to Cluvius: but they insist that, as the money has been ready for him, and actually lodged in the temple, for that purpose, he is not entitled to any interest beyond the time the principal was so deposited⁹.

I entreat

⁷ In Caria.

⁸ This city was likewise in Caria.

⁹ This passage is rendered in a sense very different from that in which all the commentators have understood it.

the favour of you to enquire into the truth of the fact, and if it shall appear that the sum in question was not paid into the sacred treasury either

They take the expression, *aiunt se pecuniam depositam habuisse*, to mean, that the Caunians pretended the money in dispute was a deposit; and, therefore, that they were not liable to pay interest. But if we suppose the question between the Caunians and Cluvius to have been, whether the sum he demanded was or was not a deposit; the request which Cicero afterwards makes must be highly unjust: *si intellexeris eos neque ex edicto neque ex decreto depositam habuisse, des operam ut usura Cluvio conserventur*. For if they were merely trustees, it could make no equitable difference whether the money came to them by a judicial decree, or from a private hand: and in either case it must have been equally oppressive to oblige them to pay interest. Now this difficulty will be entirely removed, by supposing that the expression *depositam habuisse*, is periphrastical, and to be resolved into *deposuisse*. And this is agreeable to the idiom of the Latin language, as well as to the manner in which Cicero expresses himself upon other occasions. Thus in his treatise *De clar. orat.* 147. *habere cognitum Scævolum*, is equivalent to *cognoscere*: as in Plautus *vobis hanc habeo edictionem*, is the same as *edico*. Pseud. i. ii. 39. But if *pecuniam depositam habuisse*, is a circumlocution for *deposuisse*, some substantive must be understood to complete the sense: and accordingly, a passage in the letters to Atticus will not only point out the word required, but prove likewise that *depono* is used in this elliptical manner.—Cicero, giving an account to Atticus of a transaction relating to the claim of a debt due from the city of Salamis, in Cyprus, tells him, that *deponere volebant*. *Ad Att.* vi. 1. which, in another letter, where he is speaking of the very same affair, he expresses at full length: *ut in fano deponent postulantibus*, says he, *non concessi*. *Ad Att.* v. 21. And the last cited passages will not only justify, but explain, the sense contended for: as they prove that it was usual where any controversy arose concerning the quantum of a debt, for the defendant to apply for leave to pay the money into some temple; from which time it no longer carried interest. Thus Cicero tells Atticus that the interest upon the debt

either in conformity to the general edict, or special decree, of the prætor; to direct that Cluvius may have such a rate of interest allowed him, as is agreeable to the laws you have established in these cases.

I enter with so much the more warmth into these affairs, as my friend Pompey likewise makes them his own; and, indeed, seems more solicitous for their success than even Cluvius himself. As I am extremely desirous that the latter should have reason to be satisfied with my good offices, I most earnestly request yours upon this occasion. Farewel.

LETTER

debt due from the city of Salamis ought to have ceased, *consistere usura debuit*: and assigns this reason for it: *deponere volebant*: they were ready and desirous to have lodged it in the sacred treasury. But, in the case of Cluvius, if the Caunians had paid in the money without giving him notice, (which might very possibly have been the fact, if they had not acted under a judicial order) it was no unreasonable request to desire they might be compelled to pay the whole interest up to the time when Cluvius should receive the principal.

^b By the term *edict* is meant, in this place, that formulary of provincial laws explained in rem. 7. p. 338. of this vol.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 702.]

To the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the People, and the Senate.

THE first intelligence I received that the Parthians had passed the greatest part of their army over the Euphrates, was extremely positive. However, as I imagined the proconsul, Marcus Bibulus, could give you a more certain account of this event, I did not think it necessary to charge myself with the relation of what more immediately concerned the province of another. But, since my last dispatch, I have been farther and more satisfactorily assured of this fact, by several expresses and deputations that have been sent to me for that purpose.—When I consider, therefore, the great importance of this news to the republic; that it is uncertain, likewise, whether Bibulus is yet arrived in Syria; and that I am almost equally concerned with him in the conduct of this war; I deem myself obliged to communicate to you the purport of my several informations.

The first advice I received was from the ambassadors of Antiochus, king of Commagene;

gene; who acquainted me that the Parthians had actually begun to transport a very considerable body of forces over the Euphrates.—But, as it was the opinion of some of my council, that no great credit was to be given to any intelligence that came from this quarter, I thought proper to wait for better information. Accordingly, on the 19th of September, whilst I was on my march towards Cilicia, I was met by a courier on the frontiers of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with an express from⁹ Tarcondimotus: a prince esteemed the most faithful of our allies on that side the Taurus, and extremely in the interest of the Romans. The purport of his dispatches was to inform me, that a powerful body of horse, commanded by Pacorus, the son of Orodes, king of Parthia, had passed the Euphrates, and were encamped at Tyba; and that the province of Syria was in great commotion. The same day I received an express likewise to this purpose from Jamblichus, an Arabian Phylarch¹, and one who has the general reputation of being a friend to the

⁹ His dominions lay on the southern side of Mount Taurus, in a part of Cilicia which the Romans had not thought proper to annex to their province. A coin of this prince is still extant. See *Biblioth. raisonnée*, Tom. xii. p. 329.

¹ The lord or chief of a clan.

the republic. Upon the whole, therefore, I came to a resolution of leading my army to Tarsus². I was sensible that our allies in general were far from being warm in our interest, and were only waiting the opportunity of some favourable revolution to desert us. I flattered myself, however, that the lenity and moderation of my conduct towards such of them through whose territories I had already passed, would render them better inclined to the Romans, as I hoped to strengthen Cilicia in its allegiance, by giving that part of my province an opportunity of experiencing also the same equitable administration. But I had still a farther inducement: I determined upon this march, not only in order to chastise those who had taken up arms in Cilicia, but also to convince our enemies in Syria, that the army of the Romans, far from being disposed to retreat upon the news of their invasion, were so much the more eager to advance.

If my advice, then, has any weight, let me earnestly exhort and admonish you to take proper measures for the preservation of these provinces: measures, indeed, which ought to have

² In the original it is *ad Taurum*; but Mr. Ross with good reason supposes there is an error in the text, and that it should be read *ad Tarsum*.

have been concerted long before, as you were well apprised of those dangers which are now almost within my view. I need not inform you in what manner you thought proper to equip me when I was sent into this part of the world, under a full expectation of being engaged in so important a war. If I did not, however, refuse this commission, it was not because I was so weak as to be insensible how ill provided I was to execute it in a proper manner, but merely in submissive deference to your commands. The truth is, I have at all times willingly exposed myself to the utmost hazards, rather than not testify my implicit obedience to your authority. But the plain fact is, that, if you do not speedily send a very powerful reinforcement into these provinces, the republic will be in the greatest danger of losing the whole of her revenues in this part of the world. If your reliance is upon the provincial militia, be assured you will be extremely disappointed; as they are very inconsiderable in point of numbers, and such miserable dastards as to run away upon the first alarm. The brave Marcus Bibulus is so sensible of the nature of these Asiatic troops, that he has not thought proper to raise any of them, tho' he had your express permission for that purpose. As to the assistance that may be expected from
our

our allies, the severity and injustice of our government has either so greatly weakened them, as to put it out of their power to be of much service to us, or so entirely alienated their affections, as to render it unsafe to trust them. The inclinations, however, and the forces too, (whatever they be^a) of king Deiotarus, I reckon as entirely ours. Capadocia is wholly unfurnished with any place of strength: and as to those other neighbouring princes, our allies, they are neither willing nor able to afford us any considerable succours. Ill provided, however, as I am with troops, my courage, you may be assured, shall not be wanting; nor, I trust, my prudence. What the event may prove, is altogether uncertain: I can only wish that I may be in a condition to defend myself with as much success as I certainly shall with honour.

LETTER

^a It is probable that Cicero did not at this time know their number; but they were by no means inconsiderable.—For it appears, by a letter to Atticus, that they amounted to 12,000 foot, armed in the Roman manner, and 2,000 horse. *Ad Att. vi. 1.*

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

THOUGH I have some political news to communicate to you, yet I can acquaint you with nothing, I believe, that will give you more pleasure than what I am going previously to mention. You are to know, then, that Rufus^b, your favourite Sempronius Refus, has been lately convicted of false accusation^c, to the singular joy of the whole city. This prosecution was occasioned by the following circumstance. Rufus, soon after the exhibition of the

^b Cicero mentions this person in a letter to Atticus, as a man who had failed in the civilities he owed him, by not waiting upon him before he set out for Cilicia; but, at the same time, expresses a satisfaction in having by that means been spared the trouble of a very disagreeable visitor. The epithet, therefore, which Cælius here gives to Rufus, must be understood ironically. *Ad Att. v. 2.*

^c “The Roman laws were particularly severe against those who were discovered to have offended in this point. In criminal causes they inflicted banishment, and *ordinis amissio*, (the loss of rank.) In civil causes the plaintiff generally deposited a sum of money, which he forfeited if he was found guilty of bringing a vexatious suit. Cicero alludes to another punishment of marking a letter upon the forehead of the false informer, *pro Rosc. Am. 20*. It was the letter K which was impressed upon them, that being the first letter, according to the old orthography, in the word *Kalumniæ*.” Mr. Ross.

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the Roman games⁷, was impeached by Marcus Tuccius; and being sensible that the charge would be proved against him, and that his trial must unavoidably come on this year, unless some other of an higher nature⁸ intervened, he determined upon an expedient for that purpose. Accordingly, as no one, he thought, had so good a title to the honour of this precedence as his prosecutor: he preferred an accusation upon the Plotian law⁹ against Tuccius, for a violation of the public peace; a charge, however, which he could not prevail with a single person to subscribe¹. As soon as I was apprised of this affair,

I flew

⁷ These games were instituted by Tarquinius Priscus, A. U. 138, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Their annual celebration commenced on the 9th of September, and continued nine days.

⁸ It is probable, as Manutius observes, that the judges of the present year were in general no friends to Refus, which made him endeavour to postpone his trial. The same learned commentator remarks, that all trials were brought on in a regular rotation, unless in accusations that were connected with some other cause, that had been immediately before adjudged, or in the case of impeachments for the violation of the public peace. These, he proves, by several instances, were always determined preferably to all other causes whatsoever.

⁹ The author of this law was P. Plautius, or Plautius, tribune of the people, an. urb. 675; and the penalty inflicted by it was banishment.

¹ It seems to have been customary for the prosecutor in capital causes to procure some of his friends to join with him in signing the articles of his impeachment. These were styled *subscriptores*, and acted as a sort of seconds to him in this judicial combat. They could not, however, be admitted

I flew to the assistance of Tuccius, without waiting his request. But when I rose up to speak, I forbore entering into a particular defence of my friend, contenting myself with displaying the character of his adversary in all its true and odious colours, in which you may be sure I did not forget the story concerning Vestorius, and his unworthy conduct towards you.

I must inform you, likewise, of another trial, which at present greatly engages the Forum. Marcus Servilius had been convicted of extortion in his office², and I ventured to be his advocate, notwithstanding the popular clamour was strongly against him. Servilius, however, having dissipated his whole estate, and being utterly insolvent, Pausanius³ petitioned the prætor Laterensis (and I spoke, likewise, in support of this petition) that he might be empowered

ted into this association without a special licence from the judges for that purpose. *Vid. Hottom. in Q. Cæcil. divin. 15.*

² The whole account of the following transactions concerning Servilius, is extremely (perhaps impenetrably) obscure in the original; and has exercised the ingenuity of all the commentators to enlighten. The translator, however, has ventured, in some instances, to depart from them; tho' he acknowledges, at the same time, that he is scarce more satisfied with his own interpretation, than with theirs.

³ Who this person was, or in what manner concerned in the present cause, is altogether undiscoverable. Perhaps, as Mr. Ross conjectures, he might have been the prosecutor.

powered to pursue the sum in question, into whose hands soever it should appear to have been paid⁴. But this petition was dismissed; the prætor alledging that Pilius, a relation of our friend Atticus, had also exhibited articles of impeachment against my client for a crime of the same kind. This news immediately spread throughout Rome, and it was generally said in all conversations, that Pilius would certainly make good his charge. Appius, the younger, was much disturbed at this report, as having a claim upon Servilius, of eighty-one hundred thousand sesterces⁵, a sum which he scrupled not to avow, had been deposited in the hands of Servilius, in order to be paid over to the prosecutor in an information against his father, provided the informer would suffer himself to be nonsuited. If you are surprised at the weakness of Appius, in thus acknowledging

⁴ It appears, by a passage which Manutius produces from the oration in defence of Rabirius, that in convictions of this kind the money was recoverable by the Julian law from any hand, into which it could be proved to have been paid. *Pro Rabir. Post. 47*

⁵ About 65,367*l.* of our money. This sum must appear excessive, if considered only with respect to the wealth of the present times. But Appius might well be enabled to give it, and it might have been extremely prudent in him, likewise, to have done so, if this prosecution was (what seems highly probable) on account of his father's having plundered some province committed to his administration.

so shameful a bargain, how much higher would your astonishment have risen, if you had heard his evidence upon the trial of that very ill-judged action which he brought against Servilius for this money? He most clearly, indeed, made appear, to the full satisfaction of the whole court, both his own folly and his father's guilt. To complete the absurdity of his conduct, upon this occasion, he was so imprudent as to summon the very same judges upon this cause, who tried the information I just now mentioned to have been brought against his father. It happened, however, that their voices were equally divided⁶. But the prætor, not knowing how the law stood in this case, declared that Servilius had a majority of the three classes of judges in his favour; and, accordingly, acquitted him in the usual form. At the rising of the court, therefore, it was generally imagined that the acquittal of Servilius would be enrolled. But the prætor thinking it advisable to look into the laws upon this point, before he made up the record, found it expressly enacted, that "in all causes sentence shall be pronounced according to the majority of the votes in the whole collective number

⁶ In this case the Roman law determined by the most favourable presumption, and absolved the defendant.

"ber of judges⁷." Instead, therefore, of registering the acquittal of Servilius, he only inserted in the roll the number of voices as they stood in each respective class. Appius, in consequence of this mistake, re-commenced his suit, while the prætor, by the intervention of Lollius, promised to amend the record, and enter a proper judgment. But the hapless Servilius, neither entirely acquitted, nor absolutely condemned, is, at length, to be delivered over, with this his blasted character, to the hands of Pilius. For Appius not venturing to contend with the latter, which of their actions should have the priority, has thought proper to wave his prosecution. He, himself, is likewise impeached by the relations of Servilius for bribery: as he has also another accusation laid against him by one Titius, a creature of his own, who has charged him with a breach of the peace. And thus are these

⁷ It has already been observed in the foregoing remarks, that the judges were divided into three classes. See rem. 4. p. 292 of this vol. It is obvious, therefore, that there might have been a majority in two of the classes out of the three, in favour of Servilius, and yet that the voices considered with respect to the whole number of judges, might have been equal. But it is inconceivable that a magistrate of Prætorian rank could possibly be ignorant of a practice which one can scarce suppose the most common citizen of Rome to have been unacquainted with. Notwithstanding, therefore, Cælius ascribes the prætor's conduct to ignorance, it seems much more probable to have arisen from design.

these two worthy combatants most equally matched.

As to public affairs; we had waited several days in expectation that something would be determined concerning Gaul; frequent motions having been made in the senate for this purpose, which were followed by very warm debates. At length, however, it plainly appearing, agreeable to Pompey's sentiments, that Cæsar's command in Gaul should not be continued longer than the first of March, the senate passed the following orders and decrees⁸.

"BY AUTHORITY OF THE SENATE, held
"in the temple of Apollo, on the 30th day of
"September. Signed⁹: L. Domitius Ahenobarbas; Q. Cæcilius; Metullus Pius Scipio;
"L. Villius Annalis; C. Septimius; Caius
"Luceius Hirrus; C. Scribonius Curio; L.
"Atteius Capito; M. Oppius. WHEREAS a
"motion was made by Marcus Marcellus, the
"consul, concerning the consular provinces,
"it is ORDERED, that Lucius Paulus, and Caius
"Marcellus, consuls elect, shall, on the first of
"March next, following their entering upon their

⁸ With regard to the difference between an order and a decree of the senate, see remark 9. p. 64, of this vol.

⁹ The decrees of the senate were usually signed in this manner by those who were the principal promoters of the question.

"their office, move the senate concerning the
 "consular provinces, at which time no other
 "business shall be proceeded upon, nor any
 "other motion made in conjunction therewith.
 "And, for this purpose, the senate shall con-
 "tinue to assemble, notwithstanding the comi-
 "tial days¹⁰, and until a decree shall be passed."

"ORDERED, that when the consuls shall
 "move the senate upon the question aforesaid,
 "they shall be empowered to summon such of
 "the 300 judges who are members of the se-
 "nate to attend".

"RESOLVED, that if any matters shall arise
 "upon the question aforesaid, which shall be
 "necessary to be laid before the people; that
 "Servius Sulpicius, and Marcus Marcellus,
 "the present consuls, together with the prætors
 "and

¹⁰ The comitial days were those on which the *Comitia*, or assemblies of the people were held; and, on these, the law prohibited the senate to be convened. The senate, however, in the present instance, and agreeably to a prerogative which they claimed and exercised upon many other occasions, took upon themselves to act with a dispensing power. See *Mid. on the Rom. Sen.* p. 121.

¹¹ This clause was inserted in order to secure a full house, a certain number of senators being necessary to be present for making a decree valid. See remark 14. p. 165. of this vol. The correction of Manutius has been adopted in the translation, who, instead of *seu abducere liceret*, reads *eos abducere*, &c.

"and tribunes of the people, or such of them
 "as shall be agreed upon, shall call an assem-
 "bly of the people for this purpose; and if the
 "magistrates aforesaid shall fail herein, the same
 "shall be proposed to the people by their suc-
 "cessors."

"THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER,
 "in the temple of Apollo. Signed: L. Domi-
 "tius Ahenobarbus; Q. Cæcilius; Metullus
 "Pius Scipio; L. Villius Annalis; C. Septi-
 "mius; C. Scribonius Curio; M. Oppius.

"The consul, Marcus Marcellus, having
 "moved the senate concerning the provinces,

"RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of the
 "senate, that it will be highly unbecoming
 "any magistrate, who has a power of control-
 "ling their proceedings, to occasion any hin-
 "drance whereby the senate may be prevented
 "from taking the aforesaid motion into con-
 "sideration as soon as possible: and that
 "whosoever shall obstruct or oppose the same
 "shall be deemed an enemy to the republic.

"ORDERED, that if any magistrate shall
 "put a negative upon the foregoing resolu-
 "tion, the same shall be entered as an order of
 "the

"the senate, and again referred to the consideration of this house."

This resolution was protested against by Caius Cœlius, Lucius Vinicius, P. Publius Cornelius, and Caius Vibius Pansa.

"RESOLVED, that the senate will take into consideration the case of such of the soldiers under Cæsar's command, who have served out their legal time, or who, for other reasons, are entitled to a discharge: and make such order thereupon as shall be agreeable to equity."

"RESOLVED, that, if any magistrate shall put his negative upon the foregoing decree, the same shall stand as an order of senate, and be again referred to the consideration of this house."

This resolution was protested against by Caius Cœlius, and Caius Pansa, tribunes of the people.

"ORDERED, that such of the present prætors, who have never held any provincial command,

¹² A Roman soldier could not be compelled to bear arms after having been in the service ten years. As the strength of Cæsar's army in Gaul consisted principally in his veterans, this clause was added, as Gronovius observes,

"command, shall draw lots to succeed respectively to the government of Cilicia, and the eight remaining Prætorian¹³ provinces. But if there shall not be a sufficient number¹⁴ of these to fill up the aforesaid governments; then, and in this case, the deficiency shall be supplied by lot out of the first college¹⁵ of prætors, among those who have never held a foreign government. And if there shall not be found a sufficient number among these last, so qualified as aforesaid, the same shall be supplied from the members of each preceding college, till the whole number required be completed.

Caius Cœlius Pansa
"RESOLVED, that, if any magistrate shall put his negative upon the foregoing decree, the same shall stand as an order of the senate."

This decree was protested against by Caius Cœlius, serves, with a view of drawing off those soldiers from his troops.

¹³ The provinces of lesser note were usually assigned to the prætors; and from thence they were distinguished by the name of the Prætorian provinces.

¹⁴ The number of prætors varied in different periods of the republic. In the times of Cicero this magistracy was composed of eight persons, as Cellarius remarks in his note upon this passage.

¹⁵ Every annual set of prætors were distinguished by colleges, styled the 1st, 2d, 3d, &c. according to their several removes from the current year.

Cælius, and Caius Pansa, tribunes of the people.

In the debates which preceded these decrees, Pompey let fall an expression that was much observed, and gave us very confident hopes of his good intentions. "He could not, without great injustice, he said, determine any thing in relation to the provinces under Cæsar's command, before the first of March: but, after that time, he assured the senate he should have no sort of scruple." Being asked, "what if a negative should then be put upon a decree of the senate for recalling Cæsar?" He declared that he should look upon it as just the same thing, whether Cæsar openly refused to obey the authority of the senate, or secretly procured some magistrate to obstruct their decrees. But suppose, said another member, Cæsar should pursue his pretensions to the consulate, and retain his command abroad at the same time. "Suppose," replied Pompey, with great temper, "my own son should lay violent hands upon me?" From expressions of this kind the world has conceived a notion that a rupture will undoubtedly ensue between Pompey and Cæsar. I am of opinion, however, that the latter will submit to

one

one of these two conditions; either to give up his present pretensions to the consulate, and continue in Gaul, or to quit the province, provided he can be assured of his election.—Curio is preparing most strongly to oppose his demands. What he may be able to effect, I know not; but sure I am, that a man who acts upon such patriot principles, must gain honour at least, if he gain nothing else. He treats me upon all occasions with great generosity; and, indeed, in a late instance, has been more liberal than I could have wished; as his civility has drawn upon me a trouble which, perhaps, I might otherwise have escaped. He has presented me with some African panthers, which he had procured for his own games, and by that means laid me under a necessity of making use of them¹⁷. I must, therefore, remind you of what I have often mentioned already, and entreat you to send me some of these animals from your part of the world; and I again likewise recommend to your care the bond of Sitius.

I have had occasion to dispatch my freedman, Philo, together with Diogenes, a Greek, into your province. I hope you will afford your patronage both to them and their com-

mission;
¹⁷ In the games he was preparing to exhibit as *Ædile*.

mission; as you will find, by the letter they are to deliver to you on my part, that it is an affair¹⁸ in which I am deeply interested. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS¹, Proprætor.

YOU are apprised, I imagine, of the friendship that subsisted between Titus Pinnius and myself. He has sufficiently declared it, indeed, by his will, wherein he not only appointed me one of the guardians to his son, but left me the contingent reversion also of his estate. My ward (who is a youth of uncommon modesty, as well as great application to his studies) has

¹⁸ This affair seems to be explained by an epistle to Atticus, wherein Cicero mentions the receipt of a very pressing letter from Cælius, by the hands of his freedman. The purport of it appears to have been, to solicit Cicero to levy a contribution upon his province, towards the expence of those public games, which Cælius, as Ædile was obliged to exhibit. This oppressive tax had been frequently raised by the governors of provinces, in favour of their friends at Rome, and was, indeed, almost established into a custom.—But Cicero, notwithstanding he seems to have had a sincere affection for Cælius, would by no means be prevailed upon to break through the equitable maxims of his administration, and with great integrity refused his request. *Ad Att.* vi. 1. *Ad Q. F.* l. 1. No. 9.

¹ He was at this time proprætor, or governor, of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia, where he discharged the provincial functions with great applause. *Ad Att.* vi. 3.

has a very considerable demand upon the city of Nicæa, amounting to eight millions of sesterces²; and the corporation, I am told, are inclined to pay off part of this sum the first debt they shall discharge. Now, as not only the rest of the trustees, who know the regard you bear me, but the young man himself, is persuaded that you will not refuse any thing to my request, I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for employing your good offices, (as far, I mean, as may be consistent with your dignity and character) that they pay off as large a proportion of this demand as possible. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile elect.

I CONGRATULATE you on the honourable post you have lately obtained³, and on the prospect which, by this mean, is open to you, of advancing still higher in the dignities of the republic. I am somewhat late, I confess, in my compliments: however, you must not impute it to any intentional neglect, but merely to my ignorance of what passes at Rome. For, partly from the great distance of my

² About 70,000l. sterling.

³ The Ædileship.

my situation, and partly from those banditti which infest the roads, it is a considerable time before I can receive any intelligence from Italy. And now I know not where to find words sufficiently strong to give you joy upon this occasion, or to express my thanks for your having thus "furnished me (as you termed it "in one of your former letters) with a subject "of perpetual ridicule." When I first received the news of your victory, I could not forbear mimicking a certain *worthy friend* of ours, and imitating the droll figures those gallant youths exhibited, of whose interest he had so confidently boasted^b. But it is not easy to give you in description a complete idea of this my humorous sally. I must tell you, however, that I next figured you to myself, and accosted you, as if present, in the words of the comic poet.

*Far less, my good friend, I rejoice at your deed,
As exceeding whatever before did exceed,
Than as mounting aloft o'er my hopes the most high;
And for this, "By my troth 'tis amazing," I cry.*

Upon

^b A mere modern reader, who judges of past ages by the modes that prevail in his own, must undoubtedly conceive a very low opinion of Cicero from the account which he here gives of his behaviour. But mimicry was not esteemed by the Romans, as it is with us, a talent becoming only a comedian or a buffoon. On the contrary, this species of humour was thought worthy of the gravest character

Upon which I broke out into a most immoderate fit of laughter: and when some of my friends reproved my mirth, as deviating almost into downright folly, I excused myself by the old verse,

Excessive joy is not exceeding wise.

In short, whilst I ridiculed this noble friend of ours, I became almost as ridiculous as himself. But you shall hear farther upon this subject another opportunity: for, in truth, I have many things to say both *of* you and *to* you, whenever I shall find more leisure for that purpose. In the mean time be assured, my dear Cœlius, that I sincerely love you. I consider you, indeed, as one whom fortune has raised up to advance my glory, and avenge my wrongs: and I doubt not, you will give both those who hate and those who envy me, sufficient reason to repent of their folly and their injustice. Farewel.

LETTER

racters even upon the gravest occasions: and it was practised by their orators, as well as recommended by their rhetoricians, as a quality, under certain restrictions, of singular grace and efficacy in the whole business of public eloquence. *Vid. Cic. de Orat. ii. 59, 60.*

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LETTER X.

[A. U. 702.]

To PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

YOUR good offices in the affair of Atilius, afford me an additional motive for giving you my affection. Late, indeed, as I applied to you in his behalf, I have, however, by your generous intervention, preserved a most worthy Roman knight from ruin. The truth is, I always looked upon my friendship with Lamia, as giving me a claim to yours. In the first place, then, I return you thanks for easing my mind of all its disquietude with respect to Atilius; and, in the next, after thus acknowledging your last favour, I have the assurance to request another: and it is a favour which I shall repay with the utmost returns of my esteem and gratitude. Let me entreat you, then, if I have any share in your heart, to allow my brother an equal enjoyment of the same privilege: which will be adding a very considerable obligation to that important one I so lately received at your hands. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 702.]

To APPIUS PULCHER.

By all that I can collect from your last letter, this will find you in the suburbs³ of Rome. But though the impotent calumnies of these poultry provincials will probably be subsided ere this reaches your hands, yet, I think it necessary to return some answer to the long epistle I received from you upon that subject; and I shall do so in as few words as possible.

As to the accusation contained in the two first paragraphs of your letter, it is conceived in such vague and general terms, that it is impossible to give it a direct reply. The whole that I can gather from it is, that I am accused of having discovered, by my countenance and my silence, that I was by no means your friend: a discovery which I made, it seems,

³ Appius, at his return from Cilicia, demanded a triumph, as the reward of his military exploits in that province: and accordingly took up his residence *without* the city. For those who claimed this honour were not admitted within the walls of Rome till their petition was either granted or rejected, or they chose to drop it themselves. The latter was the case with respect to Appius, as will hereafter appear.

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seems, upon some occasion in the courts of judicature, and likewise at certain public entertainments. I am very sure, there is not the least ground for this imputation; but as you do not point out the particular instances, I know not in what manner to vindicate myself from the charge. This, however, I most undoubtedly know, that I have mentioned you, upon all occasions, both public and private, with the highest applause, and with the warmest professions of friendship. As to the affair of the deputies⁴, I will appeal to your own breast, whether I could possibly have acted with more probity and discretion than to lessen the expences of these impoverished cities, without any diminution, at the same time, of those honours which they proposed to pay you: especially as it was in compliance

⁴ "It was a custom for the governors of provinces, upon their retirement from their government, to procure ambassadors to be sent to Rome from the several cities under their jurisdiction, to praise the integrity and equity of their administration. The origin of this custom was undoubtedly good, and, in some few instances, we find that it was undertaken voluntarily: but it was generally extorted by force, and a great burden to the miserable inhabitants, who, perhaps, had been already fleeced by the rapine and plunder of that very person whose lenity and moderation they were compelled to extol. Appius had taken care, before he left Cilicia, to secure this compliment to be paid to himself, though as undeserving of it as any of his predecessors. But Cicero, who set out upon a more frugal plan than other governors, prevented it, out of compassion to the poverty and indigence of the province." Mr. Ross.

compliance with their own immediate request? And, indeed, I was wholly unapprised of the particular purposes of that deputation, which was going to Rome with the customary complimentary address to the senate upon your account. When I was at Apamea⁵, some of the principal inhabitants of several different cities, complained to me of the excessive appointments that were decreed to their deputies; assuring me, that their respective communities were by no means in a condition to support the assessments levied upon them for that purpose. This suggested to my thoughts various reflections: and I imagined, that a man of your refined sentiments could not be extremely fond of honours of this unsubstantial nature. Accordingly, it was at Synnada, I think, that I took occasion to say from the tribunal, (and I expatiated very largely upon the subject) "that the approved merit of Appius was sufficient, without the testimony of the Midensians (for it was in their city⁶ that the proposal first arose) to recommend him to the esteem of the senate and the Roman

⁵ A city in that part of Phrygia which was annexed to Cicero's province: as was Synnada, likewise, mentioned a few lines below.

⁶ A town in the neighbourhood of Synnada. In the original it is *Myndensium*: but Quartier has given good reasons for the reading here followed.

“ Roman people; that I had often, indeed, seen
 “ instances of this kind of deputations, but did
 “ not remember they were ever admitted to an
 “ audience; that, however, I applauded the
 “ gratitude they had thus shewn for your merit
 “ towards them, but thought the particular
 “ instance in question was wholly unnecessary;
 “ that if any of them were willing to undertake
 “ this commission at their own expence, I should
 “ highly commend their zeal; and I would
 “ even consent it should be performed at the
 “ public charge, provided they did not exceed
 “ a reasonable sum: but, beyond that, I would
 “ in no sort give my permission.”

I am persuaded there is nothing in what I thus said, that can possibly give you offence: and, indeed, your principal complaint is levelled, I perceive, against my edict⁷. For there were some, it seems, who thought it manifestly drawn up with a view of preventing these legations. I cannot forbear saying, that, to give attention to these groundless insinuations, is no less injurious to me than to be author of them. The truth of it is, I settled this edict before I left Rome: and the single addition that I made to it afterwards, was at the instance of the farmers of

⁷ The nature of these proconsular edicts has already been explained in rem. 7. p. 338. of this vol.

of the revenues: who, when they met me at Samos⁸, desired I would transcribe a paragraph out of your edict and insert it into mine. It was that article which restrains the public expences, and contains several new and very salutary regulations, which I greatly approved. But as to that particular section which gave rise, I find, to the suspicion that I framed it with a design of striking at you, it is copied entirely from the old precedents. I was not, indeed, so absurd, as to think (what I perceive you imagine) that some private affair was concerned in this deputation; well knowing that it was sent from a public body in relation to your public character, and addressed to that great council of the whole world, the senate of Rome. Nor did I, (as you object,) when I prohibited any person from going out of the province without my permission, exclude all those from the possibility of obtaining that leave, who could not follow me to the camp and beyond Mount Taurus: an imputation, I must needs say, the most ridiculous of any in your whole letter. For where, let me ask, was the necessity that any person should follow me for this purpose to

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⁸ An island near the coast of Ionia, lying opposite to the city of Ephesus. Cicero touched at this island in his voyage to the province.

the camp; or beyond Mount Taurus; when I regulated my journey from Laodicea to Iconium in such a manner, that all the magistrates and deputies of the several cities in that district might have an opportunity of meeting me? They could not, therefore, be under the difficulty you charge me with having thrown in their way, unless they had taken up the design of going to Rome after my having passed Mount Taurus: which most undoubtedly was not the case. For, during my stay at Apamea, Synnada, Philomelum^a, and Iconium, all affairs of that nature were entirely settled.

I must farther assure you, that I decreed nothing concerning the abating or abolishing the appointments of the deputies, but at the express request of the principal inhabitants of several cities: and their view was, to prevent any unnecessary exactions that were occasioned by the farming of the subsidies imposed for this purpose, and raising them in that cruel method of capitation, with which you are so well acquainted. Compassion, indeed, as well as justice, inclined me to ease the calamities of these unhappy cities, oppressed as they chiefly were
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^a A city in Phrygia Major, situated on the frontiers towards Galatia. The situation of the other cities mentioned in this place has already been occasionally noted as they occurred in the preceding letters.

by their own magistrates: and when I was engaged in a design of that nature, I could not possibly overlook an expence which appeared so extremely superfluous as that of the appointments of these deputies. It was but a piece of justice therefore due to me, not to have listened to any idle tales that might be related to you upon this subject. But if it should prove, after all, that you attribute to the reports of others, what, in truth, receive their rise merely from your own suspicions, you certainly make use of a sort of figure which the language of friendship will by no means authorise. Had it ever, indeed, been my design to derogate from your reputation in the province, I should scarce have acted in the manner I did, I should not have referred it to your son-in-law at Rome, to your freedman at Brundisium, and to the commander of your artillery when I saw him at Corcyra, to name the place which
they

^{*} It appears from the letters to Atticus, to whom it was that the grievances of these unhappy cities were principally owing. Their own magistrates, it is true, had some share in them: but their chief oppressor was Appius himself. The desolation he had brought upon this plundered province was so dreadful, that one would rather imagine, says Cicero, some savage monster had been let loose upon them, than that they had been trusted to the care of any human creature. And in another letter he tells Atticus, that he had sufficient employment in applying remedies to those wounds which had been given to this province by his predecessor. *Ad Att. v. 16, 17.*

they thought would be most agreeable to you for our meeting. In short, I wish you would remember the maxim which those great authors have laid down, who have written so excellently upon friendship; that "to *accuse* and "to *defend* are terms which ought for ever to "be banished from intercourses of this amicable kind."

But do you imagine that I have had no opportunities of listening, in my turn, to accusations of the same nature against yourself? Was it never told me, do you think, that after you had appointed me to meet you at Laodicea, you retired beyond Mount Taurus? That, at the very time I was employed in my juridical office at Apamea, Synnada, and Philomelum, you took the liberty to exercise the same authority at Tarsus? But I forbear to enter farther into these particulars, that I may not follow your example in the very instance of which I am complaining. This, however, I will say, (and I say it with great sincerity) that if you are really persuaded of the truth of these reports, you do me much injustice; and you are not entirely without reproach, if you only suffered them to be related to you. The truth is, it will appear that I have acted towards you in one uniform tenor of friendship.

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And let those who impute artifice to me, say, whether it is probable, that, after having paid the utmost attention to your interest, during your absence from Rome, and at a time when I had not the least expectation of its ever being in your power to return me the same favour, I should give you just reason to abandon me now that I have so many occasions for your good offices. I must, however, acknowledge, that there is one article wherein I may not, perhaps, have regulated myself altogether agreeably to your inclinations. I am sensible you would be displeased with any liberties that should be taken with the characters of those who acted in office under you: and I will own that I have heard very unfavourable representations of some of them. But I must add, that no persons were ever mentioned upon this occasion, or any greater irregularities laid to their charge, than those which your friend Clodius himself named to me when I saw him at Corcyra: who lamented, I remember, that you had been some sufferer in your reputation by the mal-practices of those officers². Reports of this

² A particular instance of the cruelty of one of these officers under Appius, is mentioned in the letters to Atticus. Scaptius, who commanded a troop of horse in Cyprus, surrounded their senate with his forces in order to compel them, it is probable, to comply with some unjust demands, and kept

this kind (and many such indeed there are) I never in the least encouraged: but I will frankly acknowledge, likewise, that I never greatly endeavoured to repress them; well persuaded as I am, that they can, in no sort, affect your character.

Whoever attempts to persuade you, that there is no such thing as a perfect reconciliation between friends whose affections have once been alienated, discovers the perfidy of his own heart, instead of proving the dissimulation of mine: at the same time that it is evident that he has not a worse opinion of my

sincerity, kept them thus besieged till five of the members perished with hunger. When the government of this province came into the hands of Cicero, the Cyprians, as their island lay within his jurisdiction, petitioned that these troops might be withdrawn: and he very humanely complied with their request. He relieved them, likewise, as well as other cities under his government, from the immoderate interest which they paid for the money which their necessities had obliged them to borrow in Rome; reducing it from 4 per cent. paid monthly, to 1 per cent. This equitable reduction very considerably affected Brutus, who was concerned in these loans; and he seems to have complained of it to Atticus. But notwithstanding the latter strongly pressed Cicero to favour Brutus in this affair, and Brutus himself likewise had written to Cicero for the same purpose; yet he resolutely withstood their united solicitations. "If Brutus," says he, "resents my conduct upon this occasion, I shall be sorry: but much more so, to find him a different man from what I always thought him." And if Cicero, I will add, had spoken and acted upon every other occasion with the same spirit and integrity, as he certainly did in the present, he would have merited all the encomiums which the warmest of his admirers could have bestowed. *Ad Att. vi. 1. 2.*

sincerity, than he must necessarily entertain of yours. But if any man has taken offence at the measures I pursue in my government, as not exactly coinciding with yours, I am perfectly unconcerned at the loss of his friendship. To say truth, we have both acted in the manner we ought, though we have not both followed the same plan. The instances you gave of your diffusive liberality, in this province, were suitable to a man of your quality. Tho' indeed, even you yourself were obliged, the last year, in compliance with the calamities of the season, a little to restrain the munificence of your natural disposition. But if mine, on the contrary, flows in a somewhat more limited channel, let not those to whom the benefit of that stream has not reached, wonder that I rather choose *they* should suffer from the necessary restrictions of my bounty, than that I should from the just reproaches of my conscience. I have ever, indeed, been extremely reserved in dispensing largesses at another's cost: as I cannot but be sensibly affected with distresses that extend themselves throughout a whole community.

I am much obliged to you for the account you gave me of affairs at Rome; and particularly for the assurance of your faithfully executing

cuting all my requests. What I principally recommend to your care is, that neither the business nor the period of my administration may be enlarged. To this end, I beg you would entreat our common friend and colleague Hortensius, that if ever he was disposed to comply with my inclinations, he would not persist in my continuing two years in this government, than which he cannot do me a more unfriendly office.

As to the information you desire concerning my own motions; I marched from Tarsus in my way to Amanus on the 7th of October, and, I write this the day following, from my camp in the plains of Mopsuhesta⁴. If any action should happen, I shall not fail of giving you notice: and you may depend upon my enclosing a letter to you whenever I send one to my family. With respect to the Parthians whom you inquire after; I am persuaded that none ever appeared. They were only a troop of Arabians, armed after the Parthian manner. But these, it is said, are all returned home, and I am assured there is now no appearance of an enemy in Syria.

I entreat you to write to me as often as possible

³ In the Augural College.

⁴ A city in Cilicia, situated upon the banks of the river Pyramus.

sible, not only as to what regards your own and my private affairs, but as to those likewise of the republic. I am more than ordinarily, indeed, solicitous concerning the latter, as I find, by your letter, that Pompey is going into Spain⁵. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 702.]

To PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

I DID not imagine I should ever have found myself at a loss for expressions: yet at a loss, believe me, I am, to recommend Marcus Lænius to you in the terms he deserves. I must content myself, therefore, with explaining the business of this letter in a few words: but in such, however, as may render you sufficiently sensible of my inclinations. It is incredible how great an esteem both my dearest brother and myself entertain for Lænius: an esteem, which is founded, not only on the many good offices he has conferred upon us, but on the exalted integrity of his heart, and the singular modesty

⁵ The government of Spain had been renewed to Pompey for five years at the end of his consulate in the preceding year: which province, however, he administered by his lieutenants, whilst he himself still continued in Rome. *Dio*, xli. p. 148.

modesty with which all his virtues are accompanied. It was with the utmost regret, therefore, that I consented to part with him: as I receive much advantage from his counsels, as well as great entertainment from his company. But if I should expatiate any farther in his praise, will you not think that, far from wanting words as I just now complained, I have employed more than are necessary? To be short then; I recommend Lænius to your protection, with all that warmth which you must be sensible I ought, after what I have here said. Let me earnestly entreat you to expedite the business which has called him into your province, and to favour him, likewise, with your advice in the conduct of it. You will find him, be assured, a man of a most generous and well-natured disposition: for which reason, I beg you will send him back to us with the satisfaction of having finished his affairs by your means, as soon as possible. Your compliance with this request, will extremely oblige both my brother and myself. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 702.]

To MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile elect.

I WISH you would enquire the reason that your letters miscarry; for I cannot be induced to think that you have not once written to me since your election*. I am persuaded, on the contrary, that you would not have omitted to communicate a piece of news I so much wished with regard to yourself, and so little expected in relation to Hirrus. The truth, however, is, that I have not heard from you since that glorious and joyful event; which gives me some uneasiness, lest my letters should have had no better success in finding their way to your hand. But be assured I have never written to my family without accompanying my packet with a letter for you; as, indeed, there is no man whom I more sincerely and tenderly value.—But to turn to the principal purpose of this epistle. Your wish has succeeded, and I have just had employment enough of the military kind to entitle me to a triumph. You were under some apprehensions, I perceive, about the Parthians, as being diffident of my forces.

* Into the office of Ædile.

forces. I must acquaint you, then, that, having received advice that the Parthians had committed hostilities, I took the advantage of some defiles, and of the neighbouring mountains, to lead my army, supported by a tolerable number of auxiliaries, to Amanus. The reputation of my name was of some benefit to me likewise in my march: for you cannot imagine of what importance it is, in places of this kind, to have the populace ask, *Is this the consul that saved Rome?* *Is this he that was so honoured by the senate?* together with other questions of the same import, which I need not add. When I approached to Amanus, a mountain which separates Cilicia from Syria, I had the satisfaction to hear that Cassius⁴ had obliged the enemy to abandon the siege of Antiochea, and that Bibulus had taken upon himself the command of the province.--- However, I employed my army in harassing the Amanienses, our eternal enemies; and having put many of them to the sword, as well as taken a great number of prisoners, and entirely dispersed the rest, I surprised and burnt some of their fortresses. Having thus obtained a complete

⁴ He was lieutenant to Crassus, in Syria, after whose death the command of the province devolved upon him, till Bibulus, who was appointed successor to Crassus, arrived.— A more particular account will be given of him in the farther progress of these remarks.

complete victory, I was saluted with the title of *Imperator*, by the whole army, at Issus⁵; the very place (as your favourite historian, Clitarchus⁶, has often, I have heard you say, informed you) where Alexander defeated Darius. From thence I marched into the most infested parts of Cilicia, where I am now before Pindennessum, a city of great strength, and which I have already been battering above these three weeks. The garrison makes a most obstinate and vigorous defence; so that nothing seems wanting to complete the glory I shall here obtain, but that the name of this place were less obscure. If I should make myself master of it, (as I trust I shall) I will send an immediate express to the senate. In the mean time I have given you this general account of my operations, to let you see there is some foundation to hope that your good wishes will take effect. But to return to the Parthians. This summer's campaign has proved, you find, tolerably successful: I am in great pain, however, for the next. Let me entreat you, therefore, my dear friend, to endeavour

⁵ A city which stood on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria.

⁶ A Greek historian, who attended Alexander in his Persian expedition.

deavour that a successor be appointed to my government: but if that should prove a matter of too much difficulty, (as you intimate in one of your letters, and as I am myself inclined to suspect) be careful at least to guard against what may easily be prevented; I mean the prolongation of my residence.

I expect from your letters, (as I mentioned in one of my former) not merely an account of what is at present going forward in the republic, but a clear prospect also of what is likely to happen. For which purpose I entreat you to inform me fully of every thing that concerns the public. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

WE have received an express from Caius Cassius, and another from Deiotarus, which greatly alarm us. The former writes that the Parthian army has passed the Euphrates; and the latter, that they are actually marching towards your province, by the way of Comma-gene. As I well know how ill provided you are

² This letter appears to have been written before any of Cicero's dispatches, concerning the Parthians, had reached Rome; and consequently before Cælius had received the preceding epistle.

are with troops; the principal concern I feel from this invasion, with respect to you, is lest you should be a loser by it in point of reputation. Had you been better prepared, indeed, to receive the enemy, I should have been in great pain for your life: but as the very small number of your forces will incline you, I imagine, rather to think of a retreat than an engagement, I am only anxious concerning your honour. For how far the world may consider the necessity of the case, and approve of your thus declining a battle, is a point, I confess, which gives me much uneasy reflection. In short, I shall be in continual anxiety till I hear of your arrival in Italy. In the mean time, this news of the Parthians has occasioned a variety of speculations. Some are of opinion that Pompey ought to be sent to oppose them; and others, that it is by no means convenient he should leave Rome. A third party is for assigning this expedition to Cæsar and his army, whilst a fourth names the consuls¹ as the most proper persons to be employed. But all agree, however, in being silent as to any decree of the senate for placing this command in private hands². The consuls, in the apprehension that they

¹ Marcus Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius.

² That is, in the hands of those who were not invested with some public command.

they shall either be nominated to a commission which they do not relish, or suffer the disgrace of its being given from them, forbear to convene the senate, and by this mean incur the censure of neglecting the public interest. But whether indolence or pusillanimity be the real motive of their declining the conduct of this war, it is concealed under the specious appearance, however, of modesty.

As we have received no courier from you, it was suspected, till the dispatch from Deiotarus arrived, that the whole was an invention of Cassius, who, it was thought, in order to cover his own rapine, had suffered a parcel of Arabs to make an incursion into the province, and then represented them to the senate as a formidable body of Parthians. Whatever, therefore, may be the true state of the affair, let me persuade you to be extremely circumspect in giving a faithful and accurate account of it to the senate, that you may neither be reproached with magnifying matters in order to gratify the private purposes of Cassius, nor with concealing any thing which may be of importance for the public to know.

It is now the 18th of November: and as we are advanced thus far towards the end of the year, I do not see that any thing can be done
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in this affair before the first of January. For you know how slow and inactive Marcellus is upon all occasions, and are no stranger to the dilatory disposition of Sulpicius. You will easily judge, therefore, what is to be expected from two men of this unperforming cast; and that they who usually act with so much coldness, as to make one doubt their inclinations, even in points they really desire to effect, will not be very warm in forwarding a business from which they are certainly averse.

If the Parthian war should become a serious matter, the new magistrates will be engaged, for the first two or three months of their office, in adjusting the proper measures to be taken in this conjuncture. On the other hand, if it should appear to be an invasion of no consequence, or such, at least, that, with the supply of a few additional troops, may easily be repelled by you and the other proconsuls already in those provinces, or by your successors, Curio, I foresee, will begin to play his double game: that is, he will in the first place attempt to weaken the authority of Cæsar³: and in the next endeavour to throw some little advantages

³ When the consuls elect entered upon the administration of their office.

⁴ Curio had not as yet pulled off the mask, and declared himself openly in favour of Cæsar.

tages on the side of Pompey. As for Paulus⁵, he declares most vehemently against suffering Cæsar to continue in Gaul; and our friend Furnius is the only tribune whom I suspect of obstructing his measures for that purpose. You may depend upon these articles as certain: but beyond these I cannot with any assurance pronounce. Time, indeed, may produce much; as many schemes, I know, are concerted: but they all turn upon the points I have already specified. I forgot to mention that Curio designs to make an attempt to procure a division of the lands in Campania⁶. It is pretended that Cæsar does not concern himself in this matter; certain, however, it is, that Pompey is very desirous of having the distribution settled before Cæsar's return, that he may be precluded from applying them to his own purposes.

As to what concerns your leaving the province, I dare not promise that you shall be relieved

⁵ One of the consuls elect. See rem. 6. p. 324. of this vol.

⁶ Cæsar, when he was consul, an. urb. 694, had procured a law for the distribution of these lands, and part of them had actually been distributed accordingly. The remaining part was what Curio had in his view, which were to be purchased of the private possessors with the public money, and parcelled out amongst the poor citizens in the same manner as those had been which were already divided. See rem. 13. p. 165, of this vol. *Vid etiam Manut. in ep. Fam. i. 9.*

lieved by a successor; but you may rely upon my endeavouring all I can that your administration shall not be prolonged. Whether you will think proper to remain in your government, if affairs should be so circumstanced as to render it indecent for me to oppose any decree of the senate for that purpose, depends upon yourself to determine, as it does upon me to remember, how warmly you made it your request when we parted, that I would prevent any such resolution from being taken. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

IT was with the warmest and most grateful acknowledgment of your favours, that my friend Nero assured me, you have distinguished him with every honour in your power. You may depend upon the most efficacious instances of his friendship in return, as there is not a man in the world, of a more grateful and generous disposition. You have conferred, at the same time, a very singular obligation upon myself, for I know not any man amongst all our nobility, who stands higher in my esteem and affection. Your good offices to him, therefore,

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in the following instances, wherein he desired I would particularly request them, will be highly agreeable to me. In the first place, I beg you to defer the affair of Pausanias, an inhabitant of Alibanda, till Nero arrives in your province; and as this is a point in which I perceive he is exceedingly solicitous, it is with a proportionable degree of zeal that I entreat your compliance. The next favour I am to ask is, your particular protection for the citizens of Nysa. Nero is greatly attached to the interest of this corporation, and I hope you will shew them that nothing can be more to their advantage than his patronage. I have frequently had occasion of recommending Strabo Servilius to you, but I renew my applications with so much the more ardour, as Nero takes a share in his concerns. We jointly then entreat you to settle his affair, and not leave an innocent man to be a prey, perhaps, to one who may succeed to your government with a turn of mind far different from that generosity which distinguishes yours. This will be acting in a manner highly agreeable to myself, and suitable at the same time to your usual humanity. In a word, the purport of my present application amounts to this; that you would, upon all occasions, continue to distinguish Nero with your most peculiar regard.

The

The truth is, your province has, in this respect, greatly the advantage over mine, as it affords you full scope of doing honour to so noble, so ingenious, and so virtuous a youth. Your perseverance in the same generous offices with which you have thus far assisted my friend, will give him an opportunity of confirming and strengthening those illustrious clientships which have been delivered down to him from his ancestors. And let me add, that it will be placing your favours with great judgment in respect to Nero, as well as bestowing them in the most obliging manner, likewise, with regard to myself. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 702.]

To CURIO, Tribune of the People.

THE congratulations of a friend are not usually considered as too late, if they are paid as early as possible: my great distance, therefore, from Rome, together with the slow progress with which news travels into this corner of the world, will excuse me for not sooner sending you mine. But I now sincerely give them you, and most ardently wish that you may obtain immortal honour by your administration

tration of the tribunate. To this end, I must exhort you not to suffer yourself to be turned aside from your natural bias, in compliance with the sentiments and advice of others; on the contrary, let me entreat you to be directed in your ministry by the faithful light of your own superior wisdom. No man, indeed, is capable of giving you more prudent counsels than will arise from the suggestions of your own good-sense; and, believe me, you can never be misguided so long as you pursue the honest dictates of your uninfluenced judgment. I say not this inconsiderately, but as perfectly well knowing the genius and principles of him to whom I am addressing myself. Yes, my friend, I can never be apprehensive that you will act either weakly, or irresolutely, whilst you support the measures your heart approves. It was neither chance nor ignorance that led you to solicit this magistracy in so important a crisis. It was a deliberate and well considered resolution that engaged you in this design, and you were perfectly sensible of the great and general confusion in which the commonwealth is involved, together with the utter uncertainty in what manner these our unhappy divisions will finally be terminated. You frequently reflect, I doubt not, on the vain, the treacherous, and the pliant dispositions

dispositions of the present generation. To repeat, then, what I just now mentioned, let me conjure you stedfastly to persevere in your old principles; to consult the dictates of your own breast; and faithfully to comply with its wise and worthy admonitions. Hardly, perhaps, is any man more qualified than yourself to direct the conduct of others: none, I am sure, to steer your own. Good Gods! Why am I thus prevented from being a witness of your glorious actions, and an associate in your patriot designs? The latter, I am persuaded, you are far from wanting; however, the strength and warmth of my affection might possibly render the conjunction of my counsels with yours not altogether unprofitable.

You will hear from me again very soon: as I purpose in a few days to send an express to the senate with a particular account of the success of my arms during the last summer's campaign. In the mean time, you will perceive, by the letter which I delivered to your freed-man Thraso, with what zealous pains I have solicited your election to the pontifical dignity; an election, indeed, that will be attended with much difficulty. I conjure you, in return, my dear Curio, not to suffer this my very troublesome provincial administration to be lengthened

ened out beyond the usual period, and I entreat it by all the strong and tender ties of our mutual friendship. When I first made this request to you in person, and several times afterwards repeated it by letter, I had not the least imagination of your being tribune. I then, indeed, only entreated your good offices as an illustrious senator, and as one who stood high in the favour and esteem of every Roman. But I now apply to Curio, not only as my noble friend, but as a powerful tribune. I do not desire, however, (what, indeed, would be more difficult to obtain) that any thing unusual should be decreed in my favour; but, on the contrary, that you would support that decree, and maintain those laws by which I was appointed to this government. In a word, my single and most earnest request is, that the terms upon which I set out for this province may not be changed. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO THERMUS, Proprætor.

I FOUND you perfectly well inclined to employ every good office in your power for my lieutenant Marcus Anneius, when I mentioned his affair to you at Ephesus. However, as my affection will not suffer me to omit any circumstance which may tend to his advantage, I write to you in the belief that this letter will considerably add to the favourable disposition in which you already stand towards him. He has long enjoyed a share in my friendship; as, indeed, I have sufficiently shewn the good opinion I entertain of him, by having appointed him my lieutenant in preference to so many others, who solicited for that office. The war in which I was soon afterwards engaged, gave me occasion of experiencing his military abilities; and the prudence, the courage, and the fidelity with which he executed his commission, together with the extraordinary marks he gave me of his affection, have raised him to the highest possible degree of my esteem. I informed you at Ephesus, that there were some points in controversy between him and the city
of

of Sardis⁷; the particulars of which you will best learn when the cause shall come before you. And here, I must confess, I have been long debating with myself what I should farther say to you. The world universally acknowledges and admires your impartial administration of justice, and my friend's claim is so well founded as to require no other protection than that of your usual equity. However, as I am sensible of the great authority which naturally attends the Prætorian office, especially where it is exercised with so much honour, lenity, and wisdom, as are well known to distinguish your administration; I entreat you to exert that influence in such a manner, upon this occasion, as may convince Anneius that you are his friend. He is already, indeed, persuaded that you are so, and has often mentioned you to me in that character. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear conjuring you, by those reciprocal good offices which have equally passed between us, to let him see that this letter has rendered you still more inclined to serve him. Be assured, the whole extent of your provincial power cannot supply you with an opportunity of more effectually obliging me. It is unnecessary I should add, that you cannot better dispose of your favours, than by conferring them

⁷ In Lydia.

them on Anneius: and I am persuaded you have too high an opinion of his merit and gratitude to entertain the least doubt upon that article. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO VOLUMNIUS⁸.

THE familiar manner in which your letter to me was addressed, though extremely agreeable indeed to the intimacy that subsists between us, made me at first doubt whether it did not come from my very good friend, your namesake, the senator. But I soon found, by that lively and elegant humour with which it was distinguished, that it could be the produce of no other hand than yours. I was exceedingly pleased with it in every respect, but that I perceived you had not sufficiently discharged your

⁸ The person to whom this letter is addressed was a Roman knight, extremely admired for his wit and pleasantry. It was this quality, it is probable, that recommended him to Antony, with whom he appears to have been in some credit; as he was likewise employed by him in the civil wars. Atticus also was in the number of Volumnius's friends: and after the battle of Modena, when Antony's faction was supposed to be irrecoverably ruined, he generously protected him from the violences of the successful party. *Ad Att.* xv. 8. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici.*

your trust, and defended the credit of my possessions as a wit. For you tell me, that since I left Rome, every paltry joke, even those of the dull Sextius himself, is placed to my account. And did you suffer your friend to be thus dishonoured, without heroically standing forth in vindication of his genius? I was in hopes that my wit was stamped with such distinguishing marks as to prevent the possibility of its being mistaken. But it seems there is such a general depravation of taste in Rome, that no man's conceits are so execrably vile, as not to meet with admirers. As you value my reputation then, assert boldly that every low thing which is repeated of this sort, is none of mine. And unless it be some smart pun, or elegant hyperbole, some striking paragram², or some arch and unexpected turn³; in a word, unless it answers the character of true humour

² The hyperbole is a figure of speech by which any thing is extravagantly magnified or diminished beyond the truth: as a paragram is a species of the pun, which consists in changing the initial letters of a name. It would be needless to produce any example in explanation of the former; and an instance of the latter kind will occur to every English reader in the well-known reply which Cromwell made to the judges, when they reminded him of *Magna Charta*.

³ Of this kind is what the Duke of Buckingham once said to a noble Earl: *My Lord, you will certainly be damned. How, my Lord!* returned the Earl, with some warmth. *Nay,* replied the Duke, *there's no help for it: for it is positively said, Cursed is he of whom all men speak well.* Tatler, vol. i. No. 17.

humour', as described in my dialogue on oratory, I desire you would do me the favour most vehemently to swear, that mine you are confident

¹ Cicero, in the treatise to which he here refers, introduces one of his speakers as pointing out the principal sources of oratorical humour: among which he makes very honourable mention of the pun. There is scarce an author, indeed, of any note among the ancients, that has not, in some part or other of his writings, tried his genius at a conceit: and it is remarkable, that there is one in particular which runs through almost the whole set of Roman Classics. The first that appears to have started it is, that venerable censor, Cato the elder: who, in a grave speech recorded by Livy, taking notice of those fine statues that had been lately transported into Italy, after the conquest of Greece, expresses his concern *ne illæ magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas*. Horace was so well pleased with this witticism, that he has transplanted it into one of his epistles:

*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.*

And even the majestic Virgil could not secure himself from the infection of this contagious ambiguity:

Num Capti potuere Capi?

a quibble, which was afterwards taken up by Quintus Curtius: though it seems to be somewhat damaged in passing through his hands: *plures captivi* (says that historian, speaking of one of Alexander's victories) *quam qui caperent, erant*. When it is considered how early this species of false wit appeared in the world; with what difficulty it has been subdued; that some of the best writers have not been able entirely to abstain from it; and that it was the favourite of so unquestionable a genius as Cicero; one cannot forbear thinking with the inimitable Mr. Addison, "that the seeds of punning are in the minds of all men." It is the business, therefore, of criticism, to root out a weed, which the best as well as the worst soil, it seems, is so strongly disposed to produce: as it cannot spread without checking the nobler growth of true wit and just imagination. *Cic. de orat. ii. 38. Liv. xxxiv. 4. Hor. ep. ii. 1. 157. Virg. Æn. vii. 295. Quint. Cur. v. 13. Addison Spect. i. No. 61.*

confident it is not. With regard to those little pretenders to eloquence, of whom you complain, as having usurped my place in the Forum, I am much less concerned. Fare it as it may with plaintiffs and defendants of every kind, I am nothing disturbed; no not though the worthless Selius himself should be deemed eloquent enough to persuade the world that he is not an arrant slave. But in the article of wit, my friend—there, indeed, I am much too jealous not to assert my prerogative. It is an article; however, in which I stand in fear of no other competitor but yourself: for your pretensions, doubtless, are formidable. Yet when I say this, you will modestly suspect, perhaps, that I am bantering: and who but must own that Volumnius is a man of penetration? To speak seriously: a most agreeable and lively vein of wit runs throughout your whole letter. I will confess, however, that what you mention concerning our friend², though you represented it in a very droll light, did not once make me smile. It is much my desire, I must own, that he should conduct himself through his tribunitial office with dignity; not only for his own sake, as you know he is a man I value, but for the sake likewise of my country: which,

however

² This seems to allude to Curio.

however ill it has treated me, I shall never cease to love.

And now, my dear Volumnius, I hope you will continue the agreeable correspondence you have begun, and give me frequent accounts of affairs both private and public: for, be assured, your letters are extremely pleasing to me. I entreat you, likewise, to endeavour to gain Dolabella entirely to my interests, by confirming him in that amicable disposition towards me, which, I know, he is inclined to entertain. Not that I suspect he wants any applications of this sort: but, as I am very desirous to make him my friend, it is a point, I think, that cannot be too much laboured. Farewel.

D d 3

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CRASSIPES¹.

I TOOK occasion, before I left Rome, of recommending the Bithynia² company to you in the strongest terms I was able: and I had the pleasure to find you perfectly well disposed, not only from my instances, but your own inclinations, to do them all the good offices in your power. However, as those who are concerned in the affairs of this society, think it may be to their advantage that I should thus repeat my assurances of the regard I bear them, I make no difficulty of yielding to their solicitations. Be well persuaded then, that I have ever been desirous of rendering to this whole order, in general, my best services: to which, indeed, the important obligations they have conferred upon me, give them an undoubted right. But my attachments are more particularly strong to that branch of them concerned in

¹ He was Quæstor in Bithynia: and, probably, at the same time when P. Silius was governor of that province: See rem. 1. p. 366 of this vol.

² The revenues of the republic arising from the foreign provinces were farmed by the Roman knights, who were divided into several companies distinguished by the name of the particular province whose taxes they rented. See rem. 53. p. 204. of this vol.

in the finances of Bithynia: as this company, from the rank and character of its members, forms one of the most considerable bodies in the whole republic. It is composed, indeed, out of all the other companies, and happens to consist of several of my most intimate friends. In this number their governor Publius Rupilius holds the principal rank: the most important part of whose function is concerned in my present address. I make it then my earnest request (and it is a request you may very easily comply with) that you assist and protect their agent Pupius in discharging his services to the satisfaction of the company: and, in general, that you would promote their interest by all those means which, I well know, are in the power of a Quæstor. Your compliance in this instance will greatly oblige me: and I will add too, what I can affirm from my own experience, that you cannot confer your good offices upon a society that will more gratefully remember them. Farewel.

D d 4

LETTER

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 702.]

To PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

PUBLIUS Terentius Hispo, who is deputy-receiver-general of the customs arising from pasture and cattle in your province, is a person for whom I have a very particular friendship: as, indeed, many important good offices have mutually passed between us. The settling his accounts with the several cities under his department which yet remain unadjusted, is a point wherein his character, you are sensible, is greatly concerned. This I attempted in his behalf with regard to the inhabitants of Ephesus: but my attempts, I must confess, proved unsuccessful. It is the general opinion of the world, however, and what I am firmly assured of myself, that the justice and clemency of your administration has gained you such an ascendant over the people of Greece, that you may easily obtain of them anything you shall request. I entreat you then to employ your interest with them in favour of Hispo: and I ask it as a point in which my honour is peculiarly concerned. The truth is, not only the whole company in this branch of the revenues has placed itself under my protection,

tection, but I have particular intimacies with many of its members. Your compliance, therefore, with my request, will strengthen my interest with this society in general, and will also give me the satisfaction and credit of having obtained your good offices for my friend. To this I will add, that you may depend on receiving great complacency, both from the grateful returns of Hispo in particular, and from the interest you will establish with this illustrious company in general. You will likewise oblige me in a most sensible manner: for, be assured, the whole extent of your government cannot supply you with an opportunity of rendering me a more acceptable service. Farewel.

LETTER

(411)

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK V.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CATO¹.

THE great authority you bear in the republic,
together with the high esteem I have ever en-
tertained for your uncommon virtues, make
me

¹ This illustrious Roman was great-grandson to Marcus Cato the Censor: to whom he was no less allied in virtue than in blood. He had all his merit, indeed, without any of his failings: and with the same determined inflexibility in his

me look upon it as a point of much consequence to me, that you should be apprised of the

in his public conduct, he was far more amiable in the common intercourses of private life. Perhaps a character equally perfect, is no where to be found in the whole annals of profane history; and it may well be questioned whether human philosophy ever produced, either before, or since, so truly great and good a man. It is a just observation of Seneca; *magnam rem puta, unum hominem agere*: and it is this uncommon consistency of action that marks the character of Cato with its most distinguishing beauty. All the parts of his conduct accord with each other, and are the regular result of one steady and invariable principle:

—*Patriæ—impendere vitam:*
Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.

This was the glorious object of his ambition from his first appearance in the world to the last moment of his life: and he undauntedly pursued it through all the various insults and opposition that Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey could contrive to traverse and perplex his way. He resolutely, indeed, opposed the progress of their power, in every step of its unconstitutional advancement; and, with a most consummate prudence, perpetually forewarned his countrymen of those calamities which they afterwards experienced. Cicero, nevertheless, has said (and it has been often repeated after him) that there was more of probity than of prudence in Cato's politics; and particularly instances his treatment of the Roman knights in a very nice case, wherein they petitioned the senate for redress. See rem. 9. p. 114. of this vol. Perhaps Cato's firmness in this article cannot be justified: but certainly it would not be reasonable to pronounce, from a particular article, that he did not, in the general tenor of his public actions, discover great abilities. Cicero speaks of them, it is true, upon other occasions also, with some diminution: but it is no wonder he should represent that conduct as injudicious, which was almost in every respect the very reverse of his own. One cannot easily, indeed, believe that Cato's talents were unequal to his virtues, when one considers the perpetual jealousy with which he was looked upon by the first triumvirate; the violent measures they employed to prevent his being elected prætor;

the success of my arms; of the disinterested protection I have given to our allies; and of the integrity of my administration in general. And I doubt not, when you shall be informed of these several articles, I shall find the less difficulty in persuading you to comply with the request I am going to make.

I arrived in this province on the last of July; and, as the season of the year rendered it necessary for me to hasten to the army, I continued only two days at Laodicea, four at Apamea, three at Synnadæ, and as many at Philomelum. I found great numbers of people assembled in these several towns, in expectation of my arrival: and, during my stay in each, I relieved many cities from the oppressive taxes they laboured under, reduced the exorbitant interest they paid for the money they had been obliged to borrow, and discharged them from the unjust demands of their usurious creditors. Before I arrived

tor; and that they would never suffer him to attain the consular office. Integrity under the direction of much inferior abilities, could not, surely, have been thus formidable; especially in an age the most venal and unprincipled that ever darkened the annals of human corruption. But whatever may be determined as to the measure of his intellectual qualities, he unquestionably possessed the patriot virtues in their highest perfection: and (as a noble author justly observes) "if he could not save, he prolonged the life of liberty." *Plut. in vit. Caton. Senec. ep. 120. Lucan. ii. 382. Ad Att. i. 18. 11. 5. Let. on the spirit of patriotism, p. 35.*

arrived in my government, a mutiny had arisen in the army, and the soldiers had dispersed themselves into different parts of the provinces: five cohorts, in particular, were retired to Philomelum, without a single officer to command them. I therefore ordered my lieutenant Anneius to conduct these scattered regiments to the main body in Lycaonia, and to assemble the whole army at Iconium; where I directed him to encamp. These orders he very diligently executed: and I joined the troops on the 26th of August. In the interval I employed myself, agreeably to the injunctions of the senate, in raising a strong body of *Evocati*^a, together with a proper number of cavalry, as also in assembling those auxiliary forces which the free as well as regal states in alliance with the republic had voluntarily offered me. As soon as the junction of all the troops was completed, I reviewed the whole army; and, on the 30th of August, we began to move towards Cilicia. In the mean time, envoys from the king of Com-magene arrived with a very confused indeed, but, however, as it appeared afterwards, a very true account, that the Parthians had invaded Syria. This news greatly alarmed me, not only for the danger to which that province, but my

own,

^a See remark 1. on letter 3. book iv.

own, was exposed: and which threatened, likewise, all Asia in general. I thought it adviseable, therefore, to lead my troops through that part of Cappadocia which borders on Cilicia. If, indeed, I had marched directly into Cilicia, I could easily have protected that district of my province from any invasion on the side of Syria: as it cannot be entered from thence without traversing Mount Amanus, over which there are only two narrow defiles, that might be defended by a very small force. In short, nothing can be more impregnable than Cilicia is from that quarter, by the fortifications with which nature has secured it. But my chief concern was for Cappadocia, which lies entirely open towards Syria: and besides, there are several little kingdoms in its neighbourhood, which, though in friendship with the Romans, yet dare not openly act against the Parthians. These considerations, therefore, determined me to lie with my army on the borders of Cappadocia: and accordingly I encamped at Cybistra, a town situated not far from Mount Taurus. By these means, I was in a condition of protecting Cilicia, at the same time that, by possessing myself of Cappadocia, I prevented the contiguous states from entering into any measures to our prejudice.

Whilst

Whilst affairs were in this commotion, and there was reason to apprehend a general war, King Deiotarus sent an embassy to my camp, with an offer of joining me with all his forces. I was extremely sensible of this instance of his zeal and friendship: and immediately returned him a letter of acknowledgments, with my pressing exhortation, at the same time, that he would hasten his march. I cannot but observe, upon this occasion, that Deiotarus justly merits those peculiar marks of favour and esteem, with which both you and I in particular, as well as the senate in general, have ever distinguished him. He discovers, indeed, a remarkable fidelity and affection to the republic, together with an uncommon presence and greatness of mind both in action and in council.

I found it necessary, for the better concerting my plan of operations, to continue five days at Cybistra. During my stay there, I had the satisfaction to be of singular service to Ariobarzanes: a prince particularly assigned to my protection by the senate, in consequence of your motion for that purpose. I delivered him from a very dangerous conspiracy, which was just upon the point of being carried into execution. I did more indeed: and not only preserved his person, but strengthened his authority. For this purpose

purpose I procured Metras and Athenæus, (the latter of whom you strongly recommended to my care) not only to be recalled from that exile into which the intrigues of the cruel Athenais had driven them, but to be restored to their former favour and credit with the king. And as it would have produced a very terrible civil war, if the high priest², who was among the disaffected party, had taken up arms, as was generally supposed to be his intention; I found means of obliging him to depart the kingdom. This young man abounded both in money and troops, and possessed every other advantage that could render him of importance to those who were inclined to attempt a revolution.—In a word, I recovered the authority of Ariobarzanes, without occasioning the least bloodshed, or disturbance, and firmly established him in his royal dignity.

In the mean time, I was informed, by various expresses, that a considerable army of Parthians and Arabians were advanced to the city of Antiochia³; and that a large body of their cavalry, which had penetrated into Cilicia, were entirely

² It appears, by a passage which Manutius cites from Hirtius, that the high priest of the temple of Bellona, at Commana, a city in Cappadocia, was next in rank and power to the king himself. *Hirt. de Bel. Alexand.*

³ In Syria.

tirely cut to pieces by a detachment of mine, supported by the prætorian⁴ cohort in garrison, at Epiphanea⁵. Perceiving, therefore, that the Parthians had turned off from Cappadocia, and were approached within a small distance of the frontiers of Cilicia, I conducted the army with all possible expedition to Amanus. Upon my arrival, I found the enemy was retired from Antiochia, and that Bibulus had taken possession of the city. I sent an express, therefore, to Deiotarus, who was upon full march with all his forces to join me, acquainting him that I did not at present see occasion of drawing him out of his dominions; but that if any new occurrence should arise, I would immediately give him notice.

My principal view in advancing to Amanus was, that I might be ready to assist either Cilicia or Syria, as circumstances should require. I had likewise another design, which I had before meditated, and now prepared to execute, as being of great importance to both provinces: I mean to quell the insurrection of these highlanders, and extirpate an enemy that was perpetually

⁴ The prætorian cohort composed a sort of body-guard to the proconsul, or general; and consisted of a select number chosen out of the Evocati. The nature of the latter has been already explained in remark 1. p. 340. of this vol.

⁵ A city in Cilicia.

petually infesting us. To this end I made a feint of retiring towards another part of Cilicia; and, having actually returned a day's march, I encamped at Epiphanea. But, on the 12th of October, in the evening, I struck my tents, and, by a long march during the whole night, I arrived early the next morning at Amanus. I immediately formed in order of battle, heading part of the troops myself, in conjunction with my brother, and distributing the command of the rest amongst my other lieutenants. The enemy being thus surrounded by surprise, were taken and destroyed in great numbers. Meanwhile, my lieutenant Pontinius, attacked Sepyra, Commoris, and Erana; the latter of which is the principal town on these mountains, and, indeed, considerable enough to be called a city. They each made a very obstinate resistance; and, notwithstanding the attack began before day-break, they did not surrender till night, nor without having suffered a prodigious slaughter. In this action we took six fortresses, and burnt many more.

Having thus successfully completed this expedition, we encamped at the foot of Mount Amanus, near Alexander's⁶ altars, where I continued

⁶ A place near Issus, where Alexander having defeated Darius, consecrated three altars to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, as memorials of his victory. *Quint. Curt. iii.*

continued four days. During the whole time I remained here, I was employed in extirpating the rest of these mountaineers, and destroying that part of their lands which lies within my province. From hence I sat down before Pindinessum; a city in the territories of that part of Cilicia, which has never submitted to the Romans. This was a place of great strength, and inhabited by a stubborn people, who had preserved themselves unconquered, even by the neighbouring kings. It was a harbour, likewise, for fugitives of every kind, and they were greatly, also, in the interest of the Parthians, whose approach they impatiently expected. Upon these considerations, I thought it for the honour of my arms to restrain their insolence; especially, as I should by this means the more easily subdue the spirit of those other cantons which were equally averse to the Roman government. In consequence of this resolution, I invested the town; and, having raised six large fortresses, I began to play my battering engines against their walls. They held out, however, fifty-seven days; but, at length, finding the flames had seized several parts of the town, and that other quarters were laid in ruins, they surrendered at discretion, after having occasioned me an infinite fatigue. I had the satis-

faction to complete this enterprise without occasioning our allies the least inconvenience or expence. After having thus reduced Pindinessum, and received hostages from the Tiburani, a neighbouring people equally bold and insolent, I sent my army into winter-quarters. This care I assigned to my brother, and ordered him to canton the troops amongst those towns we had lately taken, or that were most disposed to revolt.

And now, if a motion should be made in the senate concerning the honours due to the success of my arms, I shall esteem it the highest glory to be supported in my pretensions by your suffrage. I am sensible it is usual for the gravest characters to request, as well as to be requested, for favours of this nature, in the strongest terms; but I persuade myself it will be more proper for me to remind, than to solicit you, in the present instance. You have frequently, indeed, not only distinguished me with your vote, but with your highest applause, both in the senate and in the assemblies of the people. And believe me, I have ever thought

there
 7 Cicero, soon after the expiration of his consulate, had very particular obligations to Cato, of the kind he mentions. For the latter being tribune at that time, procured him a confirmation from an assembly of the people, of the glorious title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. *Plut. in vit. Cic.*

there was so much weight and authority in all you uttered, that a single word of yours in my favour was the highest honour I could possibly receive. I remember, upon a certain occasion, when you refused to vote for a public thanksgiving⁸ which was proposed in favour of a very worthy and illustrious citizen; you told the senate that you should willingly have given your suffrage in support of the honour in question, had it been designed as a reward for any civil services which that consul had performed in Rome. Agreeably to this maxim, you formerly concurred in voting that a public thanksgiving should be decreed to me; not, indeed, for having advanced the glory of our country by my military achievements (for that would have been a circumstance nothing uncommon) but for having, in a most singular and unexampled manner, preserved the liberties of the whole commonwealth⁹ without drawing a sword. I forbear to mention the generous share you have taken in all the envy, the difficulties, and the dangers to which my life has been exposed; and a far greater you were willing to have taken, if

I could

⁸ This honour was usually decreed to a general after some signal advantage obtained by his arms. It consisted in appointing a solemn festival in order to return thanks to the gods for the public success; at which time the senate went in solemn procession to the principal temples in Rome, and assisted at the sacrifices instituted for such occasions.

⁹ By the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

I could have been prevailed upon to have consented. I forbear to mention, likewise, that you considered my enemy¹⁰ as your own; and that, in order to give me a convincing proof of your great regard, you scrupled not to shew your approbation even of his death, by defending Milo in the senate. In return, (and I speak of it, not as a favour for which you are indebted to me, but as a tribute which I owed to truth) I have been no silent admirer of your virtues; for who, indeed, can suppress his applause of them? In all my speeches, both in the forum and the senate, as well as in the several pieces I have published, either in our own language, or in Greek, I have ever represented your character as superior, not only to the noblest amongst our contemporaries, but to the most celebrated in history.

After all, you will wonder, perhaps, what should induce me to set so high a value upon these little transient honours of the senate. I will acknowledge, then, the whole truth, and lay open my heart before you with a freedom becoming that philosophy we cultivate, and that friendship we profess; a friendship delivered down to us from our parents, and improved by many reciprocal good offices. Let

¹⁰ Clodius.

Let me previously observe, that if ever any man was a stranger to vain-glory, and a desire of vulgar admiration, it is myself; and this frame of mind, which I possess by temper, has been still strengthened (if I am not deceived) by reason and philosophy. As an evidence of this, I appeal to my consulate; in which, as in every other part of my life, tho' I pursued that conduct, I confess, from whence true honours might be derived, yet I never thought they were of themselves an object worthy of my ambition. On the contrary, I refused the government of a very noble province¹¹; and, notwithstanding it was highly probable I might have obtained a triumph, yet I forbore to prosecute my pretensions of that kind. I forbore, too, the offering myself as a candidate for the office of augur, tho' you are sensible, I dare say, that I might have succeeded without much difficulty. But I will acknowledge, that the injurious treatment I afterwards suffered, tho' you always speak of it, indeed, as a circumstance which reflects the highest honour upon my character, and as a misfortune only to the republic, has rendered me desirous of receiving the most distinguished marks of my country's approbation.

For

¹¹ Macedonia; to which he had a right by lot to have succeeded at the expiration of his consulate. See rem. 1. p. 9. of this vol.

For this reason, I solicited the office of augur, which I had before declined: and, as little as I once thought the military honours deserved my pursuit, I am now ambitious of that distinction which the senate usually confers on its successful generals. I will own I have some view, by this mean, of healing the wounds of my former unmerited disgrace; and, therefore, tho' I just now declared that I would not press you upon this article, I recal my words, and most earnestly conjure your suffrage and assistance. I make this request, however, upon the supposition that what I have performed in this campaign shall not appear contemptible in your eye, but, on the contrary, far superior to the actions of many of those generals who have obtained the most glorious rewards from the senate.

I have observed (and you are sensible I always listen with great attention whenever you deliver your opinions) that, as often as any question of this nature has come before the senate, you were less inquisitive into the military than civil conduct of the proconsul. It was the political ordinances he had established, and the moral qualities he had displayed, that seemed to have the principal weight in determining your vote. If you should examine my pretensions in this view, you will see that,

that, with a weak and inconsiderable army, I found a strong resource against the danger of a very formidable invasion in the lenity and justice of my government. By these aids I effected what I never could by the most powerful legions: I recovered the friendship of our alienated allies; firmly strengthened their allegiance to the republic; and conciliated their affections at a time when they were waiting the opportunity of some favourable conjuncture to desert us.

But perhaps I have expatiated farther upon this subject than is necessary; especially to you, before whom all our allies in general are accustomed to lay their complaints¹². To them, therefore, I refer you for an account of the benefits they have received by my administration. They will all of them, as with one voice, I am persuaded, give you the most advantageous testimony in my favour; but particularly those illustrious clients of yours, the Cyprians¹³ and

Cappa-

¹² Cato settled a correspondence throughout the whole Roman provinces, and received constant intelligence of the conduct of the several governors in their respective commands, so attentive was this vigilant patriot to whatever concerned the interest of the commonwealth! *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

¹³ Cyprus had a particular claim to the patronage of Cato, as he had been employed in executing a commission by which that island was annexed to the dominions of the republic. This commission was artfully contrived by Clodius

Cappadocians, to whom I may likewise add
your

dius in his tribunate, in order to remove Cato out of his way: but the precise nature of it is no where distinctly explained. It should seem, by what may be collected from Plutarch, that it was only an embassy in which Cato was appointed to claim, on behalf of the republic, the dominions of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and to offer him, at the same time, the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus, in the island of Paphos, which in those days might have been no disadvantageous exchange. Cato, however, has been severely censured by some modern historians, for having accepted this office; and Dr. Middleton, in particular, thinks he cannot be justified. But none of the ancient historians speak of it as in the least unworthy of Cato's virtue: and, indeed, one of the most moral writers in all antiquity mentions it upon an occasion which evidently shews that it was by no means thought inconsistent with that character of rigid justice which this illustrious Roman had so deservedly obtained. Seneca, in his letter of consolation, addressed to Marcia, on the loss of her son, taking notice of the advantages of an early death, instances, among other examples, those calamities which a more extended period had brought upon Cato. *Marcum Catonem*, says he, *si a Cypro et hereditatis regie dispensatione redeuntem mare decorasset, — nonne illo bene actum foret? — Nunc annorum adjectio paucissimorum, virum liberati non suæ tantum sed publicæ natum, coegit Cæsarem fugere, Pompeium sequi.* It is evident, then, that this action was so far from being deemed unjustifiable in the opinion of the ancients, (by which alone it can be fairly examined) that the noblest of their moralists has chosen it to complete the glory and grace the exit of his favourite hero. It must unquestionably, therefore, have been founded upon some circumstances that reconciled it to that law of nations which then prevailed in the world. Accordingly, it appears, by some passages in Cicero's orations, that the republic had an ancient claim to these dominions. For Alexander, king of Egypt, to whose territories Cyprus belonged, appointed the Roman commonwealth his general heir; and though the senate did not judge proper, at that juncture, to assert their full right under his will, they thought it, however, a sufficient title to possess themselves of Alexander's effects. From that time down to the date of Cato's commission, frequent attempts

your great and royal friend¹⁴, prince Deiotarus. If thus to act is a merit of the most superior kind; if in all ages the number has been far less considerable of those who knew how to subdue

attempts had been made in the senate to enforce their right under the will: and a decree had actually passed for that purpose. But as this decree was protested against by some tribune, it had never been carried into execution. Thus far it should seem that Cato's commission was not founded upon a mere arbitrary exertion of power, but on a right which had long before received the sanction of the senate, and which had already in part been vindicated to the public.— In the next place, the inhabitants of Cyprus were extremely oppressed under the government of Ptolemy, and desirous of transferring their subjection to the Romans. Peterculus represents this prince as one who well deserved the punishment he suffered: *omnibus morum vitiis*, says he, *eam contumeliam meritum*. And Dion Cassius expressly declares that the Cyprians received Cato, "*οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι* hoping that, from "slaves as they were before, they should be raised into the "number of the friends and allies of Rome." But to consider this question in another view: what probable reason of personal interest can be assigned for Cato's undertaking this office? It could not be from a spirit of avarice: for it is unanimously confessed that he discharged it with the most unspotted integrity. It could not be from a motive of ambition; for he refused all the honours, upon this occasion, which his country would have paid him. It could not be from a servile compliance with the power of Clodius; for he died rather than submit even to that of Cæsar. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to assert, that Cato acted in this instance, as in all others, upon a principle of disinterested patriotism, and consistently with the strictest maxims of Pagan morality. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Orat. in Rul. i. 1. 11. 16. Vel. Patere. ii. 45. Dio. p. 101. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.*

¹⁴ Cato took a voyage into Asia, in order to inform himself of the strength and disposition of these eastern provinces; and it was upon this occasion that he entered into a personal friendship with Deiotarus, who paid him the honours of his court with singular marks of esteem and consideration.—*Plut. in vit. Caton.*

subdue their desires, than to vanquish their enemies; he that has given an instance of both, cannot, certainly, but be deemed, in Cato's estimation at least, to have strengthened his claim to the honours of his country, and to have improved the splendour of his military achievements, by the more unusual lustre of his civil conduct.

Let me, in the last place, and as in diffidence of my own solicitations, call in Philosophy for my advocate; than which nothing has ever afforded me a more sensible satisfaction. The truth is, she is one of the noblest blessings that the gods have bestowed on man. At her shrine we have both of us, from our earliest years, paid our joint and equal adorations: and while she has been thought by some the companion only of indolent and secluded speculativists, we (and we alone I had almost said) have introduced her into the world of business, and familiarised her with the most active and important scenes. She, therefore, it is that now solicits you in my behalf; and when Philosophy is the suppliant, Cato, surely, can never refuse. To say all in one word, be well assured, if I should prevail with you to concur in procuring a decree I so much wish to obtain, I shall consider myself as wholly indebted for that honour to your authority and friendship. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER II.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CATO TO CICERO.

THE affection I bear both to you and to the republic induces me, very sincerely, to rejoice in finding that you exercise the same integrity and vigilance in the conduct of our arms abroad, as distinguished your administration of our most important affairs at home. I have, therefore, paid your actions that honour which was most consistent with my judgment; and in speaking to this question before the senate, as well as afterwards, when I assisted in drawing up the decree that has passed in your favour, I applauded the probity and prudence with which you have protected your province, preserved the crown and person of Ariobarzanes, and conciliated the affections of our allies in general.

If you rather choose, however, that we should ascribe to the gods those advantages which the republic has gained entirely by your own consummate wisdom and probity, I am glad the senate has passed a decree for that purpose. But if you are willing that Fortune should have the credit of your actions, as sup-
posing

posing a public thanksgiving necessarily opens your way to a triumph, I must observe that the latter is not always a consequence of the former. Yet, granting it were, is it not far more to the honour of a general, to have it declared, by a vote of the senate, that he preserved his province by the mildness and equity of his administration, than that he owed it either to the strength of his troops, or to the peculiar interposition of providence? Such, at least, were my sentiments when this question came before the house; and if I have employed more words than usual in explaining them, it was from a desire of convincing you, that, though I proposed to the senate what I thought would be most for the advantage of your reputation, I rejoice that they have determined what is most agreeable to your wishes. I have only to request the continuance of your friendship, and to entreat you steadily to persevere in those paths of integrity which you have hitherto pursued both in respect to our allies and the republic. —
Farewel.

LETTER

¹ This letter (to speak in the virtuoso language) is an *unique*, and extremely valuable, as being the only composition that has been transmitted to us from the hands of Cato. It confirms what Plutarch expressly asserts, that Cato's manners were by no means of a rough and unpolished
cast,

LETTER III.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS², Consul.

Nothing could be more agreeable to my wishes, than that the question concerning the honours due to my military services, should come before the senate at a time when you are consul, as it will afford you an opportunity of gratifying that uncommon zeal for my interests which I have upon all occasions experienced from every branch of your family. Let me entreat you, therefore, when the letter I have addressed to the senate shall be laid before that assembly, to exert your influence in procuring a decree in my favour of the most distinguished kind. I persuade myself you will find no difficulty in complying with this request; as the senate, I trust, will by no means be averse to my pretensions. If there were any of your family whose friendship I enjoyed in a higher degree than yours, I should have applied to you by their intervention. But
tho'

cast, as no refusal could have been drawn up in more decent and civil terms. A judicious eye, however, cannot but discern through this veil of politeness, the nice touches of a delicate and concealed raillery, which Cicero, nevertheless, thought proper to dissemble, as will appear by his answer to this letter in the following book. See vol. ii. p. 50.

² See rem. 4. p. 322.

tho' no man ever entered more warmly into my interests, than your father; though the esteem which your relation Marcus Marcellus has long entertained for me, is conspicuous to the whole world; and, in a word, though all your family in general have ever honoured me with the most signal marks of their regard; yet there is not one of them who hath afforded me stronger instances of affection than yourself. I conjure you then, to distinguish me with the highest honours: and let me experience, in the affair of my thanksgiving, as well as in every other wherein the glory of my reputation is concerned, that I want no solicitor to recommend me to your good offices. Farewel.

VOL. I.

F f

LETTER

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 703.]

To LUCIUS PAULUS³, Consul.

AMONG many reasons for wishing myself with you at Rome, the principal was, that I might, both at your election, and in the course of your consular ministry, have given you proofs of that zeal to which you have so undoubted a right. I am sensible, at the same time, that the unanimity with which you were chosen, (and of which, indeed, I never entertained the least doubt) would have rendered my assistance in that article altogether unnecessary: and I sincerely wish you may have as little occasion for it in the subsequent discharge of your office. However, I should have had the satisfaction, at least, of seconding your views in both. It is a great concern to me, I confess, when I reflect that, notwithstanding I experienced many important instances of your affection during my consulship, I am yet utterly incapable of making any return in *yours*. And what renders this reflection still more mortifying, is, that you were but a young man when you thus generously displayed the effects of *your* friendship:

³ See rem. 6. p. 324. of this vol.

ship: whereas, I am at a time of life when much greater advantages might well be expected from *mine*. I know not, in truth, by what fatality it is, that you have continually had opportunities of advancing *my* dignities, and that I have never been able to contribute any thing but ineffectual good wishes to *yours*. Thus, as not only in the instance I just now mentioned, but in the article of my restoration, I was indebted to you for the highest honours; so a fresh occasion now presents itself to you of distinguishing me, as my military achievements have happened to fall within the period of your consulate. The dignity of that office with which you are invested, and the importance of those honours I am suing for, might well require that I should address you in all the warmth of solicitation, but I dare not venture thus to press you, lest it should look as if I forgot, or at least imagined that you had forgotten, your usual disposition to serve me. I will make my request, therefore, in few words: and it will be treating you in a manner more agreeable, I dare say, to your own inclinations, as well as to those favours which all the world is sensible I have received at your hands. If any others, indeed, than you and your colleague were in possession of the consular office, you are the

F f 2

first

first man whose mediation I should have employed in order to render the consuls favourable to my pretensions. But as this high authority is vested in you, with whom I have the strongest and most conspicuous connexions, I cannot scruple to conjure your assistance in speedily procuring a decree of the most illustrious kind in my favour: an honour which you will find, by the letter I have addressed to the senate, that my arms are not unworthy of receiving. I recommend then my reputation, and, indeed, my concerns of every sort, to your generous patronage. But, above all, I beseech you (and it is a request I mentioned in my former letter) that you would not suffer the time of my continuance here to be prolonged. It is much my desire, in truth, to see you in your consular office: and I doubt not of obtaining from your administration every advantage, both here and in Italy, that I most wish to enjoy. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER V.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS to CICERO.

YOU have been informed, I doubt not, that Dolabella has exhibited articles of impeachment against Appius⁴: and this prosecution seems to be more agreeable to the world in general than I imagined. Appius, however, has acted with great prudence upon the occasion: for as soon as his adversary had lodged his information, he withdrew his petition for a triumph, and immediately entered the city⁵. By these means he silenced the reports to his disadvantage: as he appeared more willing to take his trial than his prosecutor expected. Appius relies greatly in this conjuncture upon your assistance: and I am persuaded you are not disinclined to serve him. You have it now in your power⁶ to do so, as far as you shall think

⁴ He was prosecuted by Dolabella in two distinct impeachments. The first was, for being guilty of treason in his government of Cilicia; and the other, for bribery and corruption in his election to the consulate. *Ep. Fam.* iii. 11.

⁵ See rem. 3. p. 371. of this vol.

⁶ As one of Dolabella's impeachments against Appius was for his mal-practices in Cilicia, it was extremely in the power

think proper: though I must add, you would be more at liberty to limit your good offices towards him, if you and he had never been upon ill terms together. But as the case now stands, were you to measure out your services by the right he has to demand them, it might be suspected that you were not sincere in your reconciliation: whereas, you can hazard no censure by obliging him; as you will shew that you are not to be discouraged from acting a generous part, even where friendship^a might incline you to the contrary. This reminds me of acquainting you, that Dolabella's wife obtained a divorce just upon the commencement of this prosecution. I remember the commission^b you left with me when you set out for the province; as I dare say you have not forgotten what I afterwards wrote to you concerning that affair. I have not time to enlarge upon

power of Cicero to serve Appius in those examinations which were necessary to be taken in his province.

^a To Dolabella.

^b It seems probable, from this passage, that there was some prospect of a divorce between Dolabella and his wife before Cicero left Rome; and that the latter had commissioned Cælius, in case this event should happen, to take some measures for procuring a match between Dolabella and his daughter Tullia. There will be occasion to make great use of this circumstance in a remark upon a letter in the following book: and, therefore, it is here pointed out for the reader's particular observation. See rem. 6. p. 6. vol. ii.

upon it at present: only let me advise you, how much soever you may relish the scheme, to wait the event of this trial before you discover your sentiments. If, indeed, your inclinations should be known, it will raise a very invidious clamour against you: and should you give Dolabella the least intimation of them, they will certainly become more public than will be convenient either for your interest or your honour. He would undoubtedly be unable to conceal a circumstance so advantageous to his present views, and which would give so much credit to the prosecution in which he is engaged: and I am persuaded he would scarce refrain from making it the subject of his conversation, notwithstanding he were sure the discovery would prove to his prejudice. Pompey, I am told, interests himself extremely in behalf of Appius: insomuch, that it is generally imagined he has a design of sending one of his sons in order to solicit you in his favour. Mean while, we are in the humour here of acquitting all criminals: nothing, in truth, so base or so villanous can be perpetrated, that is not sure of escaping punishment. You will perceive how wonderfully active our consuls are in their office, when I tell you that they have not yet been able to procure a single decree of the senate, except

one for appointing the Latian⁹ festivals. Even our friend Curio has not hitherto acted with any spirit in his tribunate: as, indeed, it is impossible to describe the general indolence that has seized us. If it were not for my contests with the vintners and the surveyors of the public aqueducts, all Rome would appear in a profound lethargy. In short, I know not to what degree the Parthians may have animated *you*; but as for us, in this part of the world, we are fast asleep. But how much soever we may want to be awakened, I hope it will not be by the Parthians. It is reported, nevertheless, though I know not on what foundation, that they have gained some slight advantage over the troops of Bibulus, near Mount Amanus.

Since I wrote the above, I must recal what I said concerning Curio: the cold fit is at length expelled, by the *warmth* of those censures to which the levity of his conduct has exposed him. For, not being able to carry his point with respect to the intercalation¹⁰, he has deserted the interest of the senate, and harangued the people in favour of Cæsar¹¹. He threatens, likewise,

⁹ This festival was instituted by Tarquin, in memory of his conquest of Etruria.

¹⁰ See rem. 8. p. 266. of this vol.

¹¹ It has already been observed, in the course of these remarks, that Curio secretly favoured the interest of Cæsar, at

likewise to propose a Viarian law, somewhat of the same tendency with the Agrarian one which was formerly attempted by Rullus¹²: as also another, empowering the Ædiles to distribute corn among the people.

If you should determine (as I think you ought) to employ your good offices in behalf of Appius, I beg you would take that opportunity

at the same time that he affected to act in concert with the friends of the senate. But circumstances being now mature for throwing aside the mask, he seized the first opportunity of quarrelling with his party. With this view he applied to the pontifical college for an intercalation, in order to lengthen out the period of his tribunitial ministry. This he knew would not be granted, as having before raised, it is probable, some suspicion of his real designs. The refusal, however, furnished him with the pretence he wanted, and gave a colour (such as it was) to the desertion he had long meditated. Dio, p. 149.

¹² Rullus was tribune of the people in the consulate of Cicero, by whose address and eloquence the law which Rullus attempted to introduce was rejected. "These laws (as Dr. Middleton observes) "used to be greedily received by the "populace, and were proposed, therefore, by factious magistrates, as oft as they had any point to carry with the "multitude, against the public good: but this law (of Rullus) was, of all others, the most extravagant, and, by a "shew of granting more to the people than had ever been "given before, seemed likely to be accepted. The purpose "of it was to create a decemvirate, or ten commissioners, "with absolute power for five years over all the revenues of "the republic, to distribute them at pleasure to the citizens; "to sell and buy what lands they thought fit; to determine "the rights of the principal possessors; to require an account "from all the generals abroad, except Pompey, of the spoils "taken in their wars; to settle colonies wheresoever they "judged proper, and particularly at Capua; and, in short, "to command all the money and forces in the empire." Life of Tully, i. 161. 8vo. edit.

tunity of recommending me to his favour. Let me prevail with you, likewise, not to declare yourself with respect to Dolabella: as your leaving that point at large will be of singular importance, not only to the affair I hint at, but also in regard to the opinion the world will entertain of your justice and honour.

Will it not be a high reflection upon you if I should not be furnished with some Grecian panthers? Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 703.]

From the same.

I know not how soon you may wish to resign your government; but, for my own part, my impatience for your return is in proportion to the good fortune that has hitherto attended your arms. Whilst you continue in the province, therefore, I shall be under perpetual apprehensions, lest some unlucky reverse should damp the joy I take in your late successful expedition.

I have time to write but a very few words, as I convey this by the hands of the courier to the farmers of the revenue, who is just setting out; and, indeed, I sent you a long letter

1

yesterday

yesterday by your freed-man. Nothing has since occurred worth communicating: unless you should have curiosity enough to think (as I imagine you will) that the following articles deserve notice. In the first place then, Cornificius is upon the point of being married to the youngest daughter of Sylla: and in the next, Paula Valeria, on the very day her husband was expected from his government, procured a divorce, without alledging the least cause. She is to be married to Decimus Brutus. Several very extraordinary incidents of the same kind have happened during your absence. But would you have suspected that Servius Ocella was so well with the ladies, as to have been twice discovered in close gallantry within the space of three short days? If you ask me where the scene of this amorous adventure was laid? In sad truth, my friend, where I least wished: but for the rest, I leave you to inquire of others. And a pleasant piece of intelligence it will be for our noble general to learn, in whose fair quarters the luckless Ocella was seized! Farewel.

LETTER

¹ One would almost suspect, from the reserved manner in which Caelius relates this adventure, that he had a *staring reason on his brow* (as the poet humorously calls it) for not being more explicit.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I WILL answer your letter more fully than I can at present, the very first moment I shall have more leisure. In the mean while I snatch the opportunity of sending this by the hands of some domestics of Brutus, who just now called upon me at Laodicea, and are returning with all expedition to Rome. They are in so much haste, that I have only time to write this, and another to Brutus.

The deputies from Apamea delivered your long letter to me, wherein you very unjustly accuse me of having obstructed, by my mandates, the public monument^a which that city proposed to raise. You desire I would suffer them

^a It was usual with these Asiatic provinces, to consecrate temples to their Roman governors, and associate them with the gods in the same common ceremonies of religious worship. Probably, therefore, the building which the city of Apamea proposed to erect, was some compliment to Appius of this sacred kind. The very ingenious Monsieur Mongault has shewn, in a learned dissertation which he read before the Royal Academy of *Belles Lettres* at Paris, that the divine honours which were paid to the Roman Emperors, were only a continuance of the same infamous prostitution which had been practised during the times of the republic. *Plut. in vit. Flamin. Memoires de litterat.* vol. i. p. 369.

them to proceed immediately upon the execution of that design, lest they should be prevented by the winter; and very severely reproach me for having suspended the assessments for that purpose till I should be able to inquire into the justice of raising them. This, you tell me, was in some sort an absolute prohibition: since the winter would necessarily be set-in, before I could return out of Cilicia in order to examine into that affair. Having thus stated the several articles of your charge, I will now shew you that they are altogether unreasonable. In the first place then, as I had received complaints on the part of those who thought themselves aggrieved by excessive taxes, where was the injustice, if I forbade these subsidies to be levied till I could examine into the merits of the case? But this, it seems, I could not be able to effect, till the winter. Yet why not? let me ask: since it was the part of those who made these complaints to wait upon me, rather than mine to attend them. But you will object, perhaps, to the reasonableness of laying these people under the difficulty of taking so long a journey. Yet this journey you yourself must necessarily have designed they should take, when you gave them your letter to deliver to me. And deliver it they accordingly did.

did: but they timed it so absurdly, that tho' it was to desire they might be permitted to begin their work during the summer, they did not bring it to me till that season was expired. I must acquaint you, however, that far the greater part of these very citizens are averse to the levying this tax in question: nevertheless I shall take such measures, for that purpose, as I imagine will prove most agreeable to your inclinations. And thus much for this Apamean business.

I am informed, by Pausanias, a freedman of Lentulus, and one of my accensors*, that you complained to him of my having treated you with great haughtiness and incivility by not coming to meet you in your approach to Iconium. The fact, however, is this: I received a message from you late at night, acquainting me that you proposed to give me an interview in that city before the next morning: but your servant could not inform me which of the two roads you intended to take. In order, therefore, that I might be ready to attend you, I dispatched your friend Varro, together with Lepta, the captain of my artillery, directing them to take different roads, and whichever should

* The accensors were officers who attended on the proconsular magistrates in their courts of justice.

should meet you first, to return with immediate notice. Accordingly Lepta came back with great expedition: and assuring me that you had actually passed the camp, I instantly went to Iconium. What followed I need not mention. And now is it probable, that I, who am rather apt to be more assiduous in offices of this kind, than my station and character require, should neglect to pay the accustomed honours to Appius Claudius; to one dignified with the august title of *Imperator*; and what is still stronger, to my friend? But not to dwell any longer upon this article, I cannot forbear taking notice of an expression you made use of to the same person. "A compliment of this kind, you told him, had mutually passed between you and Lentulus⁴; and did Cicero take upon himself to act towards a person of your quality with less ceremony?" But can it be true, that so weak an expression should drop from a man of your improved understanding, and knowledge of the world: I will add too, (what the stoics justly rank in the number of social virtues) of your refined good breeding? Can you possibly believe me so mean, as to be influenced more by the distinctions of birth, than of merit? I have ever, indeed,

⁴ Lentulus was predecessor to Appius in the government of Cilicia: as Appius was to Cicero.

deed, held the founders of illustrious families as truly great: but never could I esteem the splendid names they transmitted to their posterity, as objects of my admiration. These were my sentiments even before I had myself attained what the world considers as the highest honours. But now, after having filled the most distinguished posts in the commonwealth with a character that leaves nothing more for my ambition to wish; though I am far from thinking myself superior to those of your rank, I hoped, however, that I might be deemed their equal. I am persuaded, at least, that I have been always regarded as such, not only by Lentulus, to whom I yield the preference to myself in every respect, but by Pompey likewise, whom I look upon as the greatest man the world has ever produced. But if you differ from them in this opinion, I would recommend the writings of Athenodorus⁵ to your attentive perusal: as they will teach you to form a more just distinction between high birth and true nobility⁶.

But not to deviate farther from the purpose of my letter: I beg you would do me the justice to believe, not only that I am your friend,
but

⁵ He was preceptor to Augustus Cæsar. *Manut.*

⁶ See rem. 1. p. 101. of this vol.

but that I am most affectionately so; the truth of which I shall endeavour to evince, by every means in my power. Nevertheless, if you are disposed to make the world suspect that you have less reason to take my interest under your protection during my absence, than I had to act for yours in the same circumstance, I willingly spare you the trouble:

*There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,
And Jove himself shall guard a monarch's right.*

But, notwithstanding you should give me reason to think that you are of a temper too apt to take offence, you will not, however, extinguish my desire of exerting my best services in your behalf; you will only render me less solicitous in what manner you may receive them.

Thus I have opened my heart to you with a freedom that results from the conscious sincerity of my friendship towards you; and which, as it was founded on dispassionate judgment, I shall preserve just as long as may be agreeable to your own inclinations. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Hom. Pope's transl. These lines are taken from the speech of Agamemnon to Achilles, in the first Iliad, where the latter threatens to withdraw his forces from the common cause. Cicero seems to apply them in particular allusion to his interest with Pompey; who, at this time, was the great idol of his devotion, and the political Jove, at whose shrine he most devoutly bowed.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS³, Proquæstor.

MY own inclinations have anticipated your recommendation: I have long since received Marcus Fabius into the number of my friends. He has extremely endeared himself to me, indeed, by his great politeness and elegance of manners; but particularly by the singular affection I have observed he bears towards you.

Accordingly,

³ He attended Crassus into Syria, as his quæstor; who, being killed in an engagement against the Parthians, as has been related in rem. 7. p. 128. of this vol. the administration devolved upon Cassius. He seems, when this letter was written, to have been setting out, if not actually upon the road, from that province. Soon after his return to Rome, the civil war broke out, in which he commanded a very considerable fleet on the side of Pompey; but, upon the defeat of that general in the plains of Pharsalia, he surrendered both himself and his ships to the conqueror. See rem. 3 p. 171. vol. ii. It is unnecessary to mention the part which Cassius afterwards acted towards his benefactor, as every body knows that he was the principal contriver and manager of the conspiracy against Cæsar. Plutarch asserts, that he engaged in this design from his passionate love of liberty, but the contemporaries of Cassius thought otherwise, and it was generally believed, in Rome, that he was actuated, upon that occasion, more by pique than patriotism. It is probable, indeed, that the former was his strongest, if not his single motive; for his oppressive and tyrannical conduct, during his administration of the province of Syria, renders it not very reasonable to suppose that he was a real friend to the natural rights of mankind. *Plut. in vit. Brut. Cic. Epist. Fam. viii. 10. see let. 14. book iv. p. 390. of this vol.*

Accordingly, though your letter in his behalf was not without effect, yet my own knowledge of the regard he entertains for you, had somewhat more; you may be assured, therefore, I shall very faithfully confer upon him the good offices you request.

Many reasons concurred to make me wish you could have given me an interview. In the first place, I was desirous, after so tedious a separation, to see a friend whom I have long esteemed. In the next place, I should have been glad to have expressed those congratulations in person, which I have already paid you in a letter. I wanted, likewise, an opportunity of conferring with you upon our mutual affairs, as well as of confirming a friendship founded on many reciprocal good offices, though interrupted, indeed, by a long absence. But, since I could not obtain the pleasure of a nearer conference, let me take the advantage, at least, of this more distant communication; and which, in most respects, will answer the same purpose. There is one or two, however, I must except, as it can neither afford me a satisfaction equal to that of seeing you, nor a mean of rendering you so sensible of the joy I feel in your late success. But though I have already expressed my congratulations in a former letter, I will here

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again assure you that I very sincerely rejoice, not only in the illustrious actions you have performed⁹, but at your very opportune departure, amidst the general esteem and applauses of the whole province.

And now, what I had farther to say, if we had met, related to our mutual affairs: a point, however, which may full as well be discussed in this manner. With regard to your own, when I consider your interest in general, I cannot but advise

⁹ Cassius, after the death of Crassus, and the total defeat of his army, conducted back the remains of the Roman troops into Syria, and shut himself up in Antiochia. But, upon the approach of the Parthians towards that city, he sallied out; and, by his bravery and conduct having repulsed the enemy, he continued harrassing their retreat till he drove them entirely out of Syria. It is upon this success that Cicero's congratulations are founded; but they are congratulations in which he was by no means sincere. For, in some letters to Atticus, written about this time, he speaks of Cassius as having magnified his actions to the senate much beyond the truth; and even claims a share with him in the glory of repulsing the Parthians. It was the news, he says, of his being upon the march in order to assist Cassius, that animated his courage, and spread such terror among the enemy, as induced them to retreat. But this (as the very ingenious French translator of the letters to Atticus, observes) was ascribing to himself an honour to which he had certainly no right. For Cicero was at a great distance from Antiochia when the Parthians retreated from that city; which the bravery of Cassius, together with their own inexperience in the nature of regular sieges, were the only causes of their abandoning. An observation, therefore, of Cicero's own, may serve, perhaps, as a proper conclusion to this remark: *Deforme est de se-ipso prædicare, falso præsertim; et cum irrisione audientium imitari militem gloriosum.* Dio. p. 134. Ad Att. v. 20, 21. Mong. Traduct. vol. iii. p. 148. rem. 9, De Offic. i. 38.

advise you to hasten to Rome. When I left the city, there was not the least appearance of any designs to your prejudice; and, I am persuaded your returning thither, while the success of your arms is fresh upon the minds of the people, will ensure you a reception greatly to your honour. The reason for hastening your journey will hold still stronger, if you are convinced that you shall be able to defeat those prosecutions which you are apprehensive, it seems, may be brought against some of your officers: as nothing will place your character in a more advantageous light, than a victory of this kind. But, if you imagine the charge can be made good against them, it merits your consideration, whether your arrival in Rome will not happen in a conjuncture very unfavourable for such a circumstance. Upon the whole, you yourself are most capable of determining this question, as you are the best judge of your own strength. If you think you shall triumph over your adversaries, it is a circumstance, undoubtedly, that will raise your general credit; but if you are clear that the reverse will prove the case, you will certainly be less mortified by the distant reflections of the world, than if you were placed within the hearing of their malicious censures.

As to my own affairs, I must repeat the request of my last, and entreat you to exert your utmost endeavours that my continuance here may not be extended beyond the period limited by the senate and the people. I urge this request, as one upon which all my hopes depend: and entreat you to act in it with a proportionable zeal. You will find Paulus¹¹ extremely well disposed to co-operate with you upon this occasion; as also both Curio and Furnius¹².

I have only to add the last article I mentioned, as an inducement for desiring an interview; I mean, in order to renew and confirm the pledges of our mutual friendship. I persuade myself it will not be necessary to employ many words for that purpose. You discovered, indeed, an early disposition to be thus united with me; as, on my part, I always considered it as my particular honour. I found it too my great support, in the season of my misfortunes. Let me add, in farther claim to its continuance, that I have contracted, since your absence, a great intimacy with your relation Brutus¹³. I promise myself much satisfaction

¹¹ One of the present consuls.

¹² Tribunes of the people.

¹³ Brutus was at this time married to Junia, the sister of Cassius.

faction from the society of two such ingenious friends, as well as very high advantages from your united services: suffer me not, I conjure you, to conceive this hope in vain. In the mean time, I beg to hear from you immediately, as I desire, likewise, you would write to me, very frequently, when you return to Rome. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile.

THE very worthy and learned Marcus Fabius¹ is a person with whom I am most intimately connected. He strongly, indeed, engages my affection, not only by his superior genius and erudition, but by that uncommon modesty which adorns them. I entreat you, therefore, to undertake his cause with the same warmth as if it were my own. I know you fine orators are so much employed, that a man must have committed murder at least, ere he can

¹ This seems to be the person mentioned in the foregoing letter; in whose behalf Cassius had written to Cicero. The following epistle is, likewise, in favour of the same friend, and upon the same occasion.

can hope that his affairs are of significance enough to claim your assistance. In the present instance, however, I will take no excuse: and if I have any share in your regard, you will give up all other business, when Fabius requires your services.

The severity of the winter has prevented my receiving any dispatches from Rome, a considerable time. I am extremely impatient, therefore, to hear what is going forward amongst you, and particularly what my friend Cœlius is doing. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CURTIUS PEDUCEANUS, Prætor².

I HAVE long enjoyed an intimacy with Marcus Fabius, for whom I sincerely profess the most tender regard. I do not, however, desire to influence your judgment in the suit which he has depending before you, as I am sure you will not depart from those rules of equity which your honour obliges you to observe, and which
you

² The prætors were next in rank and power to the consuls, and their office somewhat resembled that of our chief justices. See rem. 14. p. 863. of this vol.

you prescribed to yourself when you first entered upon your office³. My only request is, (and it is a request I most earnestly make) that you would allow him to wait upon you, and would favour his claim so far as justice is on his side. In a word, let me entreat you to shew him that my friendship can avail him even at this distance. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I HAVE at last received a letter from you, written in a spirit worthy of yourself, as it is conceived in terms full of a generous and candid friendship. It should seem, indeed, that the very view of Rome had an immediate effect upon your temper, and restored you to the agreeable possession of your usual good humour and politeness. I am sure, at least, that the two complaining letters you wrote to me on your journey, ere you had left Asia, were such as I could not read without reluctance. I will own too, that, conscious of the
inviolable

³ The several prætors, before they entered upon their office, drew up and published a sort of formulary, which they intended to observe in their respective administrations of justice. Rosin. *Antiq. Rom.* vii. 700.

inviolable attachment which I have ever preserved to your interests, I could not forbear answering them with some warmth. The letter, indeed, which you delivered to my freedman, Philotimus, left me no room to doubt that there were some persons in this province who were no well-wishers to our union. But I have the satisfaction to find, that, as soon as you came to Rome, or rather as soon as you were met by your friends and family, you were convinced of that warm and constant testimony I gave of my friendship and esteem for you upon all occasions during your absence. You will easily imagine, then, with how much pleasure I read your assurances, that if any incident should arise wherein my reputation may be concerned, you will endeavour to make me an equal return. And tho' you doubt whether you shall be able effectually to do so, most certainly there is no reason to question it: for there is nothing, my friend, which a sincere and zealous affection is not capable of performing.

Notwithstanding I was well persuaded, in my own judgment, and had received frequent assurances, likewise, by the letters of my friends, that you would undoubtedly be honoured with a triumph; yet it afforded me a singular

singular pleasure to be confirmed⁺ in this persuasion by your own hand. Believe me, however, I by no means rejoice in it from a selfish Epicurean principle, and as it may probably facilitate my own pretensions of the same kind, but as taking a sincere and disinterested share in every increase of your dignities. I entreat you, then, as you have more frequent opportunities of writing into this province than any other of my friends, that you would give me immediate notice as soon as you shall have obtained the decree, which you have so much reason to expect, and which I so unfeignedly wish you. If the tedious resolutions of the *long bench*, as our friend Pompey calls the senate, should delay your hopes a few days, (and more than a few days they, surely, cannot delay them) be confident, however, that they will at length distinguish you with those honours which are so justly your due. Again, therefore, I conjure you, as you give me *your* affection, or would preserve *mine*, to let me participate in the joy of this good news as early as possible.

To this request I will join another, and remind you of executing your promise of sending me

* When Cicero wrote this epistle he had not received the letter from Cælius, wherein he gives him an account of Appius having dropped his petition for a triumph. See the 5th letter of this book.

me the completion of your treatise on augury[†]. I ask this, not only as being desirous of informing myself in the rites and principles of the sacred college, but as I receive with uncommon satisfaction every mark of your favour. As to the request you made me on your part, of returning you a compliment in the same kind, it is a point I must well consider. For it would ill become an author whom you have so often applauded for the pains[‡] he bestows

[†] See rem. 1. p. 279. of this vol.

[‡] " 'Tis strange to see how differently the vanity of mankind runs in different times and seasons. 'Tis at present the boast of almost every enterprizer in the Muses' art, that, by his genius alone, and a natural rapidity of style and thought, he is able to carry all before him; that he plays with his business, does things in passing, at a venture, and in the quickest period of time. In the days of attic elegance, as works were then truly of another form and turn, so workmen were of another humour, and had their vanity of a quite contrary kind. They became rather affected in endeavouring to discover the pains they had taken to be correct. They were glad to insinuate how laboriously, and with what expence of time, they had brought the smallest work of theirs (as perhaps a single ode, or satire, an oration, or panegyric) to its perfection. When they had so polished their piece, and rendered it so natural and easy, that it seemed only a lucky flight, a bit of thought, or flowing vein of humour, they were then chiefly concerned, lest it should in reality pass for such, and their artifice remain undiscovered. They were willing it should be known how serious their play was, and how elaborate their freedom and facility, that they might say, as the agreeable and polite poet, glancing on himself,

"Ludentis speciem dabit et torquetur."——

Shafts, charact. 1. 233.

stows upon his compositions, to suffer any crude and indigested performance to come forth from his hands; especially upon an occasion that would justly expose him to the censure, not only of being guilty of negligence, but of a most ungrateful disrespect. However, I may find some opportunity, perhaps, of satisfying both you and myself upon this article. In the mean time, I hope you will endeavour, in conformity to your promise, that a public thanksgiving, of the most distinguished kind, be decreed, as soon as possible, on account of my late victories; and I am persuaded you will act with that zeal which is agreeable to your sincerity, and to the friendship which has long subsisted between us. I was somewhat later in my public dispatches for this purpose, than I wished; and, as they were delayed likewise by the difficulty of navigation at that season, they did not, I suppose, arrive before the senate was prorogued. It was the influence which your advice always has upon my judgment, that induced me to defer them; and I am satisfied it was perfectly right not to acquaint the senate of my being saluted with the title of *Imperator*, till I had gained still farther advantages by my arms, and entirely completed the campaign. I confidently rely, therefore, upon the assistance you have

have promised me, and recommend to your protection whatever else concerns either my affairs or my family. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS.

WOULD you imagine that I should ever be at a loss for words! I do not mean of that chosen and elegant kind which are the privilege of you celebrated orators, but those of ordinary and common use. Yet, believe me, I am utterly incapable of expressing the solicitude I feel concerning the resolutions that may be taken in the senate, in regard to the provinces. I am extremely impatient, indeed, to return to my friends at Rome, among which number you are principally in my thoughts. I will confess, likewise, that I am quite satiated of my government. For, in the first place, I have more reason to apprehend that some reverse of Fortune may deprive me of the glory I have here acquired, than to expect I shall be able to raise it higher. And, in the next place, I cannot but look upon the whole business of this scene as much inferior to my strength, which is both able and accustomed to support
a far

a far more important weight. I will acknowledge, too, that I am uneasy in the expectation of a very terrible war⁷ which is likely to be kindled in this part of the world, and which I may probably escape, if I should obtain my dismissal at the stated time.

I do not forget the panthers you desired, and have given my orders to the persons usually employed in hunting them: but these animals are exceedingly scarce with us. They take it so unkind, you must know, that they should be the only creatures in my province for whom any snares are laid, that they have withdrawn themselves from my government, and are marched into Caria. However, the huntsmen, and particularly honest Patischus, are making very diligent enquiry after their haunts; and all the game they can meet with shall certainly be yours: but what the number will prove is altogether uncertain. Be well assured the honour of your Ædileship is much my care, and this day particularly reminds me of it, as it is the festival of the Megalesian games⁸.

I hope

⁷ With the Parthians.⁸ The Megalesian games were under the conduct of the curule Ædiles, as well as those called the *Roman*. The learned Manutius, therefore, conjectures that the anniversary of the former reminded Cicero of the panthers which Cælius requested, in order to grace those shews he was to exhibit

I hope you will send me a minute detail of our public affairs, as I have an entire dependence on the accounts which are transmitted to me by your hand. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 703.]

To THERMUS, Proprætor.

YOUR very generous treatment of Marcus Marcilius, the son of my friend and interpreter⁹, is a most obliging instance, among many others, of the regard you pay to my recommendations. He came to me at Laodicea, and expressed the highest gratitude for the good offices you had conferred upon him, at my request. As you see, therefore, that your favours are not bestowed upon those who are insensible of their value, I hope you will be the more inclined

exhibit at the latter, which were celebrated with greater pomp and magnificence. The nature of the *Roman games* has already been explained in rem. 7. p. 354. of this vol. The *Megalesian games* were instituted in honour of the mother of the gods, and were so called from *Megalesia*, (scil. οὐαὸς τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς) a temple in Phrygia, from whence the statue and worship of that goddess was brought to Rome. This festival commenced on the 4th of April, and continued six days.

⁹ The governors of provinces were prohibited from using any other language than the Latin, in the functions of their ministry, for which reason they were always attended with interpreters. *Val. Max.* ii. 2.

clined to continue them. I entreat you then to interpose, as far as your honour will permit, in preventing a prosecution, wherein the mother-in-law of this young man is likely to be involved. And though I strongly recommended Marcilius to you, in my former letter, yet it is with still greater warmth that I do so in this: as I have since received very singular, and, indeed, almost incredible proofs of his father's probity and fidelity during the many months he has been engaged in my service. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

THE report of a very considerable war being kindled in Syria, is confirmed to me by daily expresses. I take the liberty, therefore, in confidence of our mutual friendship, to press you so much the more strongly to dismiss my lieutenant Anneius as soon as possible. His military abilities, indeed, will render his advice and assistance of singular advantage in this conjuncture, both to myself and to the republic. Nothing could have induced him to leave me at this critical season, or, in truth, have prevailed with me to consent to his absence, but

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an affair of the last importance to his interest. However, as I purpose to go into Cilicia* about the beginning of May, it is absolutely necessary he should return before that time.

I will take this opportunity of most earnestly renewing the request I made to you in person, and which I afterwards repeated in a letter, that you would employ your good offices in settling his contest with the city of Sardis, agreeably to the justice of his cause, and the dignity of his character. I had the pleasure, when I talked with you upon this subject at Ephesus, to find you perfectly well disposed to assist him upon his own account. Let me add, however, that your adjusting this affair to his satisfaction, will be performing the most acceptable service likewise to myself. I conjure you, therefore, to dispatch it with all possible expedition. Farewel.

LETTER

* Besides the province of Cilicia, properly so called, there were three other adjoining districts annexed to Cicero's government, in one of which he appears to have been at the time of writing this letter.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile.

YOUR very agreeable letters visit me but seldom: perhaps, by some accident or other, they lose their way. How full was the last¹ which came to my hands, of the most prudent and obliging advice! I had determined, indeed, to act in the manner you recommend: but it gives an additional strength to one's resolutions, to find them conformable to the sentiments of so faithful and so judicious a friend. I have often assured you of my extreme affection for Appius: and I had reason to believe, after our mutual reconcilment, that he entertained the same favourable disposition towards me. For he distinguished me in his consulate with great marks of honour and amity: and appeared willing, upon all occasions, to gratify my requests even in favour of others. I must appeal to you (since the droll Phania² is, I think, no more) that I was not wanting on my part in a suitable return: and, indeed, he stood so much the higher in my esteem, as I was sensible

¹ The 5th letter of this book.

² A favourite freed-man of Appius.

sible of the affection he had conceived for you. Add to this, that I am, as you well know, wholly devoted to Pompey, and tenderly attached also to Brutus³. Can I then want a reason of uniting myself with Appius, thus supported as he is by the most powerful friends and alliances, and flourishing in every other advantage that can be derived from affluent possessions in conjunction with great abilities⁴! But, besides these considerations, I must mention, likewise, the connexion that subsists between us as members of the same sacred college, and the honour he has publicly paid me in his learned treatise concerning its institutions.

³ That Cicero was wholly devoted to Pompey, cannot be doubted: but that he was sincere in this declaration with respect to Brutus, may well be questioned. It appears, indeed, that they were neither of them perfectly satisfied with each other at this time: and Cicero complains to Atticus of having received some very haughty and disrespectful letters from Brutus, even when the latter was soliciting his good offices in favour of Appius. *Nullas unquam* (says he) *ad me litteras misit Brutus, ne proxime quidem de Appio, in quibus non esset arrogans, ἀσυνέχης τι* aliquid.—*Plane parum cogitat, quid scribat, aut ad quem.* Ad Att. vi. 3. vid. etiam. vi. 1. v. 21. See rem. 2. p. 379 of this vol.

⁴ These were the true, and perhaps the only reasons which induced Cicero to endeavour to be upon good terms with Appius. For that he had a real affection for him, as he pretends in this epistle, is by no means probable. On the contrary, in a letter to Atticus, he speaks of his disposition towards Appius, in terms of much lower import; and discovers, at the same time, the principal motive that engaged him in his interest. *Pro Appio nos hic omnia faciemus; honeste tamen, sed plane libenter. Nec enim ipsum odimus; et Pompeius mirifice a me contendit.* Ad Att. vi. 2.

tions. I mark out these several circumstances the more particularly, as your letter seemed to intimate a doubt in what manner I was inclined towards him. This leads me to suspect, that some idle tale or other has been reported to the disadvantage of my sentiments respecting Appius: but be assured, whatever you have heard of that nature, is utterly false. I must confess, at the same time, that his maxims and mine in the administration of this province, have been somewhat different: and it may from thence, perhaps, have been suggested, that I acted counter to his measures, more from a spirit of opposition, than from any real disagreement of principles. But, believe me, I have never said or done the least thing throughout the whole course of my government, with a view of prejudicing his reputation. And now that my friend Dolabella has so rashly attacked him, I am exerting all my good offices to dissipate the rising storm with which he is threatened.

You mentioned something of a lethargic inactivity that had seized the republic. I rejoiced, no doubt, to hear that you were in a state of such profound tranquillity, as well as that our spirited friend⁵ was so much infected with this general indolence, as not to be in a humour of disturbing

⁵ Curio.

disturbing it. But the last paragraph of your letter, which was written, I observed, with your own hand, changed the scene, and somewhat, indeed, discomposed me. Is Curio really then become a convert to Cæsar? But extraordinary as this event may appear to others, believe me it is agreeable to what I always suspected. Good gods! how do I long to laugh with you at the ridiculous farce which is acting in your part of the world?

I have finished my juridical circuit: and not only settled the finances of the several cities upon a more advantageous basis, but secured to the farmers of the revenues the arrears due on their former agreements, without the least complaint from any of the parties concerned. In short, I have given entire satisfaction to all orders and degrees of men in this province. I propose, therefore, to set out for Cilicia^b on the 7th of May: from whence, after having just looked upon the troops in their summer cantonment, and settled some affairs relating to the army, I intend, agreeably to the decree of the senate for that purpose, to set forward to Rome. I am extremely impatient, indeed, to return to my friends: but particularly to you, whom I much wish to see in the administration of your Ædileship. Farewel.

LETTER

^b See rem. * p. 466 of this vol.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 703.]

To QUINTUS THERMUS, Proprætor.

IT is with great pleasure I perceive that my services to Rhodo and others of your friends, as well as those likewise which I have performed to yourself, prove acceptable to a man of your grateful disposition. Be assured you will find me still more and more desirous of advancing your credit and reputation: though I must add, that the lenity and justice of your government seem already to have raised them as high as possible.

The more I reflect upon your affairs (and they are the daily subject of my thoughts) the more I am confirmed in that advice I communicated to you by Aristo. I am well persuaded, indeed, that you will draw upon yourself very powerful enemies, if you should put any slight upon a young nobleman of your quæstor's rank and interest. And a slight it will undoubtedly be, if you should not at your departure commit the administration of the province to his hands: as there is no other person to whom you can trust it, of superior quality. But, abstracted from all considerations of this kind, he has an un-

H h 4 questionable

questionable right, as your quæstor, to be preferred to any of your lieutenants, whose blameless and worthy conduct, however, I must at the same time in justice acknowledge. I am perfectly sensible that you have nothing to fear from the resentment of any man. I could wish, nevertheless, that you would not incur the displeasure, and especially with just reason, of three such distinguished persons as your quæstor and his brothers: for they are all of them men of some eloquence, as well as great spirit: to which I must add, that I am persuaded they will successively be tribunes of the people⁶ during the three next following years. Now who can tell what turn public affairs may take? For my own part, I think there is much appearance of great commotions arising in the commonwealth. I should be sorry, therefore, that you should render yourself obnoxious to so formidable a power as the tribunitial: especially since you may easily avoid it, without offending any person, by justly preferring your quæstor to your lieutenants. And should his conduct, as your vicegerent in the province, prove worthy of his glorious ancestors,

as

⁶ Pighius, with great probability conjectures, from the circumstances here mentioned, compared with other passages in Cicero's writings, that Caius Antonius, second brother to Mark Antony, was quæstor to Thermus. *Pighii annal. anno, 703.*

as I hope and believe, it will reflect, in some degree, an honour upon yourself. But, on the contrary, should he deviate from their illustrious examples, the whole discredit will fall singly upon his own character, without involving yours in any part of the reproach.

I am this moment setting out for Cilicia^{*}: so that I have only time to write these loose hints just as they occur. I thought it incumbent upon me, however, to send you my general sentiments of a point wherein your interest is so nearly concerned. May the gods give success to whatever you shall determine! But if my advice has any weight, you will avoid raising to yourself unnecessary enemies, and prudently consult your future repose. Farewel.

LETTER

^{*} See rem. ², p. 466. of this vol.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 703.]

To C. TITIVS RUFVS, Prætor.

LUCIVS CUSTIDIUS is not only of the same tribe⁷ and corporation⁸ with myself, but is likewise my particular friend. As he has a cause which he purposes to bring before you, I recommend his interest to your protection, but no farther, however, than is consistent with your honour and my own good manners. All I request, therefore, is, that you would allow him freely to wait upon you as often as he shall have occasion; that you would comply with his desires, as far as they shall appear equitable; and, in a word, that you would convince him that my friendship can effectually avail, even at this distance. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Romulus divided his citizens into three tribes, each of which were subdivided into ten curiæ, or wards. These tribes were, in after-times, gradually increased, till they amounted to the number of thirty-five.

⁸ The corporate or municipal towns were those which were allowed to govern themselves by their own laws and constitutions, and at the same time were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens. Cicero was a native of one of these corporations, called Arpinum: situated in a district of Italy, which now makes part of the kingdom of Naples.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 703.]

To SILIVS.

WILL you not think that I am employed in a very unnecessary office, when I take upon me to recommend a man to your friendship, who already, I know, enjoys that privilege? Let it be a proof, however, that I am with passion, as well as esteem, devoted to his interest. I most earnestly entreat you then to convince Egnatius, by the good effects which this letter shall produce in his favour, both of your affection for me, and of mine for him. And be assured your compliance with this request will be the most agreeable of all the many and great instances I have received of your disposition to oblige me.

The pleasing hopes I entertained of public affairs are now totally vanished. However, whilst we wish things were better, let us support ourselves with the trite consolation, that we must submit to what cannot be remedied. But this is a subject I will reserve to our meeting. In the mean time, continue to give me your friendship, and be well persuaded of mine. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO PUBLIUS CÆSIUS.

I most earnestly recommend to your favour my very intimate friend Publius Messienus, a Roman knight, who is distinguished by every valuable endowment. I entreat you, by the double ties of that amity which I enjoy with you and your father, to protect him both in his fame and his fortunes. Be assured you will by this means conciliate the affection of a man highly deserving of your friendship, as well as confer a most acceptable obligation upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO THE MAGISTRATES OF FREGELLÆ⁹.

If my connexions with Quintus Hippius were not of the strongest and most amicable kind, I should not depart from the rule I have laid down to myself, of not troubling you with my applications. This maxim, you will bear me witness,

⁹ It is supposed to be the same town which is now called *Caperaro* in the *Campagna di Roma*.

witness, I have hitherto strictly observed, though I was ever persuaded, at the same time, that there is nothing you would refuse to my request. However, I now most earnestly entreat your generosity in behalf of my friend's son, and that you would do me the honour to shew so much regard to my inclinations as to enfranchise the estate he has purchased of your corporation. I shall esteem your compliance with this request as a very singular favour. Farewel.

AN

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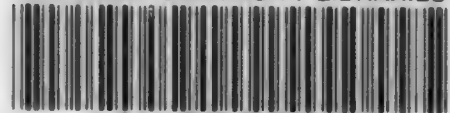
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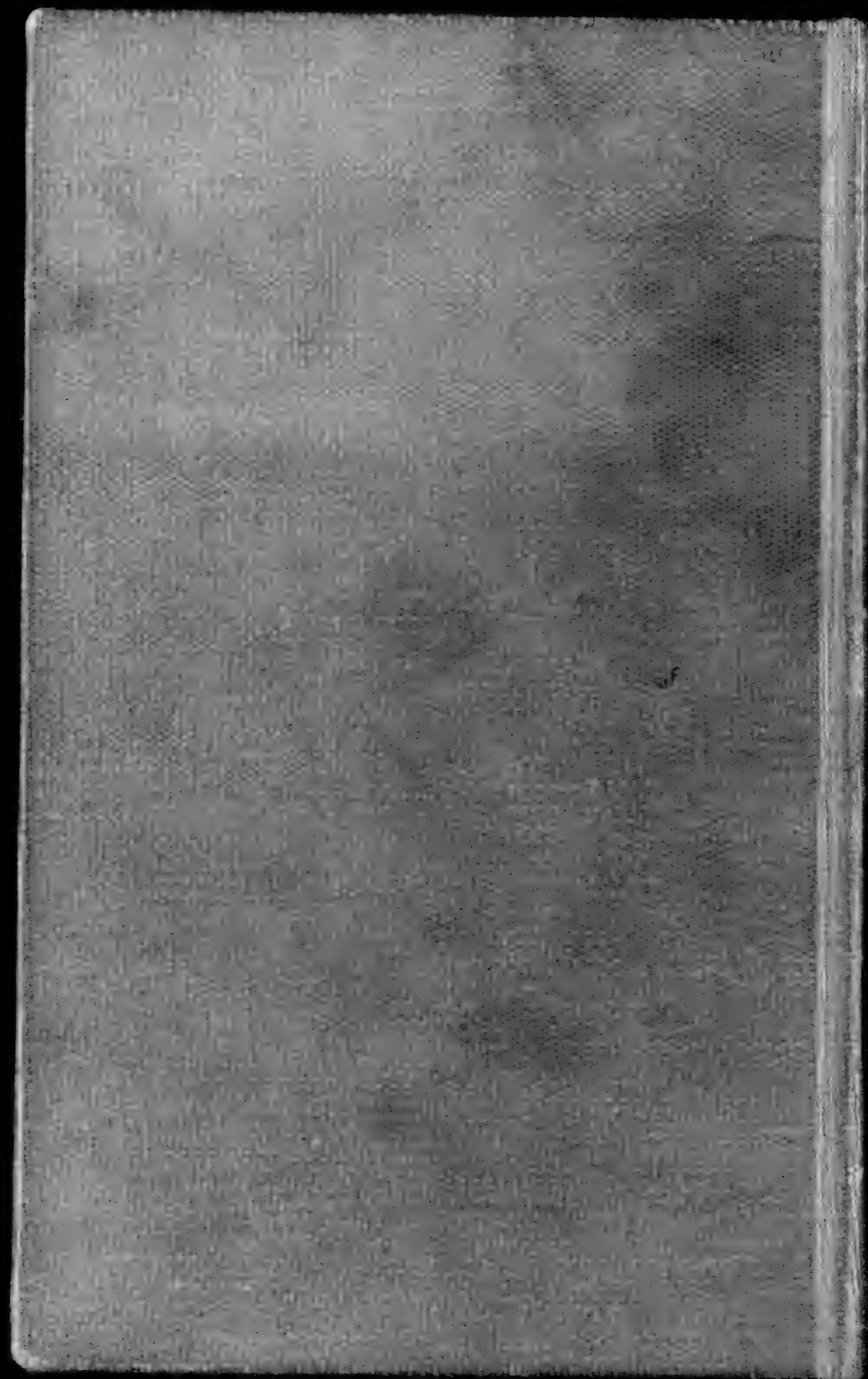
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WHOLESALE

THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

WITH REMARKS

BY
WILLIAM MELMOTH, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. Hor.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

To which is now added

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK VI.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHEN I first received an account of the ill-judged prosecution which has been commenced against you', it gave me great concern: and, indeed, nothing could possibly have happened that I less expected. But as soon as I had recovered from my surprise, I was well satisfied that you will easily disappoint the malice of your enemies: for I have the highest confidence in your own judicious conduct on this occasion, as well as a very great one in that of your friends.

¹ See rem. 4. p. 437. vol. 1.

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friends. I see many reasons, indeed, to believe, that the envy of your adversaries will only brighten that character they mean to sully: though I cannot but regret that they should have thus snatched from you an honour you so justly merit, and of which you had so well-grounded an assurance; the honour, I mean, of a triumph¹. However, you will shew your judgment, if you should consider this pompous distinction in the light it has ever appeared to my own view; and, at the same time, enjoy a triumph of the completest kind in the confusion and disappointment of your enemies: as I am well convinced that the vigorous and prudent exertion of your power and influence will give them abundant reason to repent of their violent proceedings. As for myself, be well assured (and I call every god to witness the sincerity of what I promise) that I will exert my utmost interest in support, I will not say of your person, which I hope is in no danger, but of your dignities and honour: To this end, I shall employ my best good offices for you in this province, where you once presided: and employ them with all the warmth of an intercessor, with all the assiduity of a relation, with all the influence of a man who, I trust, is dear to these cities, and with all the authority of one who is invested

¹ See rem. 3. p. 371. vol. 1.

invested with the supreme command. In a word, I hope you will both ask and expect of me, every service in my power: and believe me, I shall give you greater proofs of my affection than you are disposed, perhaps, to imagine. Notwithstanding therefore that the letter I received from you by the hands of Quintus Servilius was extremely short, yet I could not but think it much too long: for it was doing an injury to the sentiments of my heart, to suppose you had any occasion to solicit my assistance. I am sorry you should have an opportunity of experiencing, by an incident so little agreeable to you, the rank you bear in my affection, the esteem which I entertain for Pompey, whom I justly value indeed above all men, and the measure of my unfeigned regard for Brutus: circumstances, I should hope, of which our daily intercourse had rendered you sufficiently sensible. However, since it has so happened, I should think that I acted a most unworthy, not to say a criminal part, if I were to omit any article wherein my services can avail you.

Pontinius remembers the singular instances of friendship he has received from you, and of which I myself was a witness¹, with all the gratitude and

¹ Pontinius was prætor in the consulate of Cicerò, and at this time one of his lieutenants in the province. He distinguished himself in the affair of Catiline: and having quelled the insurrection of the Allobroges, who took up arms on that occasion, he demanded a triumph. But he met with so
B 2 strong

and affection to which you have so undoubted a right. The urgency of his affairs had obliged him, though with great reluctance, to leave me. Nevertheless, having been informed just as he was going to embark at Ephesus, that his presence in this province might be of advantage to your cause⁴, he immediately returned back to Laodicea. I am persuaded you will meet with numberless such instances of zeal upon this occasion: can I doubt then that this troublesome affair will prove, in the conclusion, greatly to your credit?

If you should be able to bring on an election of censors⁵, and should exercise that office in the manner you certainly ought, and for which
you

strong an opposition to this claim, and particularly from Cato, that it was four years before his petition was granted. Appius was at that time consul; by whose interest it chiefly was, that Pontinius at length succeeded: and it is to this circumstance that Cicero seems to allude. *Liv. Epit.* 103. *Dio. xl. Ad Att.* iv. 16.

⁴ See rem. 6. p. 437. vol. 1.

⁵ The office of censor was the most honourable post in the Roman republic; though its authority was not so considerable as that of the consul. The two principal branches of his duty consisted in taking a general survey of the people, in order to range them in their proper classes; and in watching over the public manners. Appius, together with Piso, whose daughter Cæsar had married, were chosen censors soon after the date of this letter: and they were the last (as Dr. Middleton observes) "who bore that office during the freedom of the republic." If the republic, indeed, could with any propriety be said to have enjoyed freedom at this period, when all was faction and misrule. *Rosin. de Antiq. Rom.* 699. *Life of Tully*, ii. 210. 8vo. ed. See rem. 4. and the passage to which it refers, p. 68. of this vol.

you are so perfectly well qualified; you can never want that authority in the republic, which will afford, at once, a protection both to yourself and your friends. Let me entreat, therefore, your most strenuous endeavours to prevent my administration from being prolonged: that, after having filled up the measure of my affectionate services to you here, I may have the satisfaction also of presenting them to you at Rome.

I read, with pleasure, though by no means with surprise, the account you gave me of that general zeal which all orders and degrees of men have shewn in your cause: a circumstance, of which I had likewise been informed by my other friends. It affords me great satisfaction to find, that a man with whom I have the honour and pleasure to be so intimately united, is thus distinguished with that universal approbation he justly deserves. But I rejoice in this upon another consideration likewise; as it is a proof that there still remains a general disposition in Rome to support the cause of illustrious merit: a disposition which I have myself also experienced upon every occasion, as the honourable recompence of my pains and vigils in the public service. But I am astonished that Dolabella, a young man whom I formerly rescued with the utmost difficulty from the consequences of two capital impeachments, should so ungratefully
B 3 forget

forget the patron to whom he owes all that he enjoys, as to be the author of this ill-considered prosecution of my friend. And what aggravates the folly of his conduct is, that he should thus venture to attack a man who is distinguished with the highest honours, and supported by the most powerful friendships; at the same time, that he himself (to speak of him in the softest terms) is greatly deficient in both these respects. I had received an account from our friend Cœlius before your letter reached my hand, of the idle and ridiculous report he has propagated: and on which you so largely expatiate. There is so little ground, however, for what he asserts, that be assured, I would much sooner break off all former friendship with a man who had thus declared himself your enemy, than be prevailed upon to engage with him in any new connexions⁶.

You

⁶ Nothing could be more distant from Cicero's heart than what he here pretends. For there is the strongest evidence to believe, that it was his fixed intention, at this very time, to enter into an alliance with Dolabella: and, in fact, Tullia was married to him soon after the date of this letter. Cicero affirms, I must acknowledge, in an epistle to Atticus, what he likewise asserts in a subsequent one to Appius, "that this transaction was entirely without his knowledge:" but he seems to have dealt as insincerely upon this occasion with his bosom friend, as he too frequently did with all the world beside. Accordingly, he assures Atticus, he so little expected the news of his daughter's match, that he was actually in treaty for the disposal of her to another person. But if the latter part of this assertion were true, it aggravates his dissimulation: as the former most evidently was not. For not to mention the great probability there is, that he left a com-
mission

You have not the least reason to doubt of my zeal to serve you: of which I have given many conspicuous testimonies in this province, as well as at Rome. Your letter, nevertheless, intimates some sort of suspicion of the contrary. It would be improper at this juncture to reproach you with indulging

mission with Cœlius when he set out for the province, relating to the marriage in question, [see let. 5. p. 437. vol. 1.] it appears that he had received more than one letter from him upon this subject, before he wrote the last mentioned to Atticus: and, consequently, that he could not have been so much a stranger to the affair as he chose to represent himself. Cicero's answer to the letter of Cœlius concerning this treaty with Dolabella, is extant: and it cannot be dated later than the beginning of May in the present year; because he mentions the seventh of that month as a future day, on which he proposed to return from another part of his province into Cilicia. But the letter to Atticus must have been written in the latter end of the same year, because he takes notice in it of the death of Hortensius. Now he was not informed of that event till he came to Rhodes, in his voyage from Cilicia: as he himself tells us, in the introduction of his oratorical treatise inscribed to Brutus. If Cicero then was capable of thus disguising the truth concerning Dolabella, to the nearest and most valuable of his friends; it is no wonder he should not scruple to act a still more counterfeit part in all that he says of him to Appius. And this dissimulation he very freely acknowledges to Cœlius; who, indeed, was in the whole secret of the affair: as it was by his intervention that it seems to have been principally conducted. Accordingly, Cicero taking notice to Cœlius of the letter now before us, which he tells him was written in consequence of the information he had received from him, in the 5th of the foregoing book; he expresses himself in the following remarkable words: *Quid si meam (sc. epistolam) legas, quam ego tum ex tuis literis misi ad Appium? sed quid agas? sic vivitur*: which in plain English amounts to this, that if a man would be well with the world, he must submit to the lowest and most contemptible hypocrisy. And it must be owned that Cicero, in the present instance, as well as in most others, acted up to the full extent of his maxim. *Ad Att. vi. 6. Ep. Fam. viii. 6. De clar. orator. 1. Ep. Fam. ii. 15.*

indulging so injurious a thought: but it is necessary I should convince you, that it is altogether without foundation. Tell me then, wherein did I obstruct the deputation which was intended to be sent to Rome with the complimentary addresses to you of this province? Had I been your avowed enemy, I could not have indulged my spleen by a more important piece of malice: and most certainly, if I had meant to act with a disguised malevolence, I could not have chosen an occasion that would have rendered my sentiments more notorious. Were I as perfidious as the authors of these unjust insinuations, yet surely I should not have been so weak either to discover my enmity where I designed to conceal it, or to shew a strong inclination of injuring you by instances utterly ineffectual. I remember, indeed, that some complaints were made to me, concerning the excessive appointments allowed to the deputies from this province. In answer to which, I rather advised than directed that all expences of this kind should be regulated by the Cornelian law⁷. But far was I from insisting even upon this: as may appear by the public records of the several cities. For when they afterwards passed their accounts before me,

I suffered

⁷ This law was enacted, it is probable, in order to restrain the immoderate sums which were expended in these complimentary deputations. *Manutius*.

I suffered them to charge to the article of their deputations, whatever sum they thought proper. Yet what falshoods have not these worthless informers imposed upon you? They have affirmed, it seems, not only that I absolutely prohibited all expences of this kind, but even obliged the agents of those deputies, who were actually set forward in their way to Rome, to refund the appointments that were lodged in their hands, and by these means discouraged several others from undertaking the same commission. I might here, with great justice, complain of your giving credit to these calumnies: but I forbear, as I said before, in tenderness to your present disquietude, thinking it more proper, at this season, to vindicate my own conduct than to reproach yours. I will only, therefore, remind you of a few reasons that ought to have secured me against suffering in your opinion from these groundless imputations. If ever then you experienced the probity of my heart, or observed a disposition in me worthy of those sublime contemplations to which I have devoted myself from my earliest youth; if ever you discovered by my conduct, in the most important transactions, that I was neither void of spirit, nor destitute of abilities, you ought to have believed me incapable of acting a low and little part towards my friends, much more a base and a treacherous one. But if artifice be the character

after

after all, in which I must needs be represented, could any thing, let me ask, be less consistent with such a temper, than either to slight the friendship of a man of your high rank and credit, or to oppose your glory in an obscure and remote province, after having openly supported it in view of the whole world at Rome? Can any thing have less the appearance of artifice than to discover an impotent malevolence, and betray to very little purpose a strong propensity of doing an injury. But what possible motive could induce me to cherish so implacable a spirit toward you, who was far from shewing yourself my enemy (and I speak it upon the information of my own brother) even at a time when you were almost under an indispensable obligation of appearing so? And after our reconciliation had been effected agreeably to our mutual desires for that purpose, did you once, throughout the whole period of your consulate, make a single request to me in vain? or which of the commands that you left with me when I attended you to Puteolæ, did I not execute with a zeal and assiduity even

* This alludes to the services which Cicero received from Appius in his recall from banishment. "For Appius (as Mr. Ross observes) was at that time prætor: and though he, at first, supported his brother Clodius, and opposed the repeal of his law, yet he afterwards deserted him, and joined with the friends of Cicero." *Cic. pro Rom.* 33.

† A maritime city in Campania, in the kingdom of Naples, now called Pozzuoli. When the proconsuls set out for their governments,

even beyond your expectations! But were I really the artful man I am represented, and if it be the characteristic of that disposition to act entirely with a view to interest, nothing surely could be more conducive to mine, than the friendship of one, from whose rank and abilities, from whose power, family, and alliances, I might hope to derive the highest honours and advantages: considerations, I will own, that rendered me ambitious of your friendship, not from any low unworthy cunning, but from those principles of prudence which Wisdom will surely justify. But these were not the only considerations that attached me to your interest: I was drawn by others of an higher and more prevailing influence with me: by a similitude of taste and studies, by the pleasing habitudes of familiar intercourse, and by the same common researches into the most concealed and unfrequented paths of philosophy. To these inducements of a private kind, I may add those of a more popular and public nature. For after having rendered our mutual reconcilment conspicuous to the whole world, I could not even undesignedly act counter to your interest, without incurring a suspicion of my sincerity. Let me mention also those obligations which result from my being associated

governments, they were usually escorted by their friends to some distance from Rome.

associated with you in the college of augurs : obligations which our ancestors esteemed of so sacred a nature, that they not only held it impious to violate them, but would not even suffer a candidate to be elected into this society, who was known to be at variance with any of its members. But abstractedly from these numerous and powerful motives, there is *one*, which of itself might be sufficient to evince the disposition in which I stand towards you : for tell me, did ever any man possess, or had reason to possess, so high an esteem for another, as that which you know I entertain for the illustrious¹⁰ father-in-law of your daughter? If personal obligations, indeed, can give him a title to these sentiments, do I not owe to Pompey the enjoyment of my country, my family, my dignities, and even my very self¹¹? If friendship

¹⁰ Pompey.

¹¹ Cicero by no means thought himself so much obliged to Pompey as he here pretends : and all these extravagant professions were a mere artifice (and a thin one it must be owned) to make Pompey believe that he had forgotten the ill usage he had formerly received from him. *Vid. Ad Att. ix. 13.* The truth of it is, Cicero had just the same sort of obligation to Pompey for the enjoyments he mentions, as he would have had to a highwayman, who, after having taken his purse, should have restored it again : for if Pompey had not acted a treacherous and dishonest part in the affair of Clodius, to which our author here alludes, Cicero would never have been deprived of his country, his family, and his dignities. But if Pompey restored him to *these*, he could not restore him to himself : for, as the elegant Mongault, in his remarks on the epistles to Atticus, justly observes, if he rose after his fall, he always appeared, however, to be somewhat stunned by the blow.

friendship may be supposed to have any effect, is there an instance amongst all our consulars, of a more intimate union than his and mine? If confidence can create affection, what has he not committed to my care, or communicated to my secrecy? Whenever he was absent from Rome, was there any other man whom he preferred to be the advocate of his interest in the senate? And what honour is there which he has not endeavoured to confer upon me, in the most distinguished manner? In fine, with how much temper did he suffer my zeal in the cause of Milo, notwithstanding the latter had upon some occasions joined in the opposition to his measures? And how generously did he protect me by his counsel, his authority, and even his arms, from the insults and the dangers to which I exposed myself in that¹¹ defence?

¹¹ If Dion Cassius may be credited in what he relates concerning the circumstances which attended Milo's trial, Cicero had as little reason to acknowledge his obligations to Pompey in the present instance, as in that mentioned in the preceding remark. For Pompey being apprehensive that Milo's party might attempt some violent measures in order to obstruct the course of justice, surrounded the court with his troops, which so intimidated Cicero, that it utterly disconcerted his eloquence, and he made a very languid defence of his friend. Accordingly the oration which Cicero published, and which is still extant, was not spoken, as Dion assures us, at the trial, but was the after-produce of his more composed thoughts. But whether the historian's assertion is to be corrected by Cicero, or Cicero's to be discredited by the historian, is a point I shall not venture to decide. Though I must in justice add, that Asconius, a much earlier writer than Dion Cassius, and one who was a greater admirer of Cicero, accounts in a different manner for the disorder which seized the Roman orator

fence? And I cannot but here observe, that far from being disposed, as you have shewn yourself in this affair of the deputies, to listen to the little idle tales that might be propagated to my disadvantage by any paltry provincial, he nobly scorned to give attention to the malicious reports, which were dealt about to my prejudice by the most considerable persons in Rome¹². Upon the whole then, as you are united, not only by alliance, but by affection, to my illustrious friend, what are the sentiments, do you imagine, that I ought to bear towards you? The truth of it is, were I your professed enemy, as I am most sincerely the reverse, yet after the letter which I lately received from Pompey, I should think myself obliged to sacrifice my resentment to his request, and be wholly governed by the inclinations of a man to whom I am thus greatly indebted. But I have said enough, and perhaps more than was necessary, upon this subject: let me now therefore give you a detail both of what I have effected, and am still attempting for your interest¹³. * * *

* * * * *

This

tor upon this occasion. For he ascribes it to the clamours with which he was insulted by the party against Milo, when he rose up to speak in his defence. *Dion. xl. p. 145, 146. Ascon. argument. in Milon.*

¹² Milo was suspected, or at least his adversaries pretended to suspect him, of having a design against Pompey's life: and perhaps Cicero's enemies endeavoured to persuade Pompey, that our author was privy to that design. *Orat. pro Milon. 24.*

¹³ The particular instances of Cicero's services to Appius are

This, my friend, is what I have performed, or am endeavouring to perform, in support of your character, I will rather say, than in defence of your person. But I expect every day to hear that you are chosen censor: the duties of which office, as they require the highest fortitude and abilities to execute, so, I am sure, they far better deserve your attention than any services I am capable of rendering to you in this province. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 703.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS¹.

YOUR letter has rendered me a most complete general. I protest I did not imagine you were so wonderfully skilled in the art military. But I perceive you are an absolute adept, and deeply studied in the tactics of king Pyrrhus² and his minister Cineas. I have some thoughts, therefore,

are omitted in the original: and, probably, were so by the first editor of these letters, as not being thought proper, perhaps, for public inspection.

¹ Lucius Papirius Pætus appears to have been a person of great wit and humour, and in close friendship with Cicero. "He was an Epicurean: and in pursuance of the plan of life recommended by the principles of that sect, seems to have sacrificed his ambition to his ease. He had sent some military instructions by way of raillery to Cicero: who returns an answer to this letter in the same jocose manner." *Mr. Ross.*

² Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who flourished about 300 years before the date of this letter, was esteemed by the ancients, as one of the greatest soldiers that ever appeared in the world. His whole thoughts and application were turned

to

therefore, of following your most curious precepts; and, indeed, of improving upon them. For as I am assured that the best armament against the Parthian cavalry is a good fleet, I am designing to equip myself accordingly. Seriously, you cannot imagine what an expert commander you have undertaken to tutor: for after having worn out Xenophon's life of Cyrus, with reading it at Rome, I have now fairly *practised it out* in the province.—But I hope soon to joke with you in person. In the mean time, attend with submission due to my high behests. You are not ignorant, I suppose, of the particular intimacy that subsists between Marcus Fabius and myself. I value him, indeed, extremely, not only for the singular integrity and modesty of his heart, but as he is a most excellent second to me in those contests wherein I am sometimes engaged with certain jovial Epicurean companions of yours. He lately joined me at Laodicea; where I am very desirous of detaining him; but he received an unexpected letter, which has given him great uneasiness. The purport of it is, that his brother has advertised his intentions of selling an estate

to the art of war: upon which subject he published some treatises, that were extant in Plutarch's time. Cineas was one of the generals who commanded under this heroic prince: and who, as it should seem from this passage, had likewise distinguished himself by his military writings. *Plut. in vit. Pyrrhi.*

estate at Herculaneum³, in which they are both equally interested. This news exceedingly alarms my friend, and as his brother's understanding is not extremely strong, he is inclined to think he has been instigated by some of their common enemies, to take this very extraordinary measure. Let me then entreat you, my dear Pætus, if you have any friendship for me, to ease Fabius of the trouble of this affair, by receiving the whole burthen of it upon yourself. We shall have occasion for your authority, your advice, and your interest: and I hope you will exert them all, in order to prevent these two brothers from the disgrace of appearing as adversaries in a court of justice. I must not forget to tell you, that the persons whom Fabius suspects to be the malicious authors of this advice to his brother, are Mato and Pollio. To say all in one word, I shall think myself inexpressibly obliged, if you ease my friend of this troublesome affair; a favour, he persuades me, entirely in your power. Farewel.

LETTER

³ The famous city near Naples, which was swallowed up by an earthquake in the reign of Vespasian; and which is now furnishing the literary world with so many invaluable treasures of antiquity.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 703.]

To CÆLIUS CALDUS⁴, Quæstor elect.

WHEN I received the very acceptable news of your being elected my quæstor, I was well persuaded, that the longer you continued with me in this province, the more I should have occasion to be satisfied with that choice. It is of importance to the public relation, which has thus arisen between us, that it should be improved by a nearer intercourse. But, having received no account either from yourself or any other of my friends, of your being set forward on your way hither, I began to be apprehensive (what I still fear) that I should leave this province before your arrival. I was favoured, 'tis true, with a most obliging and polite letter from you, on the 22d of June, whilst I was encamped in Cilicia; and it afforded me a very pleasing

⁴ He was a young man of a noble family, and this seems to have been the whole of his merit. For, notwithstanding Cicero addresses him in this letter, as one of whose talents and virtues he had conceived a favourable opinion, it is certain his real sentiments of him were far different. This appears from an epistle to Atticus, where both the morals and understanding of Caldus are mentioned in terms greatly to his disadvantage. *Nos provinciam præficimus Calium: puerum inquires, & fortasse fatuum, & non gravem, & non continentem. Assentior: fieri non potuit aliter.* Ad Att. vi. 6. See the 13th letter of this book.

pleasing instance both of your abilities and friendly disposition. But it was without any date, nor did it mention when I might expect you. The person, likewise, that delivered it, not having received it immediately from your own hands, could give me no information either when, or from what place it was written. Nevertheless, I thought proper to dispatch my couriers and lictors with this express; and if it reaches you time enough, you will greatly oblige me by meeting me in Cilicia as soon as possible.

The strong letters I received in your behalf, from your relations, Curius and Virgilius, had all the influence which is due to the recommendations of such very intimate and very worthy friends; but your own letter had still a greater. Believe me, there is no man whom I should have rather wished for my quæstor; and I shall endeavour to shew the world, by distinguishing you with every honour in my power, that I pay all the regard which is so justly due to your own personal merit, as well as to that of your illustrious ancestors. But this I shall the more easily be enabled to effect, if you should meet me in Cilicia; a circumstance in which not only the public interest and mine, but particularly your own, is, I think, nearly concerned. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile.

I AM extremely anxious concerning affairs at Rome, as I hear there have been great disturbances in the general assemblies of the people⁵, and that the festival of Minerva⁶ was celebrated in a most riotous manner. But my intelligence goes no lower than that period, and I am altogether uninformed of any thing which has since passed. Yet nothing mortifies me more than being prevented the pleasure of laughing with you at several ridiculous incidents which attended, I am told, these public tumults; but they are of such a delicate nature, that I dare not mention them in a letter. I am a good deal uneasy, likewise, at not having received any account of these commotions from yourself. For which reason, notwithstanding I shall be set out for Italy before this reaches your hand, yet I hope

⁵ Manutius conjectures that this alludes to the disturbances which some of the tribunes occasioned at Rome, in opposing the attempts of the Pompeian party to divest Cæsar of his government in Gaul. At the head of these tribunes, Curio, who had lately changed sides, now chose to distinguish himself. *Vid. Ad Att. vi. 2.*

⁶ This festival was celebrated on the 19th of March, and continued five days.

I hope I shall meet a letter from you upon the road, that I may not arrive an utter stranger to the state of public affairs; as I am sure no man is more capable of instructing me concerning them than yourself.

Your agent, the worthy Diogenes, together with your freed-man Philo^a, parted from me at Pessinus⁷, in order to proceed on their journey to the king of⁸ Galatia; though, with little hopes of succeeding at a court neither very able nor very willing to comply with the purposes of their embassy.

Rome, my friend, Rome alone, is the object that merits your attention; and may you ever live within the splendour of that illustrious scene! All foreign employments (and it was my sentiments from my first entrance into the world) are below the ambition of those who have talents to distinguish themselves on that more conspicuous theatre. And would to God, as I was ever well convinced of this truth, that I had always acted accordingly! Be assured the pleasure of a single walk with you, would afford

^a Cælius mentions these persons in a former letter, as being employed by him to execute some commission in this part of the world; but the nature of the business with which they were charged, does not appear. *Vid. Ep. Fam. viii. 8.*

⁷ A city in Phrygia, within the jurisdiction of Cicero's government.

⁸ Deiotarus.

afford me more satisfaction than all the advantages I can derive from my government. I hope, indeed, I shall receive the applause of having conducted myself, throughout my administration, with an untainted integrity; however, I should have merited as much honour by refusing the government of this province, as by having thus preserved it from the hands of our enemies. "But where then," you will ask, perhaps, "had been the hopes of a triumph?" Believe me, I should have deemed that loss well compensated, by escaping so long and so tedious a separation from all that I hold most valuable. But I hope I shall now soon be with you. In the mean time, let me meet a letter from you, worthy of your political penetration⁹. Farewel.

LETTER

⁹ In the original it is only said, *mihî mitte epistolas te dignas*. But it seems evident what Cicero had in his thoughts, by a passage a little higher in this letter: *obviæ mihî velim sint litteræ tuæ, quæ me erudiant de omni republica*. And our author frequently speaks of Cælius as one of that sort of discerning politicians, who, in the language of Shakespeare,

— can look into the seeds of time,
And say which grain will grow, and which will not.

MACBETH.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHILST I lay encamped on the banks of the Pyramus¹, I received two letters from you, and both at the same time, which Quintus Servilius forwarded to me from Tarsus. One of them was dated on the 5th of April, but the other, which seemed to have been written later, was without any date. I will answer the former, therefore, in the first place, wherein you give me an account of your having been acquitted of the impeachment exhibited against you for mal-administration in this province. I had before been apprised of many circumstances of this event by various letters and expresses, as well as by general report; as, indeed, there never was any occurrence more particularly known. Not that it was in the least unexpected, but because the world is usually very minute in its accounts of all that concerns the honour of so distinguished a character. But, notwithstanding your letter was thus in some measure anticipated, yet it heightened my satisfaction to receive the same good news from your own hand. My information was by this means not only more full than what I had learnt

¹ A river in Cilicia.

learnt from common fame, but it brought you nearer to my imagination, and rendered you in some sort present to those sentiments of joy which arose upon this occasion in my heart. Accordingly, I embraced you in my thoughts, and kissed the letter that gave me so much reason to rejoice, upon my own account, as well as upon yours. I say upon my own account, because I look upon those honours which are thus paid by the general voice of my country, to virtue, industry, and genius, as paid to myself; being too much disposed, perhaps, to imagine that these are qualities to which my own character is no stranger. But though I am by no means surprised that this trial should have ended so much to your credit, yet I cannot forbear being astonished at that mean and unworthy spirit which induced your enemies^a to engage in this prosecution.

But you will tell me, perhaps, that I am premature in my congratulations; for, while there is a charge still subsisting against you, what imports it, you will possibly ask, of which impeachment you are first acquitted? And I must confess it is a point of no consequence with respect to your character; for
you

^a It may be unnecessary, perhaps, to remind the reader that this alludes to Dolabella, whose friendship and alliance Cicero was at this time courting.

you are not only perfectly innocent of both accusations, but are so far from having committed any action injurious to the honour of the republic, that you have greatly contributed to raise and extend its glory³. However, there is this advantage gained by your present victory, that the principal difficulty of the whole contest is now over. For, by the terms in which Sylla's law is drawn up, concerning offences against the state, and upon which your first prosecution was founded, it is easy for any man to give a colour to the most groundless charge. Whereas an information of bribery turns upon a fact in its own nature notorious, as no man can be guilty of this crime, unobserved by the public;

³ Cicero himself will furnish the most proper comment upon this passage. For, in a letter to Atticus, written not many months before the present, he describes the conduct of Appius, in Cilicia, in terms which shew that he was far from being unjustly arraigned by Dolabella. He represents him as having spread desolation through the province by fire and sword; as having left nothing behind him which he could possibly carry away, and as having suffered his officers to commit all kinds of violences which lust and avarice could suggest: "And I am going," says he, "this very morning, to repeal several of his iniquitous edicts." *Appius, cum ex Asia provinciam curavit, sanguinem miserit, quidquid potuit detraxerit, mihi tradiderit enectam, &c. — Quid dicam de illius praefectis, comitibus, legatis? etiam de rapinis, de libidinibus, de contumeliis! — Ea ipse die, quo haec ante lucem scribebam, cogitabam ejus multa inique constituta & acta tollere.* It is pleasant to observe, upon some occasions, the different colours in which the same character is painted by different hands: but one has not so frequently the opportunity of hearing the same conduct thus abused and thus applauded by the same man, and almost, too, in the same breath. *Ad Att. vi. 1.*

lic; and consequently either the prosecutor, or the person accused, must evidently, and beyond all power of artifice, appear infamous. But whoever entertained even the slightest suspicions of your having obtained the high dignities through which you have passed, by illegal methods? How do I regret that I could not be present at these prosecutions, that I might have exposed them to all the ridicule they so justly deserve!

You mentioned two circumstances which attended your trial, that afforded me particular satisfaction. The one is, that general zeal which was expressed by the whole republic in your behalf: the other, that generous and friendly part which both Pompey and Brutus have acted towards you in this conjuncture. With regard to the first, it would undoubtedly have been the interest of the commonwealth, even in the most flourishing periods of heroic virtue, to have distinguished a citizen of your exalted merit; but it is more especially so in the present age, when there are so few of the same patriot character, to whom she can look up for protection. And as to the latter, I sincerely rejoice that your two relations, and my very particular friends, have thus warmly and zealously exerted themselves in your cause. The truth of it is, I look upon Pompey as the most considerable

considerable man that any age or nation has ever produced⁴: and Brutus, I am persuaded, will soon rise to the same honourable pre-eminence above his fellow citizens in general, which now distinguishes him among our youth in particular.

With regard to those witnesses who were suborned to give evidence against you, it shall be

⁴ In the last remark I took occasion to contrast Cícero with himself, in respect to his sentiments and his professions of Appius. The present passage affords an opportunity of shewing him in the same opposition with regard to Pompey. The author, then, of this encomium, has elsewhere said of the hero of his present panegyric, that "he was artful and ungentle in his common intercourse; and as to his political conduct, that was altogether void of every thing great or disinterested, and utterly unworthy of a man who meant well to the liberty of his country." *Nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil in totis πολιτικαῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.* This character, 'tis true, was drawn several years before the date of the present letter; and different sentiments of the same man, at different times, are perfectly reconcilable, no doubt, with truth and sincerity. But there is extant a letter to Atticus, written after this to Appius, and at the distance too of not many months, wherein Cícero expresses the same contemptible opinion of Pompey. *Ego hominem ἀπολιτικοτάτον* (says he) *omnium jam ante cognorum, nunc vero etiam ἀσεβητικωτάτον.* And in another still more recent letter to Atticus, he asserts, that Pompey's political conduct had been full of mistakes during the last ten years: *Ut enim alia decem annorum peccata omittam, &c.* The truth of it is, Cícero seldom continues long in the same sentiments, or at least the same language of Pompey; and if he raises a trophy to his fame in one letter, we may be almost sure of seeing it reversed in another. If our author's judgment and penetration were less unquestionable, these variations from himself might be imputed to a more favourable cause than can now, perhaps, be reasonably assigned. *Ad Att. i. 13. viii. 16. vii. 13.*

be my care, when I pass through Asia, (if Flaccus has not already prevented me) to bring them to condign punishment. And now let me turn to your second letter.

I received great pleasure from the judicious sketch you communicated to me of public affairs. It appears that the dangers of the commonwealth are much less considerable, as well as her resources much more powerful, than I imagined, since the principal strength of Rome is united (as you inform me) under Pompey. It afforded me much satisfaction, at the same time, to remark that spirit of patriotism which animates your letter: and I am infinitely obliged to you, likewise, that you should suspend your own more important occupations, in order to teach me what judgment to form of our political situation. As to your treatise upon augury^a, I beg you would reserve it to a season when we shall both of us be more disengaged. When I reminded you of that design, I imagined you were wholly unemployed, and waiting in the suburbs of Rome the determination of your petition. But I shall now expect your orations^b in its stead;

^a See vol. I. p. 279. l. 1. & note 1. & p. 460. l. 1.

^b For a triumph.

^c Appian maintained some rank in the republic as an orator, and was well skilled likewise in the laws and antiquities of his

stead; and hope, agreeably to your promise, that you will send me such of those performances as have received your last hand.

Tullus, whom you charged, it seems, with a commission to me, is not yet arrived; nor have I any other of your friends with me, except those of my own train; every one of whom I may with strict propriety call yours.

I do not well know what particular letters you mean by those which you call my *angry ones*. I have written twice, 'tis true, in order fully to justify myself against your suspicions; as well as tenderly to reprove you, for too hastily crediting reports to my disadvantage: and I thought I acted in this agreeably to the strictest friendship: but since you seem to be displeased with what I said, I shall not take the same liberty for the future. However, if these letters were not, as you tell me, marked with my usual vein of eloquence, I desire you would consider them as none of mine. For, as Aristarchus^c insisted that every verse in Homer

was his country. The orations which Cicero enquires after were probably those which Appian spoke in defence of himself on these trials. *De Clar. Orat.* 297.

^c A celebrated critic, who flourished at Alexandria 176 years before Christ. He is said to have left two sons behind him, both of them fools; but they will not, perhaps, be thought to have degenerated very greatly from their father, if what is reported of him be true, that he wrote above a thousand commentaries upon different authors. *Miser si tam multa supertacua legisset!*

was spurious, which he did not approve, I desire you would in the same manner look upon every line which you think unrhetorical, as not the produce of my pen. You see I am in a humour to be jocose. Farewel: and if you are (as I sincerely hope) in the possession of the censorial office, reflect often on the virtues of your illustrious ancestor⁸.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 703.]

FROM MARCUS CÆLIUS.

WE met with a difficulty that greatly embarrassed our schemes for procuring you a thanksgiving; but a difficulty, however, which we were not long in surmounting. For Curio, notwithstanding he is much in your interest, declared that, as all his attempts for convening a general assembly of the people had been obstructed⁹, he would by no means suffer the senate

⁸ The commentators suppose that Cicero alludes to Appius Claudius Coecus, who was censor in the year of Rome 442. He distinguished himself in his office by two works of great utility to the public; for he made that famous road called the *Via Appia*, part of which subsists to this day; and was the first, likewise, that supplied the city of Rome with water, by conveying the river Anio through an aqueduct of eleven miles in length. *Liv. ix. 29.*

⁹ Paulus, one of the present consuls, not having yet sacrificed his integrity to his interest, very warmly opposed the attempts of Curio, who was endeavouring to procure certain laws from the people in favour of Cæsar's present designs. Curio, in revenge, would not suffer any business to proceed

nate to pass any decree of the kind in question. If he were to depart, he said, from this resolution, it would look like giving up the advantages he had gained by the indiscreet zeal of the consul Paulus, and he should be considered as deserting the cause of the public. In order, therefore, effectually to remove this objection, we entered into an agreement with him, that if he would suffer the decree for your thanksgiving to pass, no other thanksgiving should be proclaimed during the remainder of this year, to which the consuls likewise consented. Your acknowledgments are accordingly due to them both, but particularly to Paulus; for he came wholly and readily into our proposal, in the most obliging manner; whereas Marcellus somewhat lessened the merit of his compliance, by telling us, that "the affair of these thanksgivings was an article upon which he laid no sort of stress." After having thus adjusted matters with Curio, we were informed that Hirrus intended to defeat our measures, by lengthening out the debates¹, when the question should come

proceed in the senate; a power with which he was invested as tribune of the people.

¹ A very singular custom prevailed in the Roman senate, with regard to their method of debating; for when a senator was required to deliver his sentiments on the point in question, he was at liberty to harangue on any other subject as long as he thought proper. This method was frequently employed to postpone a decree by those of an opposite party, when they found the majority was likely to be against them.

come before the senate. Our next business, therefore, was to make our applications on that side; which we so successfully did, that we not only prevailed with him to drop this design, but when the question was moved concerning the number of the enemies forces, and he might easily have prevented the decree, by requiring a list of the slain³, he sat entirely silent. Indeed the single opposition he gave to us, was by voting with Cato; who, though he would not assent to this motion, spoke of your conduct, however, in very honourable terms. I must not forget to mention Favonius, likewise, as a third in this party. You will distribute your thanks, therefore, as they are respectively due;—to the three last, for not preventing this decree, when it was both in their inclination and their power to have done so; and to Curio, for making an exception in your favour to the general rule he had laid down to himself. Furnius and Lentulus laboured in this affair, as they ought, with as much zeal as if it had been their own, and went about with me in all my applications to solicit votes. It is but justice to Balbus Cornelius⁴, to name him too in the

³ The number of slain necessary to entitle a general to the honour of a triumph, was 5000; but, as a public thanksgiving was a distinction of an inferior nature, perhaps a less number might be sufficient. *Val. Mar.* ii. 8.

⁴ I have already had occasion to observe, that Balbus acted

the catalogue of your active friends. He exerted himself, in truth, with great spirit in gaining over Curio: to whom he warmly remonstrated, that if he continued to obstruct the senate in this article, it would affect the interest of Cæsar⁵, and consequently render his own sincerity suspicious⁶. Among those who voted in your favour, there were some that, in their hearts, nevertheless, were by no means well-wishers to the decree. In this number were the Domitii and the Scipios: in allusion to which, Curio made them a very smart reply, when they affected to be extremely importunate with him to withdraw his protest. “I am the more inclined, said he, to do so, as I am sure it would be a terrible disappointment to some who have voted on the other side.”

As to political affairs, the efforts of all parties are at present directed to a single point; and the general contest still is in relation to the provinces. Pompey seems to unite in earnest with the senate, that the 13th⁶ of November may be limited

acted as a kind of superintendant of Cæsar's political affairs at Rome.

⁵ As Cicero's popular talents could not but render him of service to any party he should espouse; he was at this time courted both by Pompey and Cæsar.

⁶ That is, with respect to Cæsar: in whose interest Curio had lately declared himself.

⁶ The commencement of Cæsar's government in Gaul cannot be dated higher than the year of Rome 695; for it is
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limited for Cæsar's resigning his government. Curio, on the contrary, is determined to oppose this to the utmost: and accordingly has relinquished all his other schemes, in order to apply his whole strength to the affair in question. As to our party⁷, you well know their irresolution: and, consequently, will readily believe me when I tell you, they have not the spirit to push their opposition to the last extremity. The whole mystery of the scene, in short, is this:

Pompey,

unanimously agreed by all the ancient historians, that he was consul in the year 694. This government was at first granted to him for five years, and afterwards enlarged for five more. Agreeably to this computation, therefore, the legal period of his administration could not expire till the year 705; yet Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, written in the very beginning of the year 704, speaks of it as absolutely completed. Cæsar, on the contrary, in the harangue which he made to his army, just before his march into Italy, in the commencement of the same year, expressly says, that they had served under him nine years: and it appears, by what he mentions soon afterwards, that there wanted six months to complete his decennial period when he was recalled from his government. The historians, likewise, are neither agreed with themselves, nor with each other, in their account of the continuance of Cæsar's administration in Gaul. For Suetonius in one place calls it nine years, and in another ten: whereas, Dion Cassius expressly says it was but eight. As the decision of this difficulty would prove very little entertaining to the generality of English readers, it is only marked out for the consideration of those, who may think the solution worth their inquiry. *Vid. Ad Att. vii. 9. Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. 7. 9. Suet. in Jul. 25. 69. Dio. xliv. p. 263.*

⁷ This party was what they called the *optimates*, and which, in modern language, might be termed the "country party." They wanted not only spirit, but unanimity, to act to any effectual purpose: *non enim boni, ut putant, consentiunt*, says Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, vii. 5.

Pompey, that he may not seem to oppose Cæsar, or to aim at any thing but what the latter shall think perfectly equitable, represents Curio as acting in this affair merely upon his own authority, and with no other view than to create disturbances. It is certain, at the same time, that Pompey is much averse to Cæsar's being elected consul, before he shall have delivered up his government, together with the command of the army: and, indeed, he seems to be extremely apprehensive of the consequences, if it should prove otherwise. In the mean while, he is severely attacked by Curio: who is perpetually reproaching him with deviating from the principles upon which he acted in his second consulship. Take my word for it, notwithstanding all the difficulties they may throw in Curio's way, Cæsar will never want a friend to rise up in his cause: and if the whole turns, as they seem to fear, upon his procuring some tribune to interpose his negative to their decrees, I will venture to pronounce that he may remain in Gaul as long as he shall think proper.

You will find the several opinions of the senators in relation to this affair, in the newspaper which I herewith send to you. I leave you to select such articles as you may think worthy of notice: for though I have omitted all the idle

stories of such a man being hissed⁹ at the public games; of another being buried with great funeral pomp, together with various impertinencies of the same uninteresting kind; it still abounds with many paragraphs of little moment. However, I chose to err on the right side: and had rather hazard informing you of what you may not, perhaps, desire to hear, than pass over any thing material.

I am glad to find that your care has not been wanting to procure me satisfaction from Sittius: and since you suspect that affair is not in very safe hands, I entreat you to take it altogether into your own. Farewel.

LETTER

⁹ It was usual with the populace, whom any person, who had incurred their displeasure, entered the places of public entertainments, to express their resentments by a general hiss. An instance of this kind which happened with regard to the celebrated Hortensius, is mentioned in the 29th letter of the third book. Vol. 1. p. 294.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CANINIUS SALLUSTIUS¹, Proquæstor.

YOUR courier delivered both your letters to me at Taurus, on the 17th of July: which I will answer, as you seem to desire, according to their respective dates.

I have heard no news of my successor, and, indeed, I am inclined to believe, that none will be appointed. Nevertheless, I see no occasion for my continuance in this province after the expiration of my year²: especially now that all our fears are over with respect to the Parthians. I do not propose to stay at any place in my return; though, perhaps, I may visit Rhodes, in order to shew that city to my son and nephew³; but of this I am not yet determined.

¹ Nothing more is known of this person than what may be collected from the present letter: by which it appears that he was quæstor to Bibulus in Syria.

² That period was now within a few days of expiring; for the letter before us could not have been written sooner than the 17th of July, and Cicero's administration ended on the last day of the same month; computing it from the time he entered his province. *Vid. Ep. Fam. xv. 2.*

³ "The island of Rhodes is situated in the Mediterranean, not far from the coast of Lycia and Caria. It had a city of the same name, which was at this time much celebrated and resorted to, on account of its schools of eloquence and philosophy. Cicero himself, in the course of his travels, resided some time here, and applied himself to the study of oratory under the direction of Molo: who was both an experienced pleader and fine writer." Mr. Ross.

mined. The truth is, I am desirous of reaching Rome as soon as possible: however, I shall regulate my journey according to the posture of public affairs. But I am afraid it will be impossible for your successor to be so expeditious, as to give you an opportunity of joining me in Asia.

As to what you mention concerning your accounts, it may save you, I confess, some trouble, to make use of the dispensation which Bibulus, it seems, is willing to grant. But I think you can scarce neglect delivering them in, without violating the Julian law⁴: and though Bibulus may have his particular reasons⁵ for not paying obedience to that ordinance, I cannot but strongly advise your observing its injunctions.

I find you agree with some others of my friends, in thinking that I ought not to have drawn the troops out of Apamea: and I am
sorry

⁴ Julius Cæsar procured a law in his first consulate, by which it was enacted that the several magistrates in the provinces should deposit a copy of their respective accounts in the two principal cities of their government. *Pigh. Annal.* i. 352.

⁵ Bibulus, in the year of Rome 694, was elected joint consul with Cæsar, by whom he was treated with great contempt and indignity for endeavouring to withstand the violent measures of his administration. [See rem. 10. p. 163. vol. 1.] It is probable, therefore, that Bibulus, in resentment of these injuries, refused to acknowledge the validity of the law mentioned in the preceding note: as not having been passed, perhaps, with all the necessary formalities.

sorry I should have given occasion, by that step, to the malicious censures of my enemies. But you are singular in doubting whether the Parthians had at that time actually repassed the Euphrates. It was in full confidence of a fact so universally confirmed, that I evacuated the several garrisons of those brave and numerous troops with which I had filled them.

It is by no means reasonable that I should transmit my quæstor's accounts to you: nor, indeed, are they yet settled. I intend, however, to deposit a copy of them at Apamea. In answer to what you mention concerning the booty we took from the Parthians in this war, let me assure you, that no man shall touch any part of it, except the city quæstors on behalf of the public. I purpose to leave the money at Laodicea which shall arise from the sale of those spoils, and to take security for its being paid in Rome: in order to avoid the hazard both to myself and the commonwealth of conveying it in specie. As to your request concerning the 100,000 drachmas⁶; it is not in my power to comply with it. For the chests of money taken in war, fall under the direction of the præfects, in the same manner as all other plunder: and the particular share that belongs

⁶ About 3000l. of our money.

longs to myself, is in the hands of the quæstor. In return to your question, what my thoughts are concerning the legions, which have received orders to march into Syria, I always doubted of their arrival. But I am now fully persuaded, if it should be known at Rome that every thing is quiet in your province, before those forces enter Syria, that they will certainly be countermanded. And as the senate has appointed your successor, Marius, to conduct those troops, I imagine it will be a considerable time before you see him. Thus far in reply to your first letter: I am now to take notice of your second.

I want no inclination to recommend you, as you desire, in the strongest manner to Bibulus. But I must take this opportunity of chiding you a little, for having never acquainted me of the ill, though unmerited terms on which I stand with him⁷. You are, indeed, the only one of my friends among his officers, who omitted to inform me, that when the city of Antiochia was in a general consternation from the late invasion of the Parthians

⁷ Notwithstanding Cicero represents the disgust which Bibulus had conceived against him, to have been altogether without foundation; yet, (as Manutius justly observes upon this passage) he had great reason to be offended: for Cicero had been a principal promoter of those excessive honours which had been paid to Cæsar. See note 5 above.

Parthians, and their great hopes depended upon me and my army, that Bibulus often declared, he would suffer the last extremity rather than be obliged to my assistance. However, I was not offended at your silence, as I imputed it to that particular and powerful connexion in which you stood related to him as his quæstor, though I was not ignorant, at the same time, of the manner in which he treated you. But his unfriendly disposition appeared likewise in another instance: for though he dispatched a courier to Thermus with an account of the irruption of the Parthians, he did not think proper to communicate any intelligence of that kind to me; notwithstanding he well knew that I was particularly concerned in the consequence of that invasion⁸. The single letter I received from him, was to desire my interest when his son was soliciting the office of augur: to which, in compliance with those sentiments I ever bore towards him, and in tenderness to the affliction under which he then laboured⁹, I endeavoured to return him the most civil and friendly answer

I was

⁸ Cicero's province being contiguous to that of Syria.

⁹ Two of his sons had lately been murdered at Alexandria by some Roman soldiers. Seneca mentions the behaviour of Bibulus, upon this occasion, as an example of philosophical magnanimity; for the very next day after he had received this afflicting news, he had the resolution to appear in the public exercise of his proconsular office. *Val. Mar. iv. 1. Senec. consul. ad marc. 14.*

I was capable. If this behaviour proceeded from a general moroseness of temper (which I confess, I never took to be his disposition) I have the less reason to complain: but if it arose from any particular coolness to myself, my recommendations can nothing avail you. I am inclined to suspect the latter, from the whole tenor of his conduct towards me. For in his late dispatches to the senate, he is pleased to usurp the entire credit of an affair, in which I was jointly concerned with him: and assures that venerable assembly that "he had taken proper care to settle the *exchange*¹⁰ in such a manner as would be most advantageous to the public." He mentions, at the same time, as his own act, what was solely and absolutely mine: and says, that "in order to ease the people of the burthen of maintaining the Lombard troops", he forbore to demand them." On the other hand, he thought proper to give me part in an action which belongs altogether to himself: and names me in the letter I am speaking of, as "joining in his application for a larger allowance of corn for the use of the auxiliary troops." To point out another instance, also, which betrays the meanest and most

¹⁰ Of the public money which was to be remitted from Cilicia and Syria, to the treasury at Rome.

¹¹ Which were raised in order to be sent against the Parthians.

most contemptible malevolence: Ariobarzanes having been particularly recommended by the senate to my protection¹², and it being by my means they were prevailed upon to acknowledge his regal title, Bibulus constantly speaks of him, throughout his letter, under the degrading appellation of "the son of the late king." My recommendation, therefore, to a person thus ill-disposed towards me, would only render him so much the more disinclined to serve you. Nevertheless, I herewith enclose a letter, which I have written to him, in compliance with your request: and I leave it to your own discretion to make what use of it you shall think proper. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS, to Cicero.

I CONGRATULATE you on your alliance¹ with so worthy a man as Dolabella: for such I sincerely think him. His former conduct, it is true, has not been altogether for his own advantage. But time has now worn out those little indiscretions of his youth: at least if any of them should still remain, the authority and advantage

¹² See let. 1. book 4.

¹ See rem. 6. on the first letter of this book.

advantage of your advice and friendship, together with the good sense of Tullia, will soon, I am confident, reclaim him. He is by no means, indeed, obstinate in his errors: and it is not from any incapacity of discerning better, whenever he deviates from the right path. To say all in one word, I infinitely love him.

Do you know, my dear Cicero, what a victory Curio has lately obtained in relation to the provinces? The senate, in pursuance of a former order, having assembled to consider of the obstruction which some of the tribunes had given to their decree², Marcus Marcellus moved, that application might be made to those magistrates to withdraw their protest: but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority. Pompey is at present in such delicate circumstances, that he will scarce find any measures, I believe, perfectly to his satisfaction. The senate, however, seem to intend, by the resolution I just now mentioned³, that Cæsar shall be admitted as a candidate for the consulship, notwithstanding he should refuse to

² This decree, together with the protest of the tribunes here mentioned, is inserted at large in the 7th letter of the 4th book. P. 353. vol. 1.

³ Cicero speaks of this resolution in a letter to Atticus, and produces it as a proof that the intentions of the senate were not true to the interest of the commonwealth. For had the Motion of Marcellus been vigorously supported, Curio's opposition, he says, would have been in vain, and Cæsar must necessarily have resigned his command. *Ad Att.* vii. 7.

to resign his government. What effect this may have upon Pompey, you shall know as soon as I can discover⁴. In the mean time, it imports you wealthy veterans to consider what methods to pursue, in case the latter should appear either unable, or unwilling to support the republic.

Hortensius⁵ lies at the point of death. Farewel.

LETTER

⁴ There is evidently some error in the Latin text: which runs thus, *Quemadmodum hoc laturus Pompeius sit, cum cognoscat, quidnam reipublicæ futurum sit, si aut non curet, vos senes, &c.* I have ventured, though unsupported by any of the manuscripts or commentators, to read this passage in the following manner; *Quemadmodum hoc Pompeius laturus sit, cum cognoscam, te certiore faciam. Quidnam reip. futurum sit, si aut non possit, aut non curet, vos, &c.*

⁵ Hortensius would have been considered as the noblest orator that ever shined in the Roman Forum, if Cicero had not risen with superior lustre. There was a peculiar eloquence in his manner, as well as in his expression: and it was difficult to determine whether his audience beheld the grace of his action, or listened to the charms of his rhetoric, with greater admiration and pleasure. Cicero often celebrates him for the prodigious strength of his memory: of which the elder Seneca has recorded a remarkable instance. He undertook, it seems, as a proof of its force, to attend a whole day at a public auction, and give an exact account of every thing that was put up to sale, of the price at which it was sold, and of the name of every particular purchaser: and this he accordingly executed without failing in a single article. Cicero received the news of his death with real concern: for though there was a perpetual emulation, there was a mutual friendship nevertheless between them. This harmony, so unusual with those who contend together for the same prize, was greatly owing to the good offices of Atticus; who seems, indeed, upon all occasions, (and it is the most amiable part of his very singular character) to have employed

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

THAT I may answer your letter in due form, let me pay my congratulations to you in the first place, and then turn to what concerns myself.

Be assured, the account you gave me concerning the event of your trial on the information for bribery⁶, afforded me great pleasure. Not because you were acquitted; for I never entertained the least doubt of the contrary; but to find that there was not a single judge who dared throw in a negative upon your innocence, even under all the secrecy and safety which the method of balloting would have secured to his malice. This is a circumstance altogether extraordinary: a circumstance, indeed, so little agreeable to the general principles and purposes of the present depraved generation, that the more I reflect on your high rank, on your public and private virtues, and on the distinguished

played the remarkable influence he enjoyed with all parties, in reconciling differences and cementing friendships. Hortensius was about six years older than Cicero: and died in the 63d year of his age. *Val. Max. viii. 10. Cic. de clar. orat. 301. Senec. controvers. i. in pram. Ad Att. vi. 6. viii. 2. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att. 5.*

⁶ See rem. 4 on let. 5. book 5.

guished honours to which they have exalted you, the more I consider it with astonishment. I can truly say, no occurrence has happened for a considerable time that surprised me more.

And now, let me entreat you to imagine yourself, for a moment, in my situation with respect to the affair you mentioned⁷: and if you should then find that you are under no difficulties, I will not desire you to excuse mine. You will allow me to join in your own good-natured wishes, that an alliance which was conducted without my knowledge, may prove happy both to me and to my daughter. I will venture to hope too, that something may be derived not altogether unfavourable to my wishes⁸, even from the particular conjuncture wherein this transaction has happened: though I must add, that nothing encourages me in this hope so much as the sentiments I entertain of your candour and good sense. What farther to say I know not. On the one hand, it would not become me to speak with more despondency of an affair, to which you have kindly given your favourable presages: on the other, there are some lights

⁷ The marriage of Cicero's daughter with Dolabella.

⁸ What Cicero seems to intimate in this passage is, that he might, probably, be enabled, by the influence which his alliance would give him with Dolabella, to infuse into him a more favourable disposition towards Appius.

lights in which I cannot view it without uneasiness. I am apprehensive, indeed, lest you should not be sufficiently persuaded, that this treaty was managed without my privity⁹: as, in truth, it was by some of my friends, to whom I gave a general commission to act in my absence as they should judge proper, without referring themselves, at this great distance, to me. But if you ask what measures I would have taken, had I been present? I will freely own, I should have approved of the match¹⁰: though, as to the time of consummating it, I should certainly have done nothing either without your advice, or contrary to your inclination.

You have already discovered, I dare say, how terribly I am perplexed between apologizing for a step which I am obliged to defend, and avoiding, at the same time, saying any thing that may give you offence. Have so much charity, therefore, I beseech you, as to ease me of this embarrassment: for, in fair truth, I never pleaded
a more

⁹ See rem. 6. on let. 1. of this book.

¹⁰ Cicero had surely forgotten what he said to Appius in a former letter. For taking notice of the report which Dolabella had spread concerning this match, he affirms there was so little of truth in it, that he would much sooner renounce all former correspondence with Dolabella, than enter into a new connexion with a man who had declared himself the enemy of Appius. *Ego citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias suscepisset, veterem conjunctionem diremissem, quam novam conciliassem.* Ep. Fam. iii. 10. See the first letter of this book.

a more difficult cause. Of this, however, be well persuaded, that, had I not, ere I was informed of this alliance, completed my good offices in your service, it would have induced me to defend your reputation, not, indeed, with more zeal (for that would have been impossible) but certainly with so much the more conspicuous and significant testimonies of my friendship.

The first notice that was given me of this marriage, was by a letter which I received on the 3d of August, upon my arrival at Sida; at which city I touched in my voyage from the province. Your friend Servilius, who was then with me, seemed a good deal concerned at the news; but I assured him, that the only effect it would have, with respect to myself, would be to give an additional strength to my future services in your behalf. To be short, though it cannot increase my affection for you, it has increased my endeavours of rendering that affection more evident: and as our former disunion made me so much the more cautious to avoid affording the least suspicion that my reconciliation with you was not thoroughly sincere; so this alliance will heighten my care not to give the world reason to think that it has in any degree impaired the strength of that perfect friendship I bear you. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CATO¹.

*PRAISE from thy lips 'tis mine with pride to boast:
He best can give it who deserves it most:*

as Hector, I think, says to the venerable Priam, in one of Nævius's plays. Honourable, indeed, is that approbation which is bestowed by those who have themselves been the constant object of universal applause. Accordingly, I esteem the encomiums you conferred upon me in the senate, together with your congratulatory letter, as a distinction of the highest and most illustrious kind². Nothing could be more agreeable

¹ This letter is an answer to the second in the preceding book, p. 430. vol. 1.

² Cicero was at this time well pleased with the part which Cato had acted towards him: for he tells Atticus, what he likewise says in this letter, that "he looked upon the applauses which the former had conferred upon him, in the senate, as preferable to all the triumphs in the world." But he soon changed his language: and, in his subsequent letters to Atticus, he expresses himself with great warmth and indignation against Cato's behaviour in this very article. Cato, it seems, had granted to Bibulus what he refused to Cicero, and voted that a general thanksgiving should be appointed, for the success of the former in Syria. This was a preference which Cicero could not digest, and he complains of it to Atticus in terms to the following purpose. "Cato," says he, "has given me his applauses, which I

did

agreeable to my wishes, as nothing could be more glorious for my reputation, than your having thus freely given to friendship, whatever you could strictly give to truth. Were Rome entirely composed of Catos, or could it produce many (as it is surprising it can furnish even one) of that venerable character, my desires would be amply satisfied, and I should prefer your single approbation to all the laurels and all the triumphal cars in the universe. In my own judgment, indeed, and according to the

"did not desire, but refused me his suffrage, though I earnestly requested it. Yet this ungrateful man has voted that a thanksgiving shall be appointed for twenty days, in honour of Bibulus. Pardon me for saying it; but I neither can, nor will forgive so injurious a treatment." Cicero ascribes this conduct of Cato to envy; and his ingenious translator, Monsieur Mongault, imputes it to partiality. On the contrary, I am persuaded it flowed neither from the one nor the other, but was the pure result of that impartial justice which seems upon all occurrences to have invariably determined his actions. For Cicero had undoubtedly no claim to the honour he demanded: and for this reason, among others, because the number of the slain on the side of the enemy was not so great as the laws in these cases required. [Vid. Ep. Fam. viii. 11.] But it is probable that the claim of Bibulus was supported by all the legal requisites. For though the Parthians were driven out of Syria before his arrival in the province; yet Cassius, by whose bravery they were repulsed, acted under the auspices of Bibulus: *sub ejus auspicia res gesta erant*, as they expressed it. Now the success of the lieutenant, or other subordinate officer, was always imputed to the general, notwithstanding he were not actually present, as being supposed to arise from the effect of these *auspicia*, or sacred rites, which he previously performed ere he set out on his intended expedition. *Ad Att. vii. 1. 2. 3. Rosin. Antiq. Rom. 968.*

the refined estimate of true philosophy, the honours you paid me in the senate, and which have been transmitted to me by my friends, is undoubtedly the most significant distinction I can possibly receive. I acquainted you, in my former letter, with the particular motives which induced me to be desirous (for I will not call it ambitious) of a triumph: and if the reasons I there assigned will not, in your opinion, justify a warm pursuit of that honour, they must prove, at least, that I ought not to refuse it, if the senate should make me the offer: and I hope that assembly, in consideration of my services in this province, will not think me undeserving of a reward so usually conferred. If I should not be disappointed in this hope, my only request is, (what, indeed, you kindly promise) that, as you have paid me the honours you thought most to my glory, you would rejoice in my obtaining those which are most to my inclination. And this disposition you have already very sincerely shewn, not only by your letter, but by having signed the decree that has passed in my favour: for decrees of this kind, I know, are usually subscribed by those who are most in the interest of the person to whose honour they are voted. I will only add, that I hope to see you very shortly: and may I find the republic in a happier situation than I have reason to fear! Farewel. LETTER

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS, Consul.

I AM informed, by the letters of all my friends, what, indeed, I was sufficiently sensible of by the effects, that you have exerted the same generous zeal in promoting my honours¹, now that you are consul, which you always discovered, in conjunction with your whole family, in every preceding station of your life. There is no good office, therefore, which you have not a full right to claim at my hands, as there is none which I shall not at all times be most warmly and joyfully ready to return. It is a point of much importance from whom one receives an obligation; but believe me there is not a man in the world I would rather choose to be obliged to than yourself. For, not to mention that I have been attached to you by a similitude of studies, and by the many generous services I have received both from yourself and your father: there is an additional inducement, which, in my estimation, is, of all others, the most engaging: I mean the manner in

¹ This alludes to the good offices of Marcellus, in relation to the general thanksgiving which had lately been voted for the success of Cicero's arms in Cilicia. See the 6th letter of this book, p. 30.

in which you act, and have ever acted, in the administration of public affairs. As nothing, then, is more dear to me than the commonwealth, can I scruple to be as much indebted to you in my own particular, as I am in common with every friend to the republic? And may your patriot labours be attended, as I trust they will, with all the success they deserve.

If the Etesian winds*, which usually begin to blow about this season of the year, should not retard my voyage, I hope to see you very speedily. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

WHEN the question concerning the military honours to be paid to your arms⁵ was formerly debated in the senate, I supported the cause of your glory with as much warmth and zeal, as if I had foreseen that I should one day have occasion for your good offices of the same kind to myself. Truth obliges me, however, to acknowledge

* Periodical winds, which constantly blow the same way during a certain number of months every year.

⁵ In Cilicia, probably; in which province Appius, as the reader has been informed, was predecessor to Cicero. This letter is upon the same subject with the preceding.

acknowledge, that you have returned much more than you received. All my letters, indeed, from Rome agree in assuring me, that you not only supported my interest by the authority of your eloquence, and the credit of your vote, (which was as much as I could in reason desire from a man of your rank and character) but that, by contributing your advice, by assisting at the meetings which were held upon my account, by your personal applications, and, in short, by your assiduity in general, you rendered the good offices of the rest of my friends altogether superfluous. These are circumstances far more to my credit than the honour itself for which you thus generously laboured. The latter, indeed, has frequently been obtained by those who had done nothing to deserve it; but no man was ever supported with so much zeal by an advocate thus illustrious, without merit to justify his claim. But the great benefit that I propose to myself by your friendship, arises entirely from the advantages which naturally flow from an intercourse of this kind; as nothing, in truth, can be attended with greater, especially between two persons, who, like you and me, are united by the same common pursuits; for I profess to act with you upon the same political principles in

E 4 which

which our sentiments are perfectly agreed, as well as to be joined with you in an equal attachment to the same arts and sciences which we mutually cultivate. I sincerely wish that fortune had as strongly connected us in every other respect, and that you could think of all who belong to me⁶, with the same friendly sentiments I entertain for those who stand related to you. But I do not despair that even this may be effected. It is a point, however, in which you are no way concerned, and which it is my part alone to manage. In the mean time, I beg you would be persuaded, as you will most certainly experience, that this alliance has, if possible, rather augmented than diminished the warmth of my zeal for your service.

But, as I hope I am now writing to a censor⁷, I must have the modesty to shorten my letter, that I may not be guilty of a breach of respect to a magistrate who is the great superintendant of good manners. Farewel.

LETTER

⁶ This alludes to Dolabella, whose conduct to Appius has been so often mentioned in these remarks.

⁷ See rem. 5. on the first letter of this book.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile.

Nothing could be more judicious, nor more carefully conducted, than your management of Curio in relation to the thanksgiving⁸. Indeed, the circumstances of that whole affair, have proved entirely conformable to my wishes; not only as it passed the senate with so much expedition, but as our mutual competitor, the angry Hirrus, expressed his assent to those divine encomiums with which Cato honoured my actions. I am inclined to flatter myself, therefore, that this will lead to a triumph; and I desire you would be prepared accordingly.

It is with great pleasure I find that Dolabella enjoys the happiness of your esteem and friendship. I was at no loss to guess the circumstance to which you alluded, when you mentioned your hopes that the prudence of my daughter Tullia would temper his conduct. But what would you have said had you seen the letter I wrote⁹ to Appius, immediately after

I received

⁸ See the sixth letter of the present book, to which this is an answer.

⁹ The letter to which Cicero alludes is the first of the present book.

I received yours upon that subject? Yet thus we must act, my friend, if we would live in the world². I hope the gods will give success to this match, and that I shall have reason to be well satisfied with my son-in-law; I am sure, at least, your amicable offices will extremely contribute to that end.

The dark prospect of public affairs fills me with great disquietude. I am well-inclined towards Curio; it is my wish that Cæsar's achievements may meet with the honourable rewards they deserve; and I would willingly sacrifice my life in support of Pompey; still, however, none of my affections are superior to that which I feel for my country. But, I perceive, you do not take any great part in her contests; being divided, I suppose, between the different obligations of a patriot and a friend.

Upon my departure from the province, I left the administration in the hands of Calpurnius. You will be surprised, perhaps, that I should commit so great a trust to so young a man. But you will remember that he was my quæstor; that he is a youth of a noble family, and that I am justified in my choice by a practice almost universal. Besides, I had no other person near me

² See rem. 6. on let. 1. of this book.

³ The person to whom the third letter of this book is addressed.

me of superior rank; for Pontinius had long before quitted the province, and as to my brother, I could by no means have prevailed upon him to accept the employment. Indeed, if I had placed the administration in his hands, the malicious part of the world would probably have said, that, instead of resigning my government in obedience to the decree of the senate, I still continued it in the person of one who may justly be considered as my second self. They might, perhaps, have added, too, that the intentions of the senate were, that those only should command in the provinces who had never enjoyed a government before⁴; whereas my brother had actually presided in Asia during three whole years. The method I have taken, therefore, secures me from all censure; whereas, if I had substituted my brother, there is no abuse I should not have had reason to expect. In fine, I was induced, I will not say to court, but at least to avoid disobliging a young man of Calpurnius's quality, not only by my own inclination, but by the example also of our two great potentates⁵; who, in

⁴ The particular decree to which Cicero alludes, may be found among those which are inserted in the seventh letter of the fourth book. It stands the last.

⁵ He was elected governor of Asia Minor, in the year of Rome 692.

⁶ Cæsar and Pompey.

the same manner, and for the same reason, distinguished their respective quæstors, Cassius and Antonius⁷. Upon the whole, my friend, I expect that you approve of my choice; for it is now out of my power to recal it.

The hint you dropped concerning Ocella, was so extremely obscure⁸, that I could make nothing of it, and I find no mention of it in your newspaper.

You are become so wonderfully celebrated, that the fame of your conduct in relation to Matrinius, has travelled beyond Mount Taurus.

If I should not be delayed by the Etesian winds, I hope to embrace you and the rest of my friends very soon. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Quintus Cassius, brother to the celebrated Caius Cassius, was quæstor to Pompey, in Spain; as Mark Antony served under Cæsar in the same quality, when he presided as proprætor in that province.

⁸ See the sixth letter of the fifth book, vol. 1. p. 442.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

I AM ashamed to own how much occasion I have to complain of Appius. This ungrateful man singled me out as the object of his secret spleen, for no other reason but because he has received greater obligations from me than his narrow spirit would suffer him to return. However, he could not carry on his malicious purposes with so much concealment, as to prevent my receiving an intimation of them; and, indeed, I had myself observed, that he certainly did not mean me well. Accordingly, I found that he had been tampering with his colleague¹ to my prejudice; as he soon afterwards openly avowed his injurious designs to some others of his friends. I discovered, also, that he had entered into some consultations of the same kind with Lucius Domitius; who is lately, I must inform you, become my most bitter enemy. In short, I perceived that he was endeavouring to recommend himself to Pompey, by his ill offices to me. Nevertheless, I could not submit to enter into any personal remonstrances,

¹ Lucius Calphurnius Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, was colleague with Appius in the censorial office.

remonstrances, or intercessions, with a man whom I had reason to consider as indebted to me even for his life. I contented myself, therefore, with complaining to some of our common friends, who had been witnesses to the obligations he had received at my hands. But, as this method, I found, was to no purpose, and that he would not deign to give me the least satisfaction; I determined to apply to his colleague. I rather chose, indeed, to ask a favour of the latter, (notwithstanding I was sensible that my connexions with you^a had rendered him far from being my friend) than undergo the mortification of engaging in a personal confidence with so ridiculous and contemptible a mortal as Appius. This step extremely exasperated him, and he was no sooner apprised of it, than he warmly complained that I was seeking a pretence to quarrel with him merely in resentment, he said, for his not having fully gratified my avaricious expectations. Soon after this, he openly endeavoured to procure Servius to exhibit articles of impeachment against me, and entered into several consultations with Domitius for that purpose. But, when

^a An enmity had subsisted between Piso and Cicero; ever since the consulate of the former, who concurred with Claudius in those violent measures which terminated in Cicero's exile. See rem. 2. p. 37. and rem. 21. p. 174. vol. 1.

when they perceived that they could not succeed in their intended charge, they dropped this design, and resolved to encourage a prosecution of another kind; though, at the same time, they well knew that there was not the least shadow of evidence to support their accusation. However, towards the close of my Circensian games³, these shameless confederates caused me to be indicted on the Scantinian law⁴. But Pola, whom they had spirited up to be the informer, had scarce entered his action, when I lodged an information against our worthy censor⁵ himself, for the very same crime. And nothing, in truth, could have been more happily concerted. For this retaliation was so universally applauded, and

³ Circensian games is a general name for those shews of various kinds, which were exhibited at different seasons to the people in the Circus; a place in Rome set apart for those purposes. But the particular games alluded to in this passage, are most probably (as Manutius, with great reason, conjectures) those which they called the Roman. For these were exhibited by the ædiles in September; and this letter seems to have been written some time in that or the following month. The nature of these games has been explained in a former note.

⁴ The author of this law was Marcus Scantinius, who was tribune of the people in the year of Rome 601. It prohibited that horrid and unnatural commerce, which, in after-ages of more confirmed and shameless corruption, became so general as to be openly avowed even by those who affected, in other respects, a decency of character. Horace and Pliny the consul are both instances of this kind, and afford a very remarkable evidence, that the best dispositions are not proof against fashionable vices, how detestable soever, without a much stronger counterpoise than a mere moral sense can supply.

⁵ Appius.

and by the better sort too among the people, that the general satisfaction they have expressed, has mortified Appius even more than the disgrace of the information itself. I have charged him, likewise, with appropriating a little chapel to his private use, which belongs to the public⁶.

It is almost six weeks since I delivered my former letter to the slave, who now brings you both; and I am extremely vexed at the fellow's delay.—I think I have no farther news to send you, except that Domitius⁷ is in great pain for the success of his approaching election.

As I earnestly wish to see you, I expect your arrival with much impatience. I will only add my request, that you would shew the world you are as sensible of the injuries done to me, as I have ever warmly resented those which have at any time been offered to yourself. Farewel,

LETTER

⁶ Manutius, in his remark upon this place, produces a passage from Livy, by which he proves, that it was the business of the censors to take care that these public chapels should not be shut up by private persons from the general and common use to which they were originally erected. Cælius, therefore, informed against his adversary for having practised himself what it was incumbent upon him, by the duties of his office, to punish in others. *Vid. Manut. in loc.*

⁷ This person, it is probable, is the same who is mentioned before in this letter. The commentators suppose that the election, of which Cælius speaks, was for a member of the augural college, in the room of Hortensius, lately deceased. For it is said, in the next letter, that Mark Antony was his competitor; and it appears, from Hirtius, that the former was chosen augur about this time. *Hirt. de bell. Galli. vii. 50.*

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 703.]

From the same.

IF you had taken the king of Parthia himself prisoner, and sacked his metropolis, it would not make you amends for your absence from these diverting scenes. You have lost, indeed, a subject of inexhaustible mirth, by not being a spectator of the very ridiculous figure which the luckless Domitius displayed, when he lately found himself disappointed of his election². The assembly of the people was exceedingly numerous upon this occasion: but the force of party bore down all before it³, and even carried away many of the friends of Domitius from his interest. This circumstance he imputes to my management: and as he considers the preference which has been thus given to his competitor, as a real injury done to himself, he honours me with the same marks of his displeasure, with which he distinguishes the most intimate

² See the last note of the preceding letter.

³ Mark Antony was supported by all the interest and credit of Cæsar: who exerted himself very strenuously upon this occasion, by going in person to the several municipal towns of Italy that lay nearest to his province of Gaul, in order to engage them in favour of his friend. For these cities being admitted to the freedom of Rome, had a right of voting at elections. *Hirt. de bell. Gall. viii. 50.*

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timate of his friends. He is at present, indeed, a very diverting spectacle of indignant wrath: which he impotently discharges, in the first place against myself, for promoting the election of Mark Antony, and in the next against the people, for expressing so much satisfaction in his repulse.

Under this article of news relating to Domitius, I must not forget to mention, that his son has commenced a prosecution against Saturninus: a man, it must be owned, whose conduct, in the former part of his life, has rendered him extremely odious. The public is waiting with great impatience for the event of this trial: but since the infamous Peducæus has been acquitted, there is a fair prospect that Saturninus will not meet with more inexorable judges.

As to political affairs; I have often mentioned to you, that I imagined the public tranquillity could not possibly be preserved beyond the present year: and the nearer we approach to those contentions which must inevitably arise, the more evident this danger appears. For Pompey is determined most strenuously to oppose Cæsar's being consul, unless he resigns his command: and Cæsar, on the contrary, is persuaded that he cannot be safe upon those terms¹. He has offered, however, to throw up

his

¹ Cæsar had acted in a very arbitrary and illegal manner during

commission, provided Pompey will do the same. And thus their very suspicious friendship and alliance will probably end at last in an open war. For my own part, I shall be extremely perplexed in what manner to act in that conjuncture: and I doubt you will likewise find yourself under the same embarrassment. On the one hand, I have an interest and connexion with Pompey's party: and on the other, it is Cæsar's cause alone, and not his friends, that I dislike. You are sensible, I dare say, that so long as the dissensions of our country are confined within the limits of debate, we ought ever to join with the more righteous side; but that as soon as the sword is drawn, the strongest party is always the best². With respect to our present divisions, I foresee that the senate, together with the whole order of judges³, will declare

during his first consulate: he apprehended, therefore, and with just reason, that if he should divest himself of his command, and return to Rome in a private character, his enemies would immediately arraign him for his mal-administration. *Dio, p. 148.*

² It were to be wished that every man who embraces this maxim, were as little scrupulous of acknowledging it, as the author of this letter: for of all noxious creatures, a knave without a mask is by far the least dangerous.

³ The expression in the original is, *quique res judicant*: which Dr. Middleton has translated, *and all who judge of things*. But this explanation is contrary to the concurrent sentiments of the best commentators, who agree that *qui res judicant* is a circumlocution for *judices*. The phrase, it must be owned, is singular: and so is the style of Cælius in general.

declare in favour of Pompey: and that all those of desperate fortunes, or who are obnoxious to the laws, will list themselves under the banners of Cæsar. As to their armies; I am persuaded there will be a great inequality. But I hope we shall have time enough to consider the strength of their respective forces, and to declare ourselves accordingly.

I had almost forgotten to mention a piece of news, much too remarkable to be omitted. You must know that our worthy censor Appius is become the very prodigy of reformers, and is most outrageously active in restraining our extravagancies in pictures and statues, in limiting the number of our acres, and abolishing usurious contracts*. The man imagines, I suppose

ral. But what principally confirms the sense here adopted is, that it is most agreeable both to credibility and to fact. For it is by no means probable that every man of judgment was an enemy to Cæsar: and it is most certain that the whole order of judges were friends to Pompey. *Vid. Ad Att. viii. 16. Life of Cic. ii. 212. 8vo. ed.*

* It is probable that Appius had himself as remarkably transgressed the rules of moderation in this last article, as he undoubtedly had in the other two: for avarice is an attendant that seldom fails of accompanying luxury. It is certain, at least, that his own possessions were far above mediocrity: for Cicero frequently speaks of him in the preceding letters as a man who, by his wealth as well as by his alliances and abilities, was of great weight in the republic. And as to his extravagance of the virtuoso kind, it appears that when he intended to offer himself as a candidate for the office of ædile, he plundered all the temples of Greece, as well as other less sacred repositories, in order to make a collection of pictures and

pose, that the censorship is a kind of specific for discharging the stains of a blemished reputation⁵. But I have a notion he will find himself mistaken: for the more pains he takes of this sort to clear his character, the more visibly the spots will appear.—In the name of all the gods, my dear Cicero, hasten hither to enjoy the diverting spectacle of Appius sitting in judgment on extravagance, and Drusus⁶ on debauchery! It is a sight, believe me, well worth your expedition.

Curio is thought to have acted very prudently, in withdrawing his protest against the decree for the payment of Pompey's troops.—But to answer your question in few words concerning my sentiments of public affairs; if one or other of our chiefs should not be employed against the Parthians, I am persuaded great dissensions will soon ensue: dissensions, my friend,

and statues for the decoration of the games which were annually exhibited by those magistrates. *Ep. Fam. iii. 10. Pro Domo 43. Vid. et Pigh. Annal. anno 696.*

⁵ The batteries of ridicule are never more properly pointed, than when they are thus levelled at counterfeit virtue: as there is nothing that more justly raises contempt and indignation than those reforming hypocrites,

Qui Curios simulant & Bacchanalia vivunt. Juven.

⁶ It is supposed from what Cælius here says of him, that he was one of the prætors this year. *Pigh. Annal. 703.*

friend, which nothing can terminate but the sword, and which each of them seem well-inclined and prepared to draw. In short, if your own safety were not deeply concerned, I should say that Fortune is going to open to you a most entertaining scene⁸. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO TERENTIA and TULLIA.

THE amiable young Cicero and myself are perfectly well, if you and my dearest Tullia are so. We arrived here⁹ on the 14th of this month, after a very tedious and disagreeable passage, occasioned by contrary winds. Acastus¹ met me upon my landing, with letters from Rome; having been so expeditious as to perform his journey in one-and-twenty days. In the packet which he delivered to me, I found yours, wherein you express some uneasiness lest your former letters should not have reached my hands.

⁸ The meaning of this seems to be (as one of the commentators has explained it) that if Cicero himself were not in danger from the dissention between Cæsar and Pompey, it must afford him great diversion to see these two chiefs, who had both of them used him ill, revenging his quarrel upon each other.

⁹ Athens.

¹ A freedman belonging to Cicero.

hands. They have, my Terentia: and I am extremely obliged to you for the very full accounts you gave me of every thing I was concerned to know.

I am by no means surprised at the shortness of your last, as you had reason to expect us so soon. It is with great impatience I wish for that meeting: though I am sensible, at the same time, of the unhappy situation in which I shall find the republic. All the letters, indeed, which I received by Acastus, agree in assuring me, that there is a general tendency to a civil war: so that when I come to Rome I shall be under a necessity of declaring myself on one side or the other. However, since there is no avoiding the scene which fortune has prepared for me, I shall be the more expeditious in my journey, that I may the better deliberate on the several circumstances which must determine my choice. Let me entreat you to meet me as far on my way as your health will permit.

The legacy which Precius has left me, is an acquisition that I receive with great concern: as I tenderly loved him, and extremely lament his death. If his estate should be put up to auction before my arrival, I beg you would recommend my interest in it to the care of Atticus: or in case his affairs should not allow him to undertake the office, that you would re-

quest the same favour of Camillus. And if this should not find you at Rome, I desire you would send proper directions thither for that purpose. As for my other affairs, I hope I shall be able to settle them myself: for I purpose to be in Italy, if the gods favour my voyage, about the 13th of November. In the mean time I conjure you, my amiable and excellent Terentia, and thou, my dearest Tullia, I conjure you both, by all the tender regards you bear me, to take care of your healths. Farewel.

Athens, October the 18th.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 703.]

To TIRO¹.

I DID not imagine I should have been so little able to support your absence: but indeed it is more than I can well bear. Accordingly, notwithstanding

¹ He was a favourite slave of Cicero, who trained him up in his family, and formed him under his own immediate tuition. The probity of his manners, the elegance of his genius, and his uncommon erudition, recommended him to his master's peculiar esteem and affection: of which the letters addressed to him in this collection, are a lasting and remarkable memorial. They are many of them written, indeed, in a style so different from the ordinary language of friendship, that they probably gave strength and currency to a suspicion highly disadvantageous to Cicero's moral character. This imputation seems to have been first propagated by the son of the celebrated Asinius Pollio; who, in a treatise which he published

withstanding it is of the last importance to my interest² that I should hasten to Rome, yet I cannot but severely reproach myself for having thus deserted you. However, as you seemed altogether averse from pursuing your voyage till you should re-establish your health, I approved of your scheme: and I still approve of it, if you continue in the same sentiments. Nevertheless, if after having taken some refreshment, you should think yourself in a condition to follow me, you may do so, or not, as you shall judge proper. If you should determine in the affirmative, I have sent Mario to attend you: if not, I have ordered him to return immediately. Be well assured, there is nothing I more ardently

lished in order to magnify his father's eloquence at the expense of Cicero's, inserted a wanton sonnet, which he pretended was composed by the latter on Tiro. But to speak impartially, there does not seem, from all that can be traced of Cicero's private conduct, the least sufficient evidence to charge him with having been infected with this execrable vice of his degenerate countrymen. In passing judgment, therefore, on these letters to Tiro, it should be remembered that Cicero's temper was more than commonly warm: which infused a peculiar heat into all his expressions, whether of friendship or of enmity. This, together with those notions of amity which were carried by the ancients, in general, so much higher than they have risen in modern ages, may account, perhaps, for those overflowings of tenderness which are so very observable in the letters to Tiro. *Aul. Gel. xiii. 9. Plin. Epist. vii. 4.*

² As Cicero was full of the hopes of obtaining a triumph, he was desirous of hastening to Rome before the dissensions between Cæsar and Pompey should be raised to so great a height as to render it impossible for him to enjoy that honour.

dently desire than to have you with me, provided I may enjoy that pleasure without prejudice to yourself. But be assured too, that if your continuing somewhat longer at Patræ⁴ should be thought necessary, I prefer your health to all other considerations. If you should embark immediately, you may overtake me at Leucas⁵. But if you are more inclined to defer your voyage till your recovery shall be better confirmed, let me entreat you to be very careful in choosing a safe ship; and that you would neither sail at an improper season nor without a convoy. I particularly charge you, also, my dear Tiro, by all the regard you bear me, not to suffer the arrival of Mario, or any thing that I have said in this letter, in the least to influence your resolution. Believe me, whatever will be most agreeable to your health, will be most agreeable, likewise, to my inclinations: and, therefore, I desire you would be wholly governed by your own prudence. It is true, I am extremely

⁴ A city in Peloponnesus, which still subsists under the name of Patras. Cicero had left Tiro indisposed in this place; the day before the date of the present letter.

⁵ A little Grecian island in the Ionian sea, now called Saint Maure. It was on this island that the celebrated promontory stood, from whence the tender Sappho is said to have thrown herself in a fit of amorous despair; and which the inimitable Addison has rendered still more celebrated by his ingenious papers on the *Lover's Leap*. See *Spect.* vol. 3. No. 223, 233.

tremely desirous of your company, and of enjoying it as early as possible: but the same affection which makes me wish to see you soon, makes me wish to see you well. Let your health, therefore, be your first and principal care; assuring yourself, that among all the numberless good offices I have received at your hands, I shall esteem this by far the most acceptable.

November the 3d.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

I CANNOT describe to you (nor would I, indeed, if it were in my power) the uneasy situation of my mind. I will only say, that your speedy recovery and return to me, will afford infinite satisfaction to both of us.

The third day after we parted brought me to this place⁶. It lies within a hundred and twenty stadia⁷ of Leucas; where I promise myself that we shall meet; or at least, that I shall find Mario there with a letter from you. In the meanwhile, let me entreat you to be careful of your health, in proportion to the mutual tenderness we bear towards each other. Farewel.

Alyzia, Nov. the 5th.

LETTER

⁶ Alyzia, a city of Acarnia in Greece.

⁷ About 15 miles.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

I DISPATCHED a letter to you yesterday from this place, where I continued all that day in order to wait the arrival of my brother: and I write this before sun-rise, just as we are setting out. If you have any regard for us, but particularly for me, shew it by your care to re-establish your health. It is with great impatience I expect to meet you at Leucas: but if that cannot be, my next wish is, that I may find Mario there with a letter. We all of us, indeed, but more especially myself, earnestly long to see you: however, we would by no means, my Tiro, indulge ourselves in that pleasure, unless it may be consistent with your health. There is no necessity, therefore, of hastening your journey, as there will be days enough to enjoy your company when once you shall be thoroughly recovered. I can easily, indeed, forego your services: but your health, my dear Tiro, I would fain preserve, for your own sake in the first place, and, in the next, for mine. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

YOUR letter produced very different effects on my mind; as the latter part somewhat alleviated the concern which the former had occasioned. I am now convinced that it will not be safe for you to proceed on your voyage, till your health shall be entirely re-established: and I shall see you soon enough, if I see you perfectly recovered.

I find by your letter, that you have a good opinion of your physician: and I am told he deserves it. However, I can by no means approve of the regimen he prescribed: for soups cannot certainly be suitable to so weak a stomach. I have written to him very fully concerning you; as also to Lyso. I have done the same likewise to my very obliging friend Curius: and have particularly requested him, if it should be agreeable to yourself, that he would remove you into his house. I am apprehensive, indeed, that Lyso will not give you proper attendance: in the first place, because carelessness is the general characteristic of all his countrymen; and, in the next, because he

has

* The Grecians.

has returned no answer to my letter. Nevertheless, as you mention him with esteem, I leave it to you to continue with him, or not, just as you shall think proper. Let me only enjoin you, my dear Tiro, not to spare any expence that may be necessary towards your recovery. To this end, I have desired Curius to supply you with whatever money you shall require: and I think it would be proper, in order to render your physician the more careful in his attendance, to make him some present.

Numberless are the services I have received from you, both at home and abroad; in my public and my private transactions; in the course of my studies and the concerns of my family. But would you crown them all? Let it be by your care that I may see you (as I hope I soon shall) perfectly recovered. If your health should permit, I think you cannot do better than to take the opportunity of embarking with my quæstor Mescinius: for he is a good-natured man, and seems to have conceived a friendship for you. The care of your voyage, indeed, is the next thing I would recommend to you, after that of your health. However, I would now by no means have you hurry yourself; as my single concern is for your recovery. Be assured, my dear Tiro, that all my friends are yours: and

consequently, as your health is of the greatest importance to me as well as to yourself, there are numbers who are solicitous for its preservation. Your assiduous attendance upon me has hitherto prevented you from paying due regard to it. But now that you are wholly at leisure, I conjure you to devote all your application to that single object: and I shall judge of the affection you bear me, by your compliance with this request. Adieu, my dear Tiro, adieu! adieu! may you soon be restored to the perfect enjoyment of your health.

Lepta, together with all your other friends salute you. Farewel.

Leucas, Nov. the 7th.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

THOUGH it was but an hour or two that you and I spent with Xenomenes at Thyreum*, yet he has conceived as strong an affection for you, as if he had conversed with you his whole life: so wonderfully engaging is my Tiro! Accordingly he has promised to assist you in all your

* A city of Peloponnesus.

your occasions: and it is a promise, I am well persuaded, he will punctually perform.

I should be glad, if you find yourself better, that you would remove to Leucas, in order to perfect your recovery. Nevertheless, I would not have you change your present situation, without taking the sentiments of Curius and Lyso, together with those of your physician.

I had some thoughts of sending Mario back to you: whom you might return to me with a letter as soon as your health should be somewhat mended. But I considered, that this would be only securing the pleasure of hearing from you once: whereas, I hope to receive that satisfaction frequently. And if you have any regard for me, you may easily give it me, by sending Acastus every day to the quay: where he cannot fail of meeting with many who will readily charge themselves with conveying a letter to me. You may be assured, in return, that I shall not suffer any opportunity to escape me of sending a line or two by those who are going to Patræ.

I rely entirely upon the care of Curius for your recovery: as nothing, I am sure, can exceed either his friendship to myself, or his humanity in general. I desire, therefore, you would be wholly resigned to his direction. As I am
willing

willing to sacrifice the pleasure of your company to the advantage of your health; I entreat you to have no other concern but what relates to your recovery; all the rest, be assured, shall be mine. Again and again I bid you farewell. I am this moment leaving Leucas.

Nov. the 7th.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

THIS is the third letter I have written to you within these four-and-twenty hours; and I now take up my pen more in compliance with my usual custom, than as having any thing new to say. I can only repeat, indeed, what I have often requested, that you would proportion the care of your health to the affection you bear me. Yes, my Tiro, I conjure you to add this to the numberless good offices you have conferred upon me, as the most acceptable of them all. When you have taken, as I hope you will, all necessary measures for that purpose, my next desire is, that you would use the proper precautions, likewise, to secure to yourself a safe voyage. In the mean time, you will not fail to write to me, as often as you
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shall meet with any person who is coming into Italy, as I shall take all occasions of doing the same on my part, by those who may be going to Patras. In one word, take care of yourself, my dear Tiro, I charge you; and since we have been thus prevented from pursuing our voyage together, there is no necessity for resuming your's in haste. Let it be your single care to re-establish your health. Again and again farewell.

Actium¹, Nov. the 7th, in the evening.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

I HAVE been detained here² this whole week, by contrary winds; which have, likewise, confined my brother and his son at Buthrotum³. I am full of anxiety about your health, though by no means surprised at not hearing from you, as the same winds which delay my voyage, prevent the arrival of your letters.

Let me entreat you to exert your utmost care in regaining your health; and, I hope, as soon as the season of the year and your recovery shall render it convenient for you to em-

bark,

¹ A city in Epirus.

² In Corcyra.

³ A city in Epirus.

bark, you will return to him who infinitely loves you. Your arrival will be impatiently expected by numberless others, as well as by myself; for all who bear any affection for me, are tender well-wishers to you. Again and again, my dear Tiro, I conjure you to take care of your health. Farewel.

Corcyra, Nov. the 16th.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

WE parted, you know, on the second of November; on the sixth I arrived at Leucas, from whence I reached Actium the following day. I was detained there, by contrary winds, till the next morning, when I sailed for Corcyra, where I arrived on the ninth, after having had a very favourable passage. The weather proving extremely tempestuous, I was obliged to continue in that place till the sixteenth, when I again proceeded on my voyage; and, on the seventeenth, I entered the bay of Cassiope, a maritime town in Corcyra, situated about an hundred and twenty stadia from my former port. Here the wind shifting, I was detained till the 23d. In the mean time, those ships that had accompanied me thither, and were so im-

G 2

patient

patient as immediately to put to sea again, were many of them lost. However, on the evening of the day I last mentioned, we weighed anchor; and, having sailed all that night and the next day with a fair gale from the south, and a very clear sky, we gained, with great ease, the port of Hydruns, in Italy. The same wind carried us the following day, being the twenty-fifth, to Brundisium. I was met at this place by Terentia, (who desires me to assure you of her esteem) and we entered the town together. On the twenty-seventh, a slave of Plancius arrived here with your very acceptable letter, dated the thirteenth of this month; which, though it did not entirely answer my wishes, contributed greatly to alleviate the uneasiness I was under upon your account. I had the satisfaction, likewise, of hearing, at the same time, from your physician, who confirms me in the hope that you will soon be well.

And now, as I perfectly well know your prudence, your temperance, and the affection you bear me, can it be necessary that I should entreat you to employ your utmost care to re-establish your health? I am persuaded, indeed, you will do every thing in your power to return to me as soon as possible; however, I would by no means have you more expeditious

tious than your strength will bear. I am sorry you accepted Lyso's invitation to his concert, lest your going abroad so soon should occasion a relapse on the fourth critical week*. But, since you were willing to hazard your health rather than appear deficient in point of politeness, I hope you will guard against any ill consequence that may attend your complaisance.

I have written to Curius, to request he would make a proper acknowledgment to your physician, and supply you, likewise, with whatever money your occasions shall require; which I will repay to his order. You will find an horse and a mule at Brundisium, which I have left there for your service. I am proceeding on my journey to Rome, where I expect to see

great

* The ancients entertained a variety of superstitious notions concerning the mystical power of numbers, particularly the number seven, with its several multiplications and divisions. Cicero, in one of his philosophical treatises, calls this number *rerum omnium fere nodus*; and it is to its particular influence with regard to the crisis of distempers, that he alludes in the present passage. Macrobius has retailed abundance of absurd learning in relation to this wonder-working number, which he concludes with the following reflections: *Unde non immerito hic numerus totius fabricæ dispensator & dominus, ægris quoque corporibus periculum sanitatemque denuntiat*. This opinion, however, is not altogether inconsistent with a more improved philosophy; and experience shews, that the 7th, the 14th, &c. days, are frequently attended with certain determining symptoms in the progress of acute diseases. *Macrobius in Somn. Scip. i. 6.*

great commotions upon the entrance of the new consuls into their office¹. However, it is my resolution not to engage in the violent measures of either party.

I have only to add my most earnest request, that you would not embark without taking all prudent precautions to secure a safe voyage. The masters of ships, I know, who are governed entirely by their hopes of gain, are always in haste to sail. But I entreat you, my dear Tiro, not to be too hazardous; and remember that you have a wide and dangerous sea to traverse. I should be glad you would, if possible, take your passage with Mescinius, who is never disposed to run any imprudent risks in expeditions of this kind. But if your health should not permit you to embark so soon, let me desire you would look out for some other companion in your voyage, whose public character may give him an authority with the commander of your ship. In a word, you cannot more effectually oblige me, than by exerting your utmost care to return to me safe and well. Again and again, my dear Tiro, I bid you adieu.

I have recommended you in the strongest terms to the care both of Curius and Lyso, as well as of your physician. Adieu.

LETTERS

¹ The consuls entered upon their office on the first day of the new year.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK VII.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 704.]

To TIRO.

NOTWITHSTANDING that I feel the want of your services, in every place and upon all occasions; yet, be assured, your illness gives me far less concern, on my own account, than on yours. However, since it has terminated, as Curius informs me, in a quartan ague; I hope, if you are not wanting in proper care, that it will prove a means of more firmly establishing

G 4

your

your health. Be so just, then, to the regard you owe me, as not to suffer any other concern to employ your thoughts but what relates to your recovery. I am sensible, at the same time, how much you suffer from this absence; but, believe me, all will be well whenever you are so. I would by no means, therefore, have you in so much haste to return to me, as to expose yourself to the dangers of a winter voyage; nor, indeed, to the fatigue of a sea-sickness, before you shall have sufficiently recovered your strength.

I arrived in the suburbs¹ of Rome on the fourth of January, and nothing could be more to my honour than the manner in which I was met on my approach to the city. But I am unhappily fallen into the very midst of public dissention; or rather, indeed, I find myself surrounded with the flames of a civil war. It was my earnest desire to have composed these dangerous

¹ A quartan ague was supposed by the ancients, to be extremely salutary in its consequences. Aulus Gellius mentions a contemporary orator and philosopher, who wrote a serious panegyric upon this wholesome distemper; wherein he supported his opinion upon the authority of a passage in some writings of Plato, which are now lost. *Noct. Att. xvii. 12.*

² As Cicero claimed the honour of a triumph, he was obliged, till his pretensions should be determined, to take up his residence without the walls of the city, agreeably to a custom which has been frequently mentioned in the preceding observations.

dangerous ferments; and I probably might, if the passions of some, in both parties, who are equally eager for war, had not rendered my endeavours ineffectual. My friend Cæsar has written a very warm and menacing letter to the senate. He has the assurance, notwithstanding their express prohibition, to continue at the head of his army, and in the government of his province; to which very extraordinary measures he has been instigated by Curio. The latter, in conjunction with Quintus Cassius and Mark Antony, without the least violence having been offered to them⁴, have withdrawn themselves to

³ The purport of Cæsar's letter was, that he declared himself willing to resign his command, provided Pompey did the same; but if this were not complied with, that he would immediately march into Italy, and revenge the injuries done both to himself and to the liberties of the republic. *Appian. Bel. Civ. ii.*

⁴ The letter mentioned in the last note was received by the senate with great indignation, and considered as an open declaration of war. Accordingly they voted, that if Cæsar did not resign his command, by a certain day named in their decree for that purpose, he should be deemed an enemy to his country. This decree was protested against by Curio, Quintus Cassius Longinus, and Mark Antony, in virtue of their prerogative as tribunes of the people: and while the senate were deliberating in what manner to punish the authors of this protest, they were advised, by the consul Lentulus, to withdraw before any decree against them had actually passed. Perhaps this is all that Cicero means, when he asserts, that "no violence had been offered to these tribunes:" for, otherwise, his assertion would be contradicted by the unanimous testimony of all the ancient historians. *Appian. Bel. Civ. ii. Cæsar. Bel. Civ. 1. 5. Dio. xli. p. 153.*

Cæsar. They took this step immediately after the senate had given it in charge to the consuls³, the prætors, and the tribunes of the people, together with those of us who are invested with proconsular power, to take care of the interests of the republic⁴. And never, in truth, were our liberties in more imminent danger; as those who are disaffected to the commonwealth, never were headed by a chief more capable, or better prepared to support them. We are raising forces with all possible diligence, under the authority, and with the assistance of Pompey, who now begins, somewhat too late, I fear, to be apprehensive of Cæsar's power. In the midst, however, of these alarming commotions, the senate demanded, in a very full house, that a triumph should be immediately decreed to me. But the consul Lentulus, in order to appropriate to himself a greater share in conferring this honour, told them, that he would propose it himself in proper form, as soon as he should have dispatched the affairs that were necessary in the present conjuncture. In the mean time, I act with great moderation :

³ The consuls of this year were Clodius Marcellus, and Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

⁴ By this decree, the magistrates therein named were invested with a discretionary power of acting as they should judge proper in the present exigency of public affairs; a decree to which the senate never had recourse, but in cases of the utmost danger and distress. *Cas. Bel. Civil. i. 5.*

tion: and this conduct renders my influence with both parties so much the stronger. The several districts of Italy are assigned to our respective protections; and Capua is the department I have taken for mine.

I thought it proper to give you this general information of public affairs; to which I will only add my request, that you would take care of your health, and write to me by every opportunity. Again and again I bid you farewell.

Jan. the 12th.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 704.]

TO RUFUS¹.

I SHOULD have used my utmost endeavours to have given you a meeting, if you had continued in your resolution of going to the place you first appointed: and though you were willing to spare me that trouble, yet be assured I should, upon the least notice, have shewn you that I prefer your convenience to my own.

If

¹ Lucius Mescinius Rufus, the person to whom this letter is addressed, was quæstor to Cicero in Cilicia. His conduct in that office seems to have given occasion to the character we find of him in the letters to Atticus, where he is represented as a man of great levity, and of a most debauched and avaricious turn of mind. *Ad Att. iv. 3.*

If my secretary, Marcus Tullius, were not absent, I should be able to send you a more explicit answer to your letter. This, however, I will assure you, that, with regard to exhibiting the accounts² you mention, (for I will not venture to be so positive as to any other instance) he has not intentionally taken any step injurious either to your interest or your reputation. As to my own share in this transaction, had the law formerly observed in matters of this kind been still in force, I should not, most certainly, have laid my accounts before the treasury, without having, agreeably to those connexions that subsist between us³, previously examined and adjusted them with you. But the ancient usage in these cases being now superseded by the Julian law⁴, which obliged me to leave a stated account in the province, and exhibit an exact copy of it to the treasury; I paid you that compliment in Cilicia, which I should otherwise have paid you at Rome. Nor did I at that time by any means endeavour to control your accounts by mine;

on

² These were Cicero's accounts relating to the public expences of his government in Cilicia; in which there seems to have been articles inserted not altogether favourable to the reputation of Rufus as quæstor, and which he was desirous, therefore, should have been altered or suppressed before they had been delivered into the treasury at Rome.

³ As proconsul and quæstor.

⁴ See p. 38 of this vol.

on the contrary, I made concessions to you, of which, I dare say, you will never give me reason to repent. The fact is, I resigned my secretary (whose conduct you now, it seems, suspect) entirely to your directions: and it was Tullius, together with your brother, (who you desired might be joined with him) that settled these accounts with you in my absence. I concerned myself, indeed, no farther than just to cast my eye over them; and I considered the copy, which I thus received from my secretary, as coming immediately from your brother's own hand. In this whole transaction I have treated you with all possible respect and confidence; and it was not in my power to have employed a person to make up these accounts, who would have been more cautious than my secretary that nothing should appear to your disadvantage. That I have paid a necessary obedience to the Julian law, by depositing a copy of my stated accounts in the two principal cities of the province, is most certain. But though I had many reasons for being desirous of passing them as expeditiously as possible; yet I should have waited your return to Rome, had I not considered their being thus deposited in the province as just the same thing, with respect to you, as if they had been actually carried into the treasury at Rome.

1

As

As to the article you mention relating to Volusius, it could by no means be inserted in the account. For I am informed by those who are conversant in business of this kind, particularly by my most judicious friend Camillus, that Volusius cannot stand charged with the sum in question, instead of Valerius⁵; but that the sureties of the latter are necessarily liable to the payment of this debt. It amounts, however, to no more than nineteen thousand sesterces⁶, and not to thirty thousand⁷, as you state it in your letter. For I had recovered part of it from Valerius, and it is only the remainder that I have charged. But you are unwilling, it should seem, to allow me the credit of having acted upon this occasion either with generosity in regard to my friends, or (what, indeed, I less value myself upon) even with common caution with respect to myself. Why else should you suppose that my lieutenant and præfect owe it to my secretary, rather

⁵ The nature of this affair concerning Valerius and Volusius, is utterly inexplicable, as it refers to a transaction of which we know neither the full circumstances, nor the particular laws to which it relates. Vain, therefore, would be the task of retailing the several opinions of the commentators upon this and the following passages, or the attempt to clear them up by any additional conjectures; as it is better to remain quietly in the dark, than to blunder about in quest of a light which is no where to be found.

⁶ About 152l. sterling.

⁷ About 240l. sterling.

ther than to myself, that they are eased of a very severe, and, in truth, a very unconscionable burthen? and why else should you imagine me so negligent in a point wherein both my duty and interest were equally and greatly concerned, as to suffer my secretary to settle this account just as he thought proper, without requiring him even to read it over to me? In short, though I flatter myself that I have taken no imprudent measures in this business, yet you will not believe, it seems, that I have bestowed upon it even a single thought. The truth, however, is, that the scheme of throwing off this debt from Volusius was entirely my own; as I am endeavouring, likewise, to discharge the sureties of Valerius, and even Marius himself, from so severe a penalty. And I have the satisfaction to find this my design not only generally approved, but applauded; though, to tell you the whole truth, it is not, I perceive, greatly relished by my secretary. Nevertheless, I thought it the duty of an honest man to spare the fortunes of such numbers of his friends and fellow-citizens, when he could do so without prejudicing the public interest.

In regard to what you mention concerning Lucceius, I have acknowledged that the money was deposited in the temple by my orders, in pursuance of Pompey's advice. The latter has

received this sum for the public use⁸; as Sestius possessed himself of that which you had deposited in the same place. I am very sensible that this is an affair in which you are in no sort concerned. However, I should be extremely sorry that I omitted to particularise this circumstance, if it did not most authentically appear, by the decree of the senate, and by the letters which passed between us, for whose use it was delivered into the hands of Sestius. It was the notoriety of this fact, and the certainty that it was of no importance to you, which prevented me from making particular mention of it. But since you wish that I had, I wish so too. I agree with you in thinking that it is proper you should insert this article into your accounts: nor will they, by that mean, appear in the least inconsistent with mine; as you will only add what I omitted, and vouch my express orders. I have no reason, most certainly, to deny them; nor should I, indeed, if I had, when you desired the contrary.

As to the nine hundred thousand sesterces⁹, they are specified in the manner that you, or your brother, at least, required. And if there is any

⁸ For the purposes, perhaps, of the war which he was now preparing to carry on against Cæsar.

⁹ About 7263l. of our money.

any item in respect to my lieutenant which you are dissatisfied with, and which (after having renounced the privilege I was entitled to by the decree of the senate¹⁰) it is in my power to rectify; I will endeavour to do so as far as I legally may". In the mean time, be well assured I shall take no step in this affair, if I can possibly avoid it, that may prove inconsistent either with your interest, or your inclination.

In answer to your inquiry concerning my honorary list¹¹; I must acquaint you, that I have only delivered in the names of my præfects and military

¹⁰ It seems probable, from this passage, that there was some decree of the senate which indulged the proconsuls with a longer time for bringing in their accounts, than they were entitled to by the law: which privilege Cicero thought proper to wave. *Manutius*.

¹¹ There is a passage in the original between this and the next sentence, which is omitted in the translation. It runs thus: *Tu certe pecunia exacta ita efferre ex meis rationibus relatis non oportuit, nisi quid me fallit: sunt enim alii peritiores*. The principal difficulty of this period lies in the words *exacta* and *efferre*: which the commentators have endeavoured to remove by various readings and conjectures. But as neither their readings nor conjectures offer any thing satisfactory, I leave it to the explanation of some more successful interpreter; applauding, in the mean time, the modesty of Grævius, who closes his remark upon this place with the following ingenuous acknowledgment, so unusual in a critic by profession: *Nihil in re tam obscura definitio, says he, nec mihi ipse satisfacio*.

¹² The proconsuls, upon their return to Rome, after the expiration of their provincial ministry, used to present a list of such of their officers and attendants, who had particularly distinguished themselves by their zeal and fidelity in their respective functions. *Manutius*.

military tribunes, together with those who attended me as proconsular companions¹³. I had conceived a notion that no certain time was limited for this purpose: but I have since been informed, that it is necessary to present this list within thirty days after exhibiting the accounts. I am sorry you had not the benefit of paying this compliment; as I have no ambitious views to serve by taking it upon myself. But it is still open to you, with respect to the centurions and the companions of the military tribunes: the law not having fixed any time for presenting a list of that sort.

I have nothing farther, I think, to observe upon your letter, except in relation to the hundred thousand sesterces¹⁴. I remember you wrote to me upon this subject before, in a letter dated from Myrina¹⁵, and acknowledged it to be an error of your own: though, if there be any error in the case, it seems rather chargeable on your brother and my secretary. But be that as it will, the mistake was discovered too late to be corrected: for I had then quitted the province and deposited my accounts. I believe,

¹³ These were generally young noblemen who attended the proconsul into his government as a sort of volunteers, in order to gain experience and acquaint themselves with business. *Manutius*.

¹⁴ About 800l.

¹⁵ A maritime city in Æolia, a province of Asia.

lieve, therefore, that the answer I returned was agreeable to the disposition in which I always stand towards you, and to those hopes I had then conceived of my finances. I do not, however, remember that I carried my complaisance so far, as to make myself your debtor for that sum; any more than I imagine that you intended this part of your letter as one of those importunate memorials, so frequent in these times of general distress. You will consider, that I left in the hands of the farmers of the revenues at Ephesus, all the money which legally accrued to me from my government: and that this whole sum, amounting to no less than two millions two hundred thousand sesterces¹⁶, was seized for the use of Pompey. Whatever effect this great loss may have upon me, I am sure you ought not to be discomposed at yours: and you should only look upon it as a dish the less at your table, or an inconsiderable diminution of what you might otherwise have expected from my liberality. But had you actually

¹⁶ One may judge from hence what immense wealth those rapacious governors of the Roman provinces acquired, who did not scruple to oppress the people committed to their charge, by every method of extortion that avarice could suggest. For Cicero, who professed to conduct himself with the most exemplary disinterestedness in his province, was yet able, it appears, to acquire so large a sum in a single year as about 17,600l. of our money; and that too from a province by no means the most considerable of the republic's dominions.

actually advanced these hundred thousand sesterces to me out of your own purse, yet, to be sure, you are too complaisant to insist upon a security: and as to paying them, were I ever so well disposed for that purpose, you must know it is not in my power.—You see I answer you in the same spirit of pleasantry, in which I suppose that part of your letter was written to which this refers. But to be serious: if you think that Tullius can be of any service to you in this affair, I will send him as soon as he returns from the country.—I have no objection to your destroying this letter when you shall have read it. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TERENTIA and to TULLIA.

IN what manner it may be proper to dispose of yourselves during the present conjuncture, is a question which must now be decided by your own judgments as much as by mine. Should Caesar advance to Rome, without committing hostilities, you may certainly, for the present at least, remain there unmolested: but if this madman should give up the city to the rapine of his soldiers, I much doubt whether even Dolabella's credit and authority will be sufficient

cient to protect you. I am under some apprehension, likewise, lest, while you are deliberating in what manner to act, you should find yourselves so surrounded with the army as to render it impossible to withdraw, though you should be ever so much inclined. The next question is, (and it is a question which you yourselves are best able to determine) whether any ladies of your rank venture to continue in the city: if not, will it be consistent with your character to appear singular in that point? But be that as it will, you cannot, I think, as affairs are now situated, be more commodiously placed, than either with me, or at some of our farms in this district: supposing, I mean, that I should be able to maintain my present post. I must add, likewise, that a short time, it is to be feared, will produce a great scarcity in Rome. However, I should be glad you would take the sentiments of Atticus, or Camillus, or any other friend whom you may choose to consult upon this subject. In the mean while let me conjure you both to keep up your spirits. The coming over of Labienus to our party, has given affairs a much better aspect. And Piso having withdrawn

Labienus was one of Caesar's principal and most favourite lieutenants in Gaul; where he greatly distinguished himself by his military conduct. The Pompeian party, therefore, were

withdrawn himself from the city, is likewise another very favourable circumstance: as it is a plain indication, that he disapproves the impious measures of his son-in-law².

I entreat you, my dearest creatures, to write to me as frequently as possible, and let me know how it is with you, as well as what is going forward in Rome. My brother and nephew, together with Rufus, affectionately salute you. Farewel.

Minturnæ³, Jan. the 25th.

LETTER

very assiduous in their applications to gain him over to their cause; as they promised themselves great advantages from his accession. But none, however, appears to have attended it: and he who in Cæsar's camp had been esteemed a very considerable officer, seemed to have lost all his credit the moment he went over to Pompey's.

———*Fortis in armis*

Cæsar's Labienus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.

Hirt. Bel. Gal. viii. 52. Ad Att. viii. 2. Lucan v. 345.

² Cicero, as has been observed in a former note, has painted the character of Piso in the darkest and most odious colours. But satires and invectives are not generally the most faithful memoirs: and it is evident, from Piso's conduct upon this occasion, that he was by no means what our author represents him in one of his orations, *portentum & pæne funus reipublicæ*; at least if Cæsar's measures were really more unfavourable to liberty than those of Pompey. See vol. 1. p. 37. rem. 2.

³ A town in Campania. This letter, in some of the Latin editions, bears date in July, in others no month is specified. But it was undoubtedly written in January: as it appears by a letter to Atticus, that Cicero's wife and daughter came to him at Formizæ on the 2d of February. *Ad Att. vii. 18.*

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

IT well deserves consideration, whether it will be more prudent for you to continue in Rome, or to remove to some secure place within my department: and it is a consideration, my dearest creatures, in which your own judgments must assist mine. What occurs to my present thoughts is this. On the one hand, as you will probably find a safe protection⁴ in Dolabella, your residing in Rome may prove a mean of securing our house from being plundered; should the soldiers be suffered to commit any violences of that kind. But, on the other, when I reflect that all the worthier part of the republic have withdrawn themselves and their families from the city, I am inclined to advise you to follow their example. I must add, likewise, that there are several towns in this canton of Italy under my command, which are particularly in our interest: as also, that great part of our estate lies in the same district. If there-fore

⁴ This epistle seems to have been a sort of duplicate of the former: and though it is dated from a different place, it was probably written on the same day, and conveyed by some unexpected opportunity that occurred after he had dispatched the foregoing.

fore you should remove hither, you may not only very frequently be with me, but whenever we shall be obliged to separate, you may be safely lodged at one or other of my farms. However, I am utterly unable to determine, at present, which of these schemes is preferable: only let me entreat you to observe what steps other ladies of your rank pursue in this conjuncture; and be cautious, likewise, that you be not prevented from retiring, should it prove your choice. In the mean time, I hope you will maturely deliberate upon this point between yourselves; and take the opinion also of our friends. At all events, I desire you would direct Philotimus to procure a strong guard to defend our house: to which request I must add, that you would engage a proper number of regular couriers, in order to give me the satisfaction of hearing from you every day. But, above all, let me conjure you both to take care of your healths as you wish to preserve mine. Farewel.

Formiæ^s, the 25th.

LETTER

^s A maritime city in Campania, not far from Minturnæ, the place from whence the preceding letter is dated.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TIRO.

YOU will easily judge of our distress, when I tell you, that myself and every friend of the republic have abandoned Rome, and even our country, to all the cruel devastations of fire and sword. Our affairs, indeed, are in so desperate a situation, that nothing less than the powerful interposition of some favourable divinity, or some happy turn of chance, can secure us from utter ruin. It has been the perpetual purpose of all my speeches, my votes, and my actions, ever since I returned to Rome, to preserve the public tranquillity. But an invincible rage for war had unaccountably seized not only the enemies, but even those who are esteemed the friends of the commonwealth: and it was in vain I remonstrated, that nothing was more to be dreaded than a civil war. Cæsar, in the mean time, unmindful of his former character and honours, and driven, it should seem, by a sort of phrenzy, has taken possession of Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, and Arretum. In consequence of this, we have all deserted the city: but how prudently, or how heroically,

heroically, it now avails not to examine¹. Thus you see our wretched situation! Cæsar, however, has offered us the following conditions: in the first place, that Pompey shall retire to his government in Spain; in the next, that the army we have raised shall be disbanded, and our garrisons evacuated. Upon these terms he promises to deliver up the farther Gaul into the hands of Domitius, and the nearer into those of Confidius Nonianus, the persons to whom these provinces have been respectively allotted. He farther engages to resign his right of suing for the consulship in his absence, and is willing to return to Rome in order to appear as a candidate in the regular form². We have accepted these propositions, provided he with-
draws

¹ So long as Cæsar kept himself within the limits of his province, Pompey treated his designs of invading Italy with the utmost contempt: but Cæsar had no sooner passed the Rubicon, and possessed himself of those several towns mentioned in this letter, than it appeared that Pompey was utterly unprepared to oppose him. Accordingly, he withdrew from Rome into the more southern parts of Italy, with great precipitation, in order, as he pretended, to assemble the troops in those quarters. But his real intention seems to have been to retreat gradually to Brundisium, and from thence to draw the war into Greece. The probable reason of this conduct will be explained in a subsequent note. See rem. 4. on letter xiii. of this book, p. 130. *Ad Att.* vii. 8. *Dia.* xli.

² In the original it is *se præsentem trinundinum petiturum*. Manutius conjectures, from this expression, that it was usual to proclaim the names of the candidates on three market days, at which time the candidates themselves, it is probable, were required to be present.

draws his forces from the several towns above-mentioned, that the senate may securely assemble themselves at Rome, in order to pass a decree for that purpose³. If he should think proper to comply with this proposal: there are hopes of peace; not indeed of a very honourable one, as the terms are imposed upon us: yet any thing is preferable to our present circumstances. But if he should refuse to stand to his overtures, we are prepared for an engagement: but an engagement which Cæsar, after having incurred the general odium of retracting his own conditions, will scarce be able to sustain⁴. The only difficulty will be, to intercept his march to Rome. And this we have a prospect of effecting, as we have raised a very considerable body of troops: and we imagine that he will scarce venture to advance, lest he should lose the two Gauls; every part of those provinces, excepting only the Transpadani, being
utterly

³ The expression in the text is somewhat ambiguous: *ut sine metu de iis conditionibus Roma senatus haberi possit*. But the sense is determined by the following passage in a letter to Atticus, where, speaking of these proposals of Cæsar, and of the terms upon which they were accepted, he adds: *id si fecisset (sc. Cæsar) responsum est ad urbem nos redituros esse & rem per senatum confecturos*. *Ad Att.* vii. 14.

⁴ The favourable prospect which Cicero gives in this and the following passages of the senate's affairs, is so little consistent with the despondency he expresses in the former part of this letter, that one would be apt to suspect they were two distinct epistles, which some negligent transcriber had blended together.

utterly averse to him. There, are, likewise, six of our legions from Spain, commanded by Afranius and Petreius, and supported by a very powerful body of auxiliaries, that lie in his rear. In short, if he should be so mad as to approach, there is great probability of his being defeated, if we can but preserve Rome from falling into his hands. It has given a very considerable blow to his cause, that Labienus, who had great credit in his army, refused to be an associate with him in his impious enterprize¹. This illustrious person has not only deserted Cæsar, but joined himself with us: and it is said that many others, of the same party, intend to follow his example. I have still under my protection all the coast that extends itself from Formiæ. I did not choose to enter more deeply at present into the opposition against Cæsar, that my exhortations, in order to engage him to an accommodation, might be attended with the greater weight. If war, however, must, after all, be our lot, it will be impossible for me, I perceive, to decline the command of some part of our forces². To this uneasy reflection, I must add another: my son-in-law Dolabella has taken party with Cæsar.

¹ See rem. 1. on let. 3. of this book, p. 101. ov 10 5150
² This, however, Cicero contrived to avoid: and though, after much hesitation, he followed Pompey into Greece, he would accept of no command in his army, nor was he present at any engagement.

I was willing to give you this general information of public affairs: but suffer it not, I charge you, to make impressions upon your mind, to the disadvantage of your health. I have strongly recommended you to Aulus Varro, whose disposition to serve you, as well as whose particular friendship to myself, I have thoroughly experienced. I have entreated him to be careful both of your health and of your voyage, and, in a word, to receive you entirely under his protection. I have full confidence that he will comply with my request, as he gave me his promise for that purpose in the most obliging manner.

As I could not enjoy the satisfaction of your company at a season when I most wanted your faithful services, I beg you would not now hasten your return, nor undertake your voyage either during the winter, or before you are perfectly recovered. For, be assured, I shall not think I see you too late, if I see you safe and well. I have heard nothing of you since the letter I received by Marcus Volusius; but, indeed, I do not wonder at it, as I imagine the severity of the winter has likewise prevented my letters from reaching your hands. Take care of yourself, I conjure you, and do not sail till your health and the season shall be favourable.

able. My son is at Formiæ: but Terentia and Tullia are still at Rome. Farewel.

Capua, January the 29th.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 704.]

QUINTUS CICERO⁷ to TIRO.

YOUR ill state of health occasions us great uneasiness, for though we have the satisfaction to hear that it is not attended with any dangerous symptoms, yet we are informed that your cure must be the work of time. But we cannot think, without much concern, of being longer separated from one whose agreeable company

⁷ The brother of our author. Quintus Cicero, after having passed through the office of prætor, in the year of Rome 692, was elected governor of Asia, where he presided three years, with little credit. He distinguished himself in Gaul, as one of Cæsar's lieutenants; but at the breaking out of the civil war, he followed the fortune of Pompey. However, after the battle of Pharsalia, he made his peace with Cæsar, and returned into Italy. He appears to have been of an haughty, imperious, petulant temper, and, in every view of his character, altogether unamiable. But what gives it a cast of peculiar darkness, is his conduct towards Cicero, whom he endeavoured to prejudice in the opinion of Cæsar, at a time when they were both the supplicants of his clemency. This, as far as can be collected from the letters to Atticus, was an instance of the basest and most aggravated ingratitude: for, whatever Cicero's failings might be in other respects, he seems to have had none with regard to Quintus, but that of loving him with a tenderness he ill deserved. *Ad Att. i. 15. vi. 6. xi. 8.*

pany we learn to value by the regret we feel at his absence. However, notwithstanding I wish most earnestly to see you, yet I conjure you not to undertake so long a voyage till the season and your health shall render it safe. A tender constitution can ill defend itself against the severity of the weather, even when sheltered under the covert of a warm roof; much less when exposed to all the inclemencies both of sea and land.

Foes to the weak are chilling blasts severe:

as Euripides⁸ assures us. What credit you may give to that divine poet, I know not; but for myself, I look upon his verses as so many indubitable maxims. In short, if you have any value for me, endeavour the re-establishment of your health, that you may as soon as possible return to us perfectly recovered. Farewel: and continue to love me.—My son salutes you.

LETTER

⁸ A celebrated Greek dramatic poet, whose death is said to have been occasioned by excessive joy for having obtained the poetic prize at the Olympic games. He flourished about 400 years before the Christian æra.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 704.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

WAS there ever a more absurd mortal than your friend Pompey, to act in so trifling a manner, after having raised such terrible commotions? Let me ask, on the other hand, whether you ever heard or read of a general, more undaunted in action, or more generous in victory, than our illustrious Cæsar? Look upon his troops, my friend, and tell me whether one would not imagine, by the gaiety of their countenances, that instead of having fought their way through the severest climates in the most inclement season, they had been regaling themselves in all the delicacies of ease and plenty! And now, will you not think that I am immoderately elated? The truth of it is, if you knew the disquietude of my heart, you would laugh at me for thus glorying in advantages in which I have no share. But I cannot explain this to you till we meet, which I hope will be very speedily. For it was Cæsar's intention to order me to Rome, as soon as he should have driven Pompey out of Italy: and this I imagine he

1

has already effected, unless the latter should choose to suffer a blockade in Brundisium.

My principal reason for wishing to be at Rome, is, in order to pour forth the fulness of my heart before you; for full, believe me, it is. And yet the joy of seeing you, may, perhaps, make me, as usual, forget all my complaints, and banish from my thoughts whatever I intended to say. In the mean while, I am obliged (as a punishment, I suppose, for my sins) to march back towards the Alps. I am indebted for this agreeable expedition to a foolish insurrection of the Intemelii². Bellienus, whose mother was a slave in the family of Demetrius, and who commands the garrison there, was bribed by the opposite faction to seize and strangle a certain nobleman of that place, called Domitius, a person connected with Cæsar by the rites of hospitality³. The citizens, in resentment

² The inhabitants of Intemelium: a maritime city in Liguria, now called Vintimiglia, in the territories of Genoa.

³ Hospitality was considered, from the earliest ages, as in the number of the primary social duties. The sacred historian has recorded a remarkable instance of this kind, in the story of Lot, who would rather have sacrificed his own daughters to the flagitious demands of his infamous fellow-citizens, than give up the supposed travellers whom he had invited to rest under the shadow of his roof. Agreeably to this Eastern practice, Homer frequently inculcates the maxim, that strangers are to be received as guests from heaven!

ἄλλος γὰρ Δίος ἐστὶν ἀνέμωτος
ἔστω.

ment of this outrage, have taken up arms, and I have the mortification to be commanded to march thither through a deep snow, with four cohorts, in order to quell them. Surely the Domitii are a curse wherever they exist. I wish, at least, that our heaven-descended⁴ chief had acted like this other⁵ of more humble lineage,

And Horace mentions the hospitable connection, among those of nearest and most tender regard :

Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus & hospes.

It will appear by several passages in the following letters, that this generous virtue subsisted among the Romans, when every other was almost utterly extinct. The custom, indeed, of receiving strangers was so generally established, that travellers were scarce ever reduced to the necessity of taking up their lodgings at an inn. Those who were thus entertained, or who exercised the same rites of humanity towards others, were called *hospites* : and they mutually exchanged certain tokens which were termed *tessera hospitalitatis*. These were preserved in families, and carefully transmitted from father to son, as memorials and pledges of the same good offices between their descendants. *Gen. xix. Homer. Odys. xiv. 207. Hor. Art. Poet. 313.*

⁴ Caesar affected to be thought a descendant from Æneas, who, it is well known, was supposed to have received his birth from Venus. Accordingly, in allusion to this pretended divinity of his lineage, he always wore a ring, on which was engraven the figure of that goddess, and with which he used to seal his most important dispatches. The propagating a belief of this kind, must necessarily have proved of singular service to Caesar's purposes ; as it impressed a peculiar veneration of his person upon the minds of the populace. Anthony very successfully made use of it to instigate them against the conspirators, when he reminded them, in the funeral oration which he spoke over Caesar's body, that he derived his origin on one side from the ancient kings of Italy, and on the other from the immortal gods. *Suet. in vit. Jul. 6. Dio. xlv. p. 235. 259.*

⁵ Bellienus, commander of the garrison at Intemelium ; and

lineage, and had treated Domitius, at Corfinium⁶, in the same manner that his namesake has been treated at Intemelium. I salute your son. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 704.]

To TIRO.

I SHALL think myself indebted to you for all that I most value, whenever you give me the satisfaction of seeing you perfectly recovered. In the mean time, I am in the utmost impatience for the return of Menander, whom I lately dispatched with a letter to you. I conjure you, if you have any affection for me, to take care of your health, and let me see you as soon as it shall be thoroughly re-established. Farewel.

April the 10th.

LETTER

and who, as appears from this letter, was the son of a female slave.

⁶ Domitius Enobarbus, a little before the date of this letter, was besieged, in Corfinium, by Caesar, to whom he was at length obliged to surrender the town. Caesar treated him with great generosity, and not only gave him his liberty, but restored to him a sum of money which he had lodged in the public treasury of the city. Some account of the occasion of this inveterate enmity which Cælius expresses towards Domitius, may be seen in the 15th let. of the preceding book, p. 65. *Cæs. de Bel. Civil. i. 23.*

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

MENANDER returned a day later than I expected, which caused me to pass a miserable night, in the most disquieting apprehensions. But though your letter did not remove my uncertainty as to your health, it, in some measure, however, dispelled the gloom which had overcast my mind, as it was an evidence, at least, that you were still in being.

I have bidden adieu to all my literary amusements of every kind; nor shall I be capable of resuming them again till I see you here. Meanwhile, I desire you would give orders that your physician's demands may be satisfied; for which purpose I have, likewise, written to Curius. The former, I am told, attributes your distemper to that anxiety which I hear you indulge. But, if you have any regard for me, awaken in your breast that manly spirit of philosophy, for which I so tenderly love and value you. It is impossible you should recover your health, if you do not preserve your spirits, and I entreat you to keep them up, for my sake as well as your own. I desire you, likewise, to retain Acastus, that
you

you may be the more conveniently attended. In a word, my Tiro, preserve yourself for me.

Remember the time, for the performance of my promise⁷ is approaching; but, if you return to Italy before the day I fixed for that purpose, I will execute it immediately. Again and again I bid you farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

ÆGYPTA returned hither on the 12th of April. But, though he assured me that you had lost your fever, and were much mended, it gave me great uneasiness to find, that you were not yet able to write; and the more so, as Her-
mia, whom I expected the same day, is not yet arrived. The concern I feel on account of your health is beyond all belief. Free me from this disquietude, I conjure you, and, in return, I will ease you of all yours. I would write a longer letter, if I thought you were in a disposition to read one. I will, therefore, only add my request, that you would employ that excel-
lent

⁷ The commentators suppose, with great probability, that this alludes to a promise which Cicero had made to Tiro, of giving him his freedom.

lent understanding for which I so greatly esteem you, in studying what methods may best preserve you both to yourself and me. I repeat it again and again, take care of your health. Farewel.

Since I wrote the above, Hermia is arrived. He delivered your letter to me, which is written, I perceive, with a very unsteady hand. However, I cannot wonder at it, after so severe an illness. I dispatch Ægypta with this; and, as he is a good-natured fellow, and seems to have an affection for you, I desire you would keep him to attend you. He is accompanied with a cook, whom I have, likewise, sent for your use. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 704.]

QUINTUS CICERO to the same.

I HAVE strongly reproached you in my own mind, for suffering a second packet to come away without inclosing a letter to me. All your own rhetoric will be insufficient to avert the punishment you have incurred by this unkind

* The time when this letter was written is altogether uncertain, and it is placed under the present year, not because there is any good reason for it, but because there is none against it.

kind neglect; and you must have recourse to some elaborate production of your patron's eloquence, to appease my wrath. Though I doubt whether even his oratory will be able to persuade me that you have not been guilty of a very unpardonable omission. I remember it was a custom of my mother, to put a seal upon her empty casks; in order, if any of her liquors should be purloined, that the servants might not pretend the vessel had been exhausted before. In the same manner you should write to me, though you have nothing to say, that your empty letters may be a proof, at least, that you would not defraud me of what I value. I value all, indeed, that come from you, as the very sincere and agreeable dictates of your heart. Farewel, and continue to love me.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

I AM informed, by a letter from my friend Trebatius, that you lately enquired after me, and expressed, at the same time, much concern, that

Servius Sulpicius Rufus was descended from one of the noblest and most considerable families in Rome; several of his ancestors having borne the highest offices and honours of the republic. He was elected to the consular dignity in the
14 year

that your indisposition had prevented you from seeing me when I was in the suburbs of Rome. To which he adds, that you are desirous, if I should approach the city, of having a conference with me, in order to deliberate in what manner it becomes us to act in this critical season. I sincerely wish it had been in our power to have conferred together, ere our affairs were utterly ruined, as I am persuaded we might have contributed somewhat to the support of our declining constitution. For, as you had long foreseen these public calamities, so I had the pleasure to hear, whilst I was in Cilicia, that both during your consulate, and afterwards, you always stood forth an advocate for the peace of our country*. But, though I totally concurred with you in these sentiments; yet, upon my return to Rome, it was too late to enforce them. I was, indeed, wholly unsupported in my opinion, and not only found myself among a set of men who were

madly

year of Rome 702; to which his eminent skill in the law principally contributed. *Suet. in vit. Tiberii. Dio. xli. p. 148. See rem. 6. on let. 1. B. ix.*

*Sulpicius was well aware, that the recalling Caesar from his government in Gaul before the expiration of the time for which it was granted him, together with the refusing him the privilege, which he had obtained by an express law, of suing for the consulate in his absence, would inevitably draw on a civil war. And, accordingly, he exerted himself with great zeal in opposing his colleague, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, in the several attempts which he made for that purpose. *Dio. ubi sup.*

madly inflamed with a thirst of war, but was considered, likewise, as one who, by a long absence, was utterly unacquainted with the true state of the commonwealth. But though it seems in vain to hope that our united counsels can now avail the republic, yet, if they can in any degree advantage ourselves, there is no man with whom I should more willingly confer. Not, indeed, with any view of securing the least part of our former dignities, but to consider in what manner we may most worthily deplore their loss: for I well know that your mind is amply stored with those examples of the great, and those maxims of the wise, which ought to guide and animate our conduct in this important conjuncture.

I should have told you before now, that your presence in the senate, or, to speak more properly, in the *convention of senators*, would be altogether ineffectual, if I had not been apprehensive of giving offence to that person who endeavoured, by instancing your example, to persuade me to join them. I very plainly assured him, however, when he applied to me for

^{this} The meeting of the senate, to which Cicero alludes, was held in Rome, after Pompey had deserted Italy. Cicero calls it "a convention of senators," as not admitting the legality of its assembling; both the consuls, together with the principal magistrates of the republic, having withdrawn themselves, together with Pompey, into Greece.

this purpose, that if I went to the senate, I should declare the same opinion concerning peace, and his expedition into Spain, which you had already delivered as yours*.

The flames of war, you see, have spread themselves throughout the whole Roman dominions, and all the world have taken up arms under our respective chiefs. Rome, in the mean time, destitute of all rule or magistracy, of all justice or control, is wretchedly abandoned to the dreadful inroads of rapine and devastation. In this general anarchy and confusion, I know not what to expect: I scarce know even what to wish. But, notwithstanding I had determined to retire to a farther distance from Rome, (as, indeed, I cannot even hear it named without reluctance) yet I pay so great a regard to your judgment, that, if you think any advantage may arise from our interview, I am willing to return. In the mean time,

* Cicero had an interview with Cæsar, in the return of the latter from Brundisium, after Pompey had abandoned that city, and fled into Greece. Cæsar laboured to prevail with our author to return to Rome, and take his seat in the senate. But Cicero acted upon this occasion with a spirit, which we cannot but regret should have ever deserted him. He declared he would not attend the senate, but upon the terms of being at full liberty to deliver his sentiments, which he confessed were utterly against carrying the war into Spain, and altogether in favour of peace. Cæsar as plainly assured him, that this was what he could not suffer; and recommending it to him to think better of the matter, the conference ended.

time, I have requested Trebatius to receive your commands, if you should be desirous of communicating any to me by his mouth. I should be glad, indeed, that you would employ either him, or any other of your friends whom you can trust upon this occasion, as I would not lay you under the necessity of going out of Rome, or be myself obliged to advance much nearer to it. Perhaps I attribute too much to my own judgment, though I am sure I do not to yours, when I add, that I am persuaded the world will approve whatever measures we shall agree upon. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 704.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS, to CICERO.

THE melancholy cast of your letter affects me with the deepest concern; and though you do not declare your intentions in direct and explicit terms, yet you leave me no room to doubt of what kind they are. I thus instantly, therefore, take up my pen, in order to conjure you, my dear friend, by the tenderness you bear to your children, and by all that is most ended: "very little," says Cicero, "to the satisfaction of Cæsar, and very much to my own." *Ad Att. ix. 18.* That Cicero had formed a resolution of following Pompey into Greece.

most valuable in your esteem, not to resolve upon any measures so totally inconsistent with your true welfare. Heaven and earth will be my witness, that I have offered you no advice, nor sent you any prophetic admonitions which I had not well and maturely considered. It was not, indeed, till after I had an interview with Cæsar, and had fully discovered his sentiments, that I informed you in what manner he would most assuredly employ his victory. If you imagine he will be as easy in pardoning his enemies, as he was reasonable in offering them terms of accommodation, believe me, you will find that you have made a very erroneous calculation. His heart and his expressions breathe the severest resentment; and he left Rome, highly incensed both against the senate and tribunes. In plain truth, he is by no means

in Cæsar, upon his return to Rome, after the siege of Brundisium, proposed to the senate that an embassy should be sent to Pompey, with proposals of peace. This the house agreed to: but when the question was moved concerning the persons to be appointed for this purpose, none of the members would undertake that commission. Cæsar endeavoured, likewise, to procure a law for granting him the money in the public treasury, in order to carry on the war against Pompey. But Metellus, the tribune, interposing his negative, Cæsar obtained his purpose by a shorter method. For breaking open the temple of Saturn, in which this money was preserved, he first plundered his country of her patrimony, (says Florus) and then of her liberty. Having thus possessed himself of an immense wealth, he immediately set out upon his expedition against Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. 33. Dio. xli. Flor. iv. 2.*

in a disposition to shew the least favour to his adversaries. If you have any tenderness, therefore, to yourself, to your son, or to your family in general; if either my friendship, or the alliance of that worthy man who has married your daughter, can give us a claim to some influence over you, let me conjure you not to disconcert the measures we have taken to preserve our fortunes, nor lay us under the miserable alternative of either abandoning a cause upon which our own safety depends, or of impiously wishing well to one which must necessarily be inconsistent with yours. Consider, you have already disgusted Pompey, by this your delay in joining him; and would it not be utterly impolitic, after having so cautiously avoided giving offence to Cæsar, when his affairs were yet doubtful, to declare against him now that they are attended with such uncommon success? Would it not be the highest indiscretion to join with those who are fleeing before his troops, after having refused to act in concert with them, when they seemed inclined to resist? In fine, my friend, let me entreat you, whilst you are endeavouring to escape the imputation of being deficient in patriotism, to be careful lest you incur the censure of being deficient in prudence. But, after

Dolabella.

ter all, if I cannot wholly dissuade you from your resolution, suffer me at least to prevail with you to suspend the execution of it till the event of our expedition into Spain; which I shall venture, however, to assure you, will most certainly fall into our hands upon the very first appearance of Cæsar's troops. And what hopes the opposite party can possibly entertain after the loss of that province, I am perfectly unable to discover. As far, likewise, is it beyond my penetration, what motive can induce you to join with those whose affairs are thus evidently desperate. This design, which you so obscurely intimated in your letter, had reached the knowledge of Cæsar: and the first thing he said, after the usual salutations had passed between us, was to inform me of what he had heard concerning you. I professed myself entirely ignorant that you had any such thoughts: but if you had, I said, it was my request that he would write to you in such terms as might most probably prevail with you to renounce them. I have received his commands to attend him into Spain; otherwise, I would instantly have come to you, wherever you had been, in order to have pressed these reasons upon you in person, and, indeed, to have retained you in Italy by absolute force. Consider well your scheme, my dear Cicero, ere you
carry

carry it into execution, lest you obstinately, and against all remonstrances, involve both yourself and your family in utter and irrecoverable ruin. But if you are affected by the reproaches of those who style themselves patriots, or cannot submit to be a witness of the insolence of some in the opposite party, let me advise you to retreat into a neutral city, till our contests shall be decided. This will be acting with a prudence which I cannot but own to be a laudable one, and which Cæsar, I am sure, will by no means disapprove. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 704.]

CICERO TO MARCUS CÆLIUS.

I SHOULD have been extremely affected by your letter, if reason had not banished from my heart all its disquietudes, and despair of seeing better days had not long since hardened it against every new impression of grief. Yet strong as I must acknowledge my despondency to be, I am not sensible, however, that I said any thing in my last which could justly raise the suspicion you have conceived. What more did my letter contain than general expressions of dissatisfaction at the sad prospect of our affairs? a prospect which cannot, surely, suggest to your own mind less gloomy apprehensions than it presents to
mine.

mine. For I am too well persuaded of the force of your penetration, to imagine that my judgment can discover consequences which lie concealed from yours. But I am surprised that you, who ought to know me perfectly well, should believe me capable of acting with so little policy as to abandon a rising fortune, for one in its decline, at least, if not utterly fallen; or so variable as not only to destroy at once all the interest I have established with Cæsar, but to deviate even from myself, by engaging at last in a civil war, which it has hitherto been my determined maxim to avoid. Where, then, did you discover those unhappy resolutions you impute to me? Perhaps you collected them from what I said of secluding myself in some sequestered solitude. And, indeed, you are sensible how ill I can submit, I do not say to endure, but even to be a witness of the insolencies of the successful party; a sentiment, my friend, which once, I am sure, was yours no less than mine. But in vain would I retire, whilst I preserve the title^a with which I am at present distinguished, and continue to be attended with this embarrassing parade of lictors^b.

Were

^a That of *Imperator*. See the first rem. on the first let. of B. i.

^b The lictors were a sort of beadles, who carried the ensigns of magistracy before the consuls, proconsuls, and other supreme officers of the state. These lictors continued to attend

Were I eased of this troublesome honour, there is no part of Italy so obscure, in which I should not be well contented to hide myself. Yet these my laurels, unwelcome as they are to myself, are the object both of the envy and the raillery of my malevolent enemies^c. Nevertheless, under all these temptations of withdrawing from so disgusting a scene, I never once entertained a thought of leaving Italy without the previous approbation of yourself and some others. But you know the situation of my several villas: and as it is among these I am obliged to divide my time, that I may not incommode^d my friends, the preference I give to those which stand on the sea coast, has raised a suspicion, that I am meditating a flight into Greece. If peace, indeed, were to be found in that country, I should not, perhaps, be unwilling to undertake

to attend the proconsul after his return from his government, if he aspired (as Cicero did) to the honour of a triumph.

^c Cicero undoubtedly gave, upon this occasion, but too much colour to the censure of his enemies: for it could not but have a very strange appearance, that he should preserve the thoughts of a triumph, at a time when his country was bleeding with a civil war. But as he was extremely ambitious of this honour, he was equally unwilling to renounce it; still flattering himself, perhaps, that some accommodation between Cæsar and Pompey would afford him an opportunity of enjoying what he so strongly desired.

^d That is, by continuing in the suburbs of Rome; where, as he had no house of his own, he must necessarily be a guest to some of his friends. For he could not enter the city without relinquishing his claim to a triumph.

take the voyage: but to enter upon it in order to engage in a war, would be altogether inconsistent, surely, with my principles and character; especially as it would be taking up arms, not only against a man who, I hope, is perfectly well satisfied with my conduct, but in favour of one whom it is now impossible I should ever render so. In a word, as I made no secret to you, when you met me at my Cuman villa, of the conversation which had passed between Ampius and myself, you could not be at a loss to guess my sentiments upon this head: and, indeed, you plainly saw how utterly averse I was to the scheme of Pompey's deserting Rome. Did I not then affirm, that there was nothing I would not suffer, rather than be induced to follow the civil war beyond the limits of Italy*?

And

* Cicero perpetually condemns the conduct of Pompey, in first retiring from Rome, and afterwards removing the seat of war out of Italy. But with regard to the former, it appears, even from our author himself, that it was attended with a very good effect, and which Pompey, it is probable, had in view when he resolved upon that measure. For it raised a more general indignation against Caesar to see Pompey thus fleeing before him, and rendering the people more averse from favouring his cause. *Fugiens Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. Quid queris? alia causa facta est: nihil jam concedendum putant Caesari.* *Ad Att. vii. 11.* And as to Pompey's leaving Italy, he seems, as far as can be judged at this distance of time, to have acted upon a very rational plan. Pompey's forces were much inferior to Caesar's: and even the few troops which he had, were such as he could by no means depend upon. As he was master of a very considerable fleet, there was great probability of his being able to prevent Caesar from following him into Greece: at the same

time

And has any event since happened, that could give me just reason of changing my sentiments? On the contrary, has not every circumstance concurred to fix me in them?

Be assured, (and I am well persuaded it is what you already believe) that the single aim of my actions in these our public calamities, has been to convince the world, that my great and earnest desire was to preserve the peace of our country; and when this could no longer be hoped, that there was nothing I wished more, than to avoid taking any part in the civil war.

time that Afranius and Petreius were in the rear of Caesar, with an army composed of approved and veteran forces. Italy was supplied with corn from the eastern provinces, especially from Egypt: which Pompey was in hopes of cutting off by means of his fleet. These provinces, together with the neighbouring kings, were likewise greatly in his interest: and he had reason to expect very large subsidies from them, both of men and money. Perhaps, therefore, when these several circumstances shall be duly weighed, it will not appear that Pompey determined injudiciously, when he resolved to cross the Adriatic. *Ad Att. vii. 13. ix. 9. x. 8. Dio, xli. p. 158.*

Notwithstanding Cicero's strong assertions that he had no thoughts of joining Pompey, he had actually determined to do so a few days before he received the preceding letter from Caelius: as appears by an epistle to Atticus, wherein he expressly tells him, that he was only waiting for a fair wind. But before he wrote the present letter, he had received some news not altogether favourable to Pompey's party: in consequence of which he renounced his former design, and was now determined (though he does not think proper to own it in this letter) to retire to Malta, as a neutral island. This resolution, however, he soon afterwards rejected, and resumed his first intentions of following Pompey into Greece. And this scheme he at length executed. *Ad Att. x. 8. 9.* See rem. 4. p. 141. of this vol.

war. And I shall never, I trust, have reason to repent of firmly persevering in these sentiments. It was the frequent boast, I remember, of my friend Hortensius, that he had never taken up arms in any of our civil dissensions. But I may glory in the same honest neutrality, with a much better grace: for that of Hortensius was suspected to have arisen from the timidity of his temper; whereas mine, I think, cannot be imputed to any motive of that unworthy kind. Nor am I in the least terrified by those considerations, with which you so faithfully and affectionately endeavour to alarm my fears. The truth of it is, there is no calamity so severe, to which we are not all of us, it should seem, in this universal anarchy and confusion, equally and unavoidably exposed. But if I could have averted this dreadful storm from the republic, at the expence of my own private and domestic enjoyments, even of those, my friend, which you so emphatically recommend to my care, I should most willingly have made the sacrifice. As to my son, (who I rejoice to find has a share in your concern) I shall leave him a sufficient patrimony in that honour with which my name will be remembered, so long as the republic shall subsist: and if it be destroyed, I shall have the consolation at least to reflect, that he will suffer nothing
more

more than must be the common lot of every Roman. With regard to that dear and excellent young man my son-in-law, whose welfare you entreat me to consider; can you once doubt, knowing as you perfectly do the tenderness I bear, not only for him, but for Tullia, that I am infinitely anxious upon his account! I am the more so indeed, as it was my single consolation, amidst these general distractions, that they might possibly prove a means of protecting him from those inconveniences in which his too generous spirit had unhappily involved him⁶. How much he suffered from them, during the time he continued in Rome, as well as how little that circumstance was to my credit, are points which I choose to leave to your enquiry.

Affairs in Spain, I doubt not, will terminate in the manner you mention. But I neither wait the event of them in order to determine my conduct;

⁶ It should seem, by this passage, that Dolabella, who had contracted very considerable debts, was at this time under some difficulties from his creditors: from whom Cicero flattered himself that Cæsar's power would have protected him. Some commentators, however, instead of *liberalitate*, adopted in this translation, read *libertate*; and suppose that Cicero alludes to the prosecution in which Dolabella had been engaged against Appius: of which a detail has been given in the preceding remarks. But whichever be the true word, the sentiment is observable. For surely it was utterly unworthy of Cicero, to find the least consolation amidst the calamities of his country, in the hope that they might prove a screen to Dolabella, either from the justice of his creditors, or the malice of his enemies.

duct⁷; nor am I acting, in any other respect, with the least artifice. If the republic should be preserved, I shall certainly hold my rank in it: but if it should be subverted, you yourself, I dare say, will join me in my intended solitude. But this latter supposition is, perhaps, the vain and groundless surmise of a disturbed imagination; and affairs, after all, may take a happier turn than I am apt to presage. I remember the despondency which prevailed in my earlier days, amongst our patriots of more advanced years⁸: possibly my present apprehensions may be of the same cast, and no other than the effect of a common weakness incident to old age. Heaven grant they may prove so! And yet you have heard, I suppose, that a robe of magistracy is in the looms for Oppius; and that Curtius has hopes of being invested with the double-dyed purple⁹: but the principal work-

man,

⁷ The contrary of this was the truth: for Cicero was, at this time, determined to wait the event of Cæsar's expedition against the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. And for this purpose he had thoughts of retiring to Malta: *Melitum, opinor, capessamus* (says he to Atticus) *dum quid in Hispania.* *Ad Att. x. 9.*

⁸ This alludes to the contentions between Sylla and Marius; which, notwithstanding the probability of their terminating in the total subversion of the constitution, the republic however survived.

⁹ Oppius and Curtius were persons who probably had distinguished themselves in no other manner than as being the servile instruments of Cæsar's ambition. The former, however, appears to have been in high credit during Cæsar's usurpation:

man, it seems, somewhat delays him¹⁰. I throw in this little pleasantry, to let you see that I can smile in the midst of my indignation.

Let me advise you to enter into the affair which I formerly mentioned concerning Dolabella, with the same warmth as if it were your own. I have only to add, that you may depend upon it, I shall take no hasty or inconsiderate measures. But to whatever part of the world I may direct my course, I entreat you to protect both me and mine, agreeably to your honour, and to our mutual friendship. Farewel.

LETTER

usurpation: but the latter is often mentioned in the letters to Atticus with great contempt. Servius, in his comment on the 7th book of the *Æneid*, informs us that the colour of the augural robe was a mixture of purple and scarlet: it is probable, therefore, from the expression which Cicero employs, that Curtius had a promise of being advanced into the sacred college. It might well discourage Cicero's hopes of better days, when he saw men of this character singled out to fill the most important dignities of the republic. And, indeed, it was an earnest of what Cæsar afterwards practised, when he became the sole fountain of all preferment: which he distributed in the most arbitrary manner, without any regard to rank or merit. *Nullos non honores*, says one of the historians, *ad libidinem cepit & dedit.* — *Civitate donatos, & quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum, recepit in curiam.* Suet. in Jul. 76.

¹⁰ *Sed eum infector moratur.* This witticism, which turns upon the equivocal sense of the word *infector*, could not be preserved in the translation. It is probable that Cæsar had gained Curtius, as he had many others, by some seasonable application to his wants or his avarice: for Cicero seems to use this word in allusion to the verb from whence it is derived, as well as in its appropriated meaning; *inficio* signifying both to corrupt and to dye.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 704.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

I RECEIVED your letter at my Cuman villa, on the 29th of April. I find you shortened it upon the supposition that Philotimus would deliver it into my hands; whom, it seems, you had instructed to give me a more full and explicit information. But he did not execute his commission with the care he ought: for instead of bringing your letter to me himself, he sent it by another person. However, this omission was supplied by a visit from your wife and son: who are both of them extremely desirous you should come hither: and, indeed, pressed me to write to you for that purpose.

You desire to know what measures I would recommend to you, in this critical conjuncture. Believe me, I am in a situation of mind which renders me much more in need of a guide myself, than capable of conducting another. But were it otherwise, how should I venture to offer my advice to a man of your distinguished wisdom and dignity? This, however, I will say, that if the question be, in what manner it becomes us to act; the answer is plain and obvious: but what will

will be most expedient for our interest, is a point far less easy to determine. In short, if we think, as I am sure we ought, that honour and true interest must ever point the same way, there can be no dispute what path we have to pursue.

You imagine that we are both of us in the same circumstances; and most certainly we both committed the same mistake, when we honestly declared our opinions in favour of peace. All our counsels, indeed, equally tended to prevent a civil war; and as this was the true interest of Cæsar, we thought he would consider himself as obliged to us for supporting pacific measures. How much we were deceived is evident, you see, from the present posture of affairs. But you look, I know, much farther, and take into your view, not only what has already happened, or is now transacting, but the whole future progress and final tendency of these commotions. If, then, you should determine to remain in Rome, you must either approve the measures which are there carrying on, or be present at a scene which your heart condemns. But the former seems an unworthy part, and the latter, I think, altogether an unsafe one. My opinion is consequently for retiring; and the single point is, whither to direct our course? But as public affairs were never in a more desperate situation, so never was there

there a question attended with greater difficulties: whichever way one turns it, some important objection occurs. If you have resolved upon any scheme which is not consistent with mine, I could wish you would spare yourself the trouble of a journey hither: but if you are inclined to participate of my measures, I will wait your arrival. I beg you would be as expeditious for that purpose as you conveniently can; a request in which both Servius and Posthumia equally join. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 704.]

TO RUFUS.

THOUGH I never once doubted that I enjoyed the highest rank in your friendship, yet every day's experience strengthens me in that persuasion. You assured me, I remember, in one of

¹ Sulpicius had an interview with Cicero at his Cuman villa, soon after the date of this letter; but the former was so much dispirited, and so full of fears, that Cicero could not bring him to any determination. They broke up their conference, therefore, without coming to any explicit resolution: for though Cicero's was already formed, he did not think proper to avow his design of joining Pompey, to a man whom he found in so timid and fluctuating a state of mind. *Ad Att.* x. 14.

² The son and wife of Sulpicius. Posthumia was one of those many ladies who found Cæsar as irresistible a gallant as he was a soldier. *Suet. in Jul.* 50.

³ See rem. i. p. 91.

of your letters, that you should be more assiduous in giving me proofs of your affection now, than when you were my quæstor, as they would more indisputably appear to be the free result of a disinterested esteem. And though nothing, I thought, could exceed your good offices to me in the province, yet you have since fully evinced the sincerity of this promise. Accordingly, it was with great pleasure I observed the friendly impatience with which you expected my arrival in Rome, when I had thoughts of going thither, as well as the joy you afterwards expressed at my having laid aside that design, when affairs had taken a different turn from what you imagined. But your last letter was particularly acceptable to me, as an instance both of your affection and your judgment. It afforded me much satisfaction, indeed, to find, on the one hand, that you consider your true interest (as every great and honest mind ought always to consider it) as inseparably connected with a rectitude of conduct: and on the other, that you promise to accompany me, whithersoever I may determine to steer. Nothing can be more agreeable to my inclination, nor, I trust, to your honour, than your executing this resolution. Mine has been fixed for some time, and it was not with any design of concealing

it from you, that I did not acquaint you with it before. My only reason was, that, in public conjunctures of this kind, the communication of one's intentions to a friend, looks like admonishing, or rather, indeed, pressing him to share in the difficulties and the dangers of one's schemes. I cannot, however, but willingly embrace an offer which proceeds from so affectionate and generous a disposition: though I must add, at the same time, (that I may not transgress the modest limits I have set to my requests of this nature) that I by no means urge your compliance. If you shall think proper to pursue the measures you propose, I shall esteem myself greatly indebted to you: if not, I shall very readily excuse you. For though I shall look upon the former as a tribute which you could not well refuse to my friendship, yet I shall consider the latter as the same reasonable concession to your fears. It must be owned, there is great difficulty how to act upon this occasion. It is true, what honour would direct is very apparent, but the prudential part is far from being a point so clear. However, if we would act up, as we ought, to the dictates of that philosophy we have mutually cultivated, we cannot once hesitate in thinking that the worthiest measures must, upon the whole, be the most expedient.

If

If you are inclined, then, to embark with me, you must come hither immediately: but if it should not suit you to be thus expeditious, I will send you an exact account of my route. To be short, in whatever manner you may decide, I shall always consider you as my friend: but much more so, if you should determine as I wish. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THERENTIA.

I AM entirely free from the disorder in my stomach: which was the more painful, as I saw it occasioned both you and that dear girl whom I love better than my life, so much uneasiness. I discovered the cause of this complaint the night after I left you, having discharged a great quantity of phlegm. This gave me so immediate a relief, that I cannot but believe I owe my cure to some heavenly interposition: to Apollo, no doubt, and Æsculapius. You will offer up your grateful tributes, therefore, to these restoring powers, with all the ardency of your usual devotion.

I am this moment embarked⁴: and have procured

⁴ In order to join Pompey in Greece, who had left Italy about three months before the date of this letter. A late learned

cured a ship which I hope is well able to perform her voyage. As soon as I shall have finished this letter, I propose to write to several of my friends, recommending you and our dearest Tullia in the strongest terms to their protection. In the mean time I should exhort you to keep up your spirits, if I did not know that both of you are animat-
ed

learned and most able panegyrist of Cicero assures us, that he took this measure, as choosing to "follow the cause which he thought to be the best, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety." Cicero deserves so highly from every friend to genius and literature, that it is no wonder Dr. Middleton should not always speak of him with the cool impartiality of an unbiassed historian. But it is the principal purpose of these remarks, to inquire, without prejudices of any kind, into the real merit of Cicero's political character: and as his conduct during this important crisis will evidently shew the strength and measure of his patriotism, I shall trace it from the breaking out of the civil war to the present period, and then leave the facts to speak for themselves.

Upon the news that Cæsar was marching into Italy, Pompey was appointed general in chief of the republican forces, and the principal magistrates, together with those who were invested with proconsular power, were distributed into different cantons of Italy in order to raise troops, for the defence of the common cause. Cicero had his particular district assigned him among the rest; but instead of executing this important commission with spirit and vigour, he remained altogether inactive at his several villas in that part of Italy. And this he signified to Cæsar, by means of their common friend Trebatius, who had written to him in Cæsar's name, in order to prevail with him to return to Rome. *Rescripsi ad Trebatium quam illud hoc tempore esset difficile: me tamen in prædiis meis esse, neque delectum ullum, neque negotium suscepisse.* *Ad Att.* vii. 37. Pompey, in the mean time, was pressing Cicero to join him: but he excused himself by representing that whilst he was actually on the road for that purpose, he was informed that he could not proceed without the danger of being intercepted by Cæsar's troops. *Epist.* 2.
Cicer.

ed with a more than manly fortitude. And, indeed, I hope there is a fair prospect of your remaining in Italy without any inconvenience, and of my returning to the defence of the republic, in conjunction with those who are no less faithfully devoted to its interest.

After

Cicer. ad Pom. apud epist. ad Att. viii. Cicero, however, is so ingenuous as to acknowledge, in the same letter to Pompey, that so long as there were hopes that the negotiations for a peace would be attended with success, he thought it a justifiable piece of prudence not to be too active in forwarding the preparations that were carrying on against Cæsar; remembering, he says, how much he had formerly suffered from the resentment of the latter in the affair of his exile. This was explaining, at once, the true principle of his whole conduct, and he avows it more expressly in a letter to Atticus. *Non simul cum Pompeio mare transierimus? Omnino non poterimus; exstat ratio dierum, sed tamen (fateamur enim quod est) fefellit ea me res, quæ fortasse non debuit, sed fefellit; pacem putavi fore: quæ si esset, iratum mihi Cæsarum esse, cum idem amicus esset Pompeio, nolui. Senseram enim quam idem essent. Hoc verens in hanc tarditatem incidi.* *Ad Att.* x. 8. Pompey, however, had no sooner set sail for Greece, than Cicero was struck with the consciousness of his having acted an unworthy part: *Postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia, exierunt, non angor, says he, sed ardeo dolore: non sum, inquam, mihi crede, mentis compos, tantum mihi dedecoris admisisse videor.* *Ad Att.* ix. 6. After several deliberations, therefore, he was determined, he tells Atticus, to follow Pompey, without waiting the event of Cæsar's arms in Spain. *Ad Att.* ix. 19. x. 8. This resolution, nevertheless, soon gave way to a second; for having received some accounts which contradicted a former report that had been spread concerning the advantageous posture of Pompey's affairs, Cicero renounced his intention of joining him, and now purposed to stand neuter. *Ad Att.* x. 9. But a new turn in favour of Pompey seems to have brought Cicero back to his former scheme: for, in a subsequent letter to Atticus, wherein he mentions some reasons to believe that Pompey's
affairs

After earnestly recommending to you the care of your health, let me make it my next request, that you would dispose of yourself in such of my villas as are at the greatest distance from the army. And if provisions should become scarce in Rome, I should think you will find it most convenient to remove with your servants to Arpinum⁵.

The

affairs went well in Spain, and takes notice, likewise, of some disgust which the populace expressed towards Cæsar in the theatre, we find him resuming his design of openly uniting with Pompey: and accordingly he resolved to join those who were maintaining Pompey's cause in Sicily. *Ad Att. x. 12.* It does not appear, by any of his letters, upon what motive he afterwards exchanged his plan for that of sailing directly to Pompey's camp in Greece: which, after various debates with himself, he at length, we see, executed. There is a passage, however, in Cæsar's Commentaries, which, perhaps, will render it probable, that the news which, about this time, was confidently spread at Rome, that Cæsar's army had been almost totally defeated in Spain, was the determining reason that sent Cicero to Pompey. The fact was, that Afranius and Petreius had gained some advantages over Cæsar; but as they magnified them, in their letters to Rome, much beyond the truth, several persons of note, who had hitherto been fluctuating in their resolutions, thought it was now high time to declare themselves, and went off immediately to Pompey. *Hæc Afranius, Petreiusque, et eorum amici, pleniora etiam atque uberiora Romanæ ad suos perscribebant. Multa rumor fengebat: ut pene bellum confectum videretur. Quibus literis nunciisque Romanæ perlatis—multi ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficiscebantur; alii ut principes talem nunciam attulisse; alii nec eventum belli expectasse, aut ex omnibus novissimi venisse viderentur.* De Bel. Civil. i. 53.

⁵ A city in the country of the Volsci, a district of Italy which now comprehends part of the Campagna di Roma, and of the Terra di Lavoro. Cicero was born in this town, which still subsists under the name of Arpino.

The amiable young Cicero most tenderly salutes you. Again and again I bid you farewell.
June the 11th.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 704.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS to CICERO.

WAS⁶ it for this that I followed Cæsar into Spain? Why was I not rather at Formiæ, that I might have accompanied you to Pompey? But I was infatuated; and it was my aversion to Appius⁷, together with my friendship for Curio, that gradually drew me into this cursed cause. Nor were you entirely unnecessary to my error: for that night, when I called upon you

⁶ This letter confirms the character that has been given of Cælius, in a former remark*, and shews him to have been of a temper extravagantly warm and impetuous. The resentment and indignation with which it is animated, was owing to some disappointments that he had met with from Cæsar, who had not distinguished him agreeably to his expectations. Cælius, therefore, who was one of the prætors for the present year, endeavoured to take his revenge by opposing the execution of certain laws which Cæsar had procured.—His attempts for this purpose having created great disturbances in Rome, he was not only deposed from his office, but expelled the senate: and the present letter seems to have been written immediately upon that event. *Dio. xlii. p. 195. Cas. de Bel. Civil. iii. 20.*

⁷ Appius engaged on the side of Pompey, as Curio was a warm partisan of Cæsar. For the occasion of Cælius's resentment against Appius, see B. vi. let. 14. p. 61. of this vol.

* See rem. 4. vol. 1. p. 272.

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you in my way to Ariminum⁸, why did you forget the friend, when you were gloriously acting the patriot, and not dissuade me from the purpose of my journey, at the same time that you commissioned me to urge Cæsar to pacific measures? Not that I have an ill opinion of the cause; but, believe me, perdition itself were preferable to being a witness of the insufferable behaviour of these his insolent partisans⁹. They have rendered themselves so generally odious, that we should long since have been driven out of Rome, were it not for the apprehensions which people have conceived of the cruel intentions of your party¹⁰. There is not, at this juncture, a man in Rome, except a few rascally usurers¹¹, who does not wish well to

⁸ In order to join Cæsar. Cælius was one of the party with Curio and Antony, when they fled to Cæsar. *Dio. xli. p. 153.* See the first letter of this book, and rem. 4. on the same.

⁹ The chiefs of Cæsar's party at Rome.

¹⁰ When Pompey left Rome, upon the approach of Cæsar, he declared that he should treat all those as enemies who did not follow him: a declaration, it was imagined, which he would most rigorously have fulfilled, if fortune had put it in his power. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. Cic. Epist. passim.*

¹¹ As great numbers of those who embraced the party of Cæsar were deeply involved in debt, it was apprehended that they would procure a law for a general discharge from their creditors. But Cæsar adjusted matters by a more prudent method, and in such a manner as to facilitate the payment of these loans with little prejudice to those who had advanced them. It appears that Cæsar rendered himself, by these means, extremely acceptable to those persons at Rome, who dealt in this sort of pecuniary commerce. *Cæs. de Bel. Civil. i.*

to Pompey; and I have already brought over to your cause, not only those among the plebeian families who were in the interest of Cæsar, but the whole populace in general. But you will ask, perhaps, what can this avail us now? Wait the event, my friend: victory shall attend you in spite of yourselves¹². For surely a profound lethargy has locked up all the senses of your party, as they do not yet seem sensible how open we lie to an attack, and how little capable we are of making any considerable opposition. It is by no means from an interested motive that I offer my assistance, but merely in resentment of the unworthy usage I have received: and resentment is a passion which usually carries me, you know, the greatest lengths.---But what are you doing on the other side the water¹³? Are you imprudently waiting to give the enemy battle? What Pompey's forces may be, I know not: but Cæsar's, I am sure, are accustomed to action, and inured to all the hardships of the most severe campaigns. Farewel.

LETTER

¹² This boast of Cælius ended in nothing but his own destruction. For, not succeeding in his attempts at Rome, he withdrew to Thurii, a maritime town on the gulph of Tarentum; where, endeavouring to raise an insurrection in favour of Pompey, he was murdered by the soldiers of Cæsar's faction. *Dio. xlii. p. 196.*

¹³ Cicero was at this time in Pompey's camp in Greece.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 704.]

DOLABELLA¹ TO CICERO.

I SHALL rejoice to hear you are well: I have the satisfaction to inform you, that both Tullia and myself are perfectly so. Terentia, indeed, has been somewhat indisposed, but is now, I am assured, perfectly recovered. As to the rest of your family, they are all of them in the state you wish.

It would be doing me great injustice to suspect that I have at any time advised you to join with me in the cause of Cæsar, or at least to stand neuter, more with a view to the advantage of my own party, than of your interest. But now that fortune has declared on our side², it is impossible I should be supposed to recommend this alternative for any other reason, but

¹ The reader has already been apprised, in the foregoing remarks, that Dolabella was son-in-law to Cicero. He was a young man of a warm, enterprising, factious disposition, and one of the most active partisans of Cæsar's cause. His character, conduct, and fortune will be more particularly marked out as occasion shall offer, in the farther progress of these observations.

² Cæsar having defeated Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey, in Spain, was at this time with his army before Dyrrachium, a maritime city in Macedonia, now called Durazzi.

but because the duty I owe you will not suffer me to be silent. Whether my advice, therefore, shall meet with your approbation or not, you will at least be so just as to believe, that it proceeds, my dear Cicero, from an honest intention, and from a heart most sincerely desirous of your welfare.

You see that neither the lofty title with which Pompey is distinguished³, nor the credit of his former illustrious actions, nor the advantages he so frequently boasted, of having kings and nations in the number of his clients, have any thing availed him. On the contrary, he has suffered a disgrace which never, perhaps, attended any other Roman general. For, after having lost both the Spains⁴, together with a veteran army, and, after having also been driven out of Italy, he is now so strongly invested on all sides, that he cannot execute what the meanest soldier has often performed; he cannot make even an honourable retreat⁵. You will consider, then, agreeably to

³ When he was a very young man, he was honoured by Sylla with the title of Pompey the Great; a title which he ever afterwards assumed.

⁴ This country was divided by the Romans into the Nearer and the Farther Spain; that part which lay near the Pyrenees and the river Ibro being comprehended under the former appellation, and all beyond that river, under the latter.

⁵ It is probable that some slight success which Cæsar had obtained before Dyrrachium, had been greatly magnified at

to your usual prudence, what hopes can possibly remain either to him or to yourself; and the result will evidently point out the measures which are most expedient for you to pursue. Let me entreat you, if Pompey has already extricated himself out of the danger in which he was involved, and taken refuge in his fleet, that you would now at least think it time to consult your own interest, in preference to that of any other man. You have performed every thing which gratitude and friendship can expect, or the party you approved can require. What remains, then, but to sit down quietly under the republic, as it now subsists, rather than, by vainly contending for the old constitution, to be absolutely deprived of both? If Pompey, therefore, should be driven from his present post, and obliged to retreat still farther, I conjure you, my dear Cicero, to withdraw to Athens, or to any other city unconcerned in the war. If you should comply with this advice, I beg you would give me notice, that I may fly to embrace you, if by any means it should be in my power. Your own interest with Cæsar, together with the natural generosity of his temper, will render it extremely

Rome: for Pompey was so far from being in the situation which Dolabella here represents him, that Cæsar found himself obliged to abandon the siege of this city, and to retire into Thessaly. *Dio. xli. p. 177.*

tremely easy for you to obtain any honourable conditions you shall demand; and I am persuaded that my solicitations will have no inconsiderable weight for this purpose.

I rely upon your honour and your humanity to take care that this messenger may safely return to me with your answer. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TERENCE⁶.

I AM informed, by the letters of my friends, as well as by other accounts, that you have had a sudden attack of a fever. I entreat you, therefore, to employ the utmost care in re-establishing your health.

The early notice you gave me of Cæsar's letter was extremely agreeable to me; and let me desire you would send me the same expeditious intelligence, if any thing should hereafter occur that concerns me to know. Once more I conjure you to take care of your health. Farewel.

June the 2d.

LETTER

⁶ "This letter was written by Cicero, in the camp at Dyrrachium; for there is one extant to Atticus later than this, and dated from the camp. *Ad Att. xi. 18.*" Mr. Ross.

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LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.⁷

I ENTREAT you to take all proper measures for the recovery of your health. Let me request, likewise, that you would provide whatever may be necessary in the present conjuncture, and that you would send me frequent accounts how every thing goes on. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

I HAVE seldom an opportunity of writing, and scarce any thing to say that I choose to trust in a letter. I find, by your last, that you cannot meet with a purchaser for any of our farms. I beg, therefore, you would consider of some other method of raising money, in order to satisfy that person who, you are sensible, I am very desirous should be paid⁸.

I am

⁷ This letter was probably written soon after the foregoing, and from the same place.

⁸ This letter, as well as the two former, was written while Cicero was with Pompey in Greece. The business at which he so obscurely hints, has been thought to relate to the payment

I am by no means surprised that you should have received the thanks of our friend, as I dare say she had great reason to acknowledge your kindness.

If Pollex⁹ is not yet set out, I desire you would exercise your authority, and force the loiterer to depart immediately. Farewel.

July the 15th.

LETTER

ment of part of Tullia's portion to Dolabella. But it seems evident from the 4th epistle of the 11th book to Atticus, that Cicero was not at this time come to any resolution concerning the second payment of his daughter's portion; for, in a postscript, he desires the sentiments of Atticus upon that subject. *De pensione altera*, says he, *oro te omni cura considera quid faciendum sit. Ad Att. xi. 4.* Now that this letter to Atticus was written about the same time, with the present to Terentia, appears from hence, that Cicero plainly refers in it to the same epistle to which this before us is an answer. *Ex proximis cognovi prædia non venisse: [Ad Att. ibid.]* which tallies with what he says in the letter under examination: *ex tuis literis, quas proxime accepi, cognovi prædium nullum venire potuisse;* and proves that the date of each must have been nearly, if not exactly, coincident. For these reasons, it seems necessary to look out for another interpretation of the present passage; and, from the cautious circumstance of the name being suppressed, it may be suspected that Cæsar is the person meant. It is certain, at least, that Cicero owed him a sum of money; concerning which, he expresses some uneasiness to Atticus, upon the breaking out of the civil war; as he could not, indeed, continue in Cæsar's debt with any honour, after he had joined the party against him. *Ad Att. vii. 3.*

⁹ It appears, by a letter to Atticus, that this person acted as a sort of steward in Cicero's family. *Ad Att. xiii. 47.*

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

MAY the joy you express at my safe arrival in Italy¹, be never interrupted! But my mind was so much discomposed by those atrocious injuries I had received², that I have taken a step, I fear, which may be attended with great difficulties³. Let me, then, entreat your utmost assistance;

¹ After the battle of Pharsalia, Cicero would not engage himself any farther with the Pompeian party; but, having endeavoured to make his peace with Cæsar by the mediation of Dolabella, he seems to have received no other answer than an order to return immediately into Italy. And this he accordingly did a few days before the date of the present letter. *Ad Att.* xi. 7.

² Cicero, who was somewhat indisposed, and much out of humour, did not attend Pompey when he marched from Dyrrachium in order to follow Cæsar. Cato was likewise left behind, with fifteen cohorts, to conduct the baggage; but upon the news of Pompey's defeat, in the plains of Pharsalia, he pressed Cicero to take upon himself the command of those troops, as being of superior rank in the republic. Cicero, who had all along declined accepting any commission in Pompey's army, was not disposed, it may well be imagined, to be more active against Cæsar, when the latter had just obtained a most signal victory. Accordingly, he absolutely refused this offer which Cato made; declaring, at the same time, his resolution of withdrawing from the common cause. This exasperated the young Pompey and his friends to such a degree, that they would have killed Cicero upon the spot, if Cato had not generously interposed, and conducted him safely out of the camp. It is probably to this outrage that he here alludes. *Ad Att.* xi. 4. *Plut. in vit. Cic.*

³ It has been observed, that Cicero scarce ever executed an important resolution, of which he did not immediately repent.

assistance; though, I must confess, at the same time, that I know not wherein it can avail me.

I would by no means have you think of coming hither. For the journey is both long and dangerous, and I do not see in what manner you could be of any service. Farewel.

Brundisium, Nov. the 5th.

repent. This, at least, was the situation of his mind, in the present instance; and he was no sooner arrived in Italy, than he began to condemn himself for having too hastily determined upon that measure. The letters which he wrote to Atticus, at this period, and which comprise almost the 11th book of those epistles, contain little else than so many proofs of this assertion. Cicero imagined, after the decisive action that had lately happened in the plains of Pharsalia, that the chiefs of the Pompeian party would instantly sue for peace. But Cæsar, instead of directly pursuing his victory, suffered himself to be diverted by a war altogether foreign to his purpose, and in which the charms of Cleopatra, perhaps, carried him farther than he at first intended. This gave the Pompeians an opportunity of collecting their scattered forces, and of forming a very considerable army in Africa. As this circumstance was utterly unexpected by Cicero, it occasioned him infinite disquietude, and produced those reproaches which he is perpetually throwing out upon himself in the letters abovementioned to Atticus. For, if the republican party should, after all, have returned triumphant into Italy, he knew he should be treated as one who had merited their utmost resentment.

This and the following letters in this book to Terentia, were written during the interval of Cicero's arrival at Brundisium, and Cæsar's return into Italy, which contains a period of about eleven months.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

THE ill state of health into which Tullia is fallen, is a very severe addition to the many and great disquietudes that afflict my mind⁴. But I need say nothing farther upon this subject, as I am sure her welfare is no less a part of your tender concern than it is of mine.

I agree both with you and her in thinking it proper that I should advance nearer to Rome⁵; and I should have done so before now, if I had not been prevented by several difficulties, which I am not yet able to remove. But I am in expectation of a letter from Atticus, with his sentiments upon this subject; and I beg you would forward it to me by the earliest opportunity. Farewel.

LETTER

* The anxiety which Cicero laboured under, at this juncture, was undoubtedly severe. Besides the uneasiness mentioned in the last remark, he was, likewise, under great disquietude from the uncertainty of the disposition in which Cæsar stood towards him. And, to add yet more to the discomposure of his mind, it was at this time that he received the cruel usage from his brother, of which an account has been given in rem. 7. p. 110. of this vol. He had still greater misfortunes of a domestic kind, to increase the weight of his sorrows, which will be pointed out as they shall occasionally offer themselves in the remaining letters to Terentia.

⁵ Cicero was still at Brundisium, from which place all the following letters in this book to Terentia, except the last, seem to have been written.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

IN addition to my other misfortunes, I have now to lament the illness both of Dolabella and Tullia. The whole frame of my mind is, indeed, so utterly discomposed, that I know not what to resolve, or how to act, in any of my affairs. I can only conjure you to take care of yourself and of Tullia. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 704.]

To the same.

IF any thing occurred worth communicating to you, my letters would be more frequent and much longer. But I need not tell you the situation of my affairs; and, as to the effect they have upon my mind, I leave it to Lepta and Trebatius to inform you. I have only to add my entreaties, that you would take care of your own and Tullia's health. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 704.]

To TITIUS⁶.

THERE is none of your friends less capable than I am to offer consolation to you under your present affliction; as the share I take in your loss renders me greatly in need of the same good office myself. However, as my grief does not rise to the same extreme degree as yours, I should not think I discharged the duty which my connexion and friendship with you require, if I remained altogether silent at a time when you are thus overwhelmed with sorrow. I determined, therefore, to suggest a few reflections to you which may alleviate, at least, if not entirely remove, the anguish of your heart.

There is no maxim of consolation more common; yet, at the same time, there is none which deserves to be more frequently in our thoughts, than that we ought to remember, "We are
"men;"

⁶ It is altogether uncertain who the person is to whom this letter is addressed; perhaps the same to whom the 16th of the third book is written. See rem. * p. 248. vol. 1. The precise date, likewise, is extremely doubtful; however, the opinion of Dransfeld is here followed, who, in his edition of these epistles, has placed it under the present year.

⁷ Of his son.

"men;" that is, creatures who are born to be exposed to calamities of every kind; and, therefore, "that it becomes us to submit to the conditions by which we hold our existence, without being too much dejected by accidents which no prudence can prevent." In a word, that we should learn by "reflecting on the misfortunes which have attended others, that there is nothing singular in those which befall ourselves." But neither these, nor other arguments to the same purpose, which are inculcated in the writings of the philosophers, seem to have so strong a claim to success, as those which may be drawn from the present unhappy situation of public affairs, and that endless series of misfortunes which is rising upon our country. They are such, indeed, that one cannot but account those to be most fortunate, who never knew what it was to be a parent; and as to those persons who are deprived of their children, in these times of general anarchy and mis-rule, they have much less reason to regret their loss, than if it had happened in a more flourishing period of the commonwealth, or while yet the republic had any existence. If your tears flow, indeed, from this accident, merely as it affects your own personal happiness, it may be difficult, perhaps, entirely to restrain them. But, if your sorrow takes

its rise from a more enlarged and benevolent principle; if it be for the sake of the dead themselves that you lament, it may be an easier task to assuage your grief. I shall not here insist upon an argument, which I have frequently heard maintained in conversations, as well as often read, likewise, in treatises that have been written upon this subject. "Death," say those philosophers, "cannot be considered as an evil; because, if any consciousness remains after our dissolution, it is rather an entrance into immortality, than an extinction of life; and if none remains, there can be no misery where there is no sensibility³."

Not

³ The notion of a future state of positive punishment, seems to have been rejected by the ancient philosophers in general; both by those who maintained the eternal, and those who only held the temporary duration of the soul after death. Thus Cicero and Seneca, though of different sects, yet agree in treating the fears of this sort as merely a poetical delusion: [*Tuscul. Disput. l. 21. 30. Senec. Consolat. ad Marc. 19.*] and even Socrates himself affixes no other penalty to the most atrocious deviations from moral rectitude, than that of a simple exclusion from the mansions of the gods. This shows how impotent the purest systems of the best philosophers must have been, for the moral government of mankind, since they thus dropped one of the most powerful of all sanctions for that purpose, the terrors of an actual chastisement. The comparative number of those is infinitely small, whose conduct does not give reason to suspect that they would be willing to exchange spiritual joys in reversion, for the full gratification of an importunate appetite in present; and the interest of virtue can alone be sufficiently guarded by the divine assurance of intense punishment as well as of complete happiness hereafter.

Not to insist, I say, upon any reasonings of this nature; let me remind you of an argument which I can urge with much more confidence. He who has made his exit from a scene where such dreadful confusion prevails, and where so many approaching calamities are in prospect, cannot possibly, it should seem, be a loser by the exchange. Let me ask, not only where honour, virtue, and probity, where true philosophy and the useful arts, can now fly for refuge; but where even our liberties and our lives can be secure? For my own part, I have never once heard of the death of any youth during all this last sad year, whom I have not considered as kindly delivered by the immortal gods from the miseries of these wretched times. If, therefore, you can be persuaded to think that their condition is by no means unhappy, whose loss you so tenderly deplore; it must undoubtedly prove a very considerable abatement of your present affliction. For it will then entirely arise from what you feel upon your own account; and have no relation to the persons whose death you regret. Now it would ill agree with those wise and generous maxims which have ever inspired your breast, to be too sensible of misfortunes which terminate in your own person, and affect not the happiness of those you love. You have

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upon

upon all occasions, both public and private, shewn yourself animated with the firmest fortitude: and it becomes you to act up to the character you have thus justly acquired. Time necessarily wears out the deepest impressions of sorrow: and the weakest mother that ever lost a child, has found some period to her grief. But we should wisely anticipate that effect which a certain revolution of days will undoubtedly produce: and not wait for a remedy from time, which we may much sooner receive from reason.

If what I have said can any thing avail in lessening the weight of your affliction, I shall have obtained my wish: If not, I shall at least have discharged the duties of that friendship and affection which, believe me, I ever have preserved, and ever shall preserve towards you. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 705.]

TO TERENTIA.

MY affairs are, at present, in such a situation, that I have no reason to expect a letter on your part, and have nothing to communicate to you on mine. Yet I know not how it is, I can no more

more forbear flattering myself that I may hear from you, than I can refrain from writing to you whenever I meet with a conveyance.

Volumnia ought to have shewn herself more zealous for your interest: and in the particular instance you mention, she might have acted with greater care and caution. This, however, is but a slight grievance amongst others which I far more severely feel and lament. They have the effect upon me, indeed, which those persons undoubtedly wished⁹, who compelled me into measures utterly opposite to my own sentiments. Farewel.

December the 31st.

LETTER

⁹ The commentators are divided in their opinions concerning the persons to whom Cicero here alludes: as they are likewise as to the year when this letter was written. There are two periods, indeed, of Cicero's life, with which this epistle will equally coincide: the time when he was in banishment, and the time when he returned into Italy, after the defeat of Pompey. The opinion, however, of Victorius has been followed, in placing this letter under the present year: who supposes, not without probability, that the persons here meant are the same of whom Cicero complains in the 23d letter of this book.

M 2

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul^a.

LUCIUS MANLIUS SOSIS was formerly a citizen of Catina^b; but having afterwards obtained the freedom of Naples, he is at present one of the members of their council. He is likewise a citizen of Rome; having been admitted to that privilege with the rest of the Neapolitans, in consequence of the general grant which was made for that purpose to our allies and the inhabitants of Latium. He has lately succeeded to an estate at Catina, by the death of his brother: and is now in actual possession. But though I do not imagine that his right is likely to be controverted; yet, as he

^a He was governor of Sicily: which is all that is known of his history. The laborious and accurate Pighius places his administration of that island under the present year: and Mr. Ross assigns a very good reason for being of the same opinion. For it appears (as that gentleman observes) that Cicero's correspondence with Acilius was carried on when the latter was proconsul of Sicily, and during the time that Cæsar had the supreme authority. It is probable, therefore, that these letters were written in the present year; because in all the others that fall within that period, the persons who severally presided in Sicily are known to have been Posthumus Albinus, Aulus Allienus, and Titus Fursanius. See Mr. Ross's *rem. on the Epist. Famil. vol. 2. p. 502.*

^b A maritime city in Sicily, now called Catania. It continued to be a town of considerable note, till the eruptions of mount Ætna in 1669 and 1693, which almost entirely laid it in ruins.

he has other affairs of consequence in Sicily, I recommend his concerns of every kind in that island to your protection. But I particularly recommend himself to you as a most worthy man; as one with whom I am intimately connected; and as a person who excels in those sciences I principally admire. Whether therefore he shall think proper to return into Sicily or not, I desire you would consider him as my very particular friend: and that you would treat him in such a manner as to convince him that this letter proved greatly to his advantage. Farewel.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 706.]

To TERENCE.

TULLIA arrived here¹ on the 12th of this month². It extremely affected me to see a woman of her singular and amiable virtues reduced (and reduced too by my own negligence) to a situation far other than is agreeable to her rank and filial piety³.

I have

¹ Brundisium; where Cicero was still waiting for Cæsar's arrival from Egypt.

² June.

³ Dolabella was greatly embarrassed in his affairs: and it seems by this passage as if he had not allowed Tullia a maintenance, during his absence abroad, sufficient to support her

I have some thoughts of sending my son, accompanied by Sallustius, with a letter to Cæsar: and if I should execute this design, I will let you know when he sets out. In the mean time be careful of your health I conjure you. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

I HAD determined, agreeably to what I mentioned in my former, to send my son to meet Cæsar on his return to Italy. But I have since altered my resolution: as I hear no news of his arrival. For the rest I refer you to Sicca, who will inform you what measures I think necessary to be taken: though I must add, that nothing new has occurred since I wrote last. Tullia is still with me.—Adieu, and take all possible care of your health.

June the 20th.

LETTER

rank and dignity. The negligence with which Cicero reproaches himself, probably relates to his not having secured a proper settlement on his daughter, when he made the second payment of her fortune to Dolabella. For in a letter written to Atticus about this time, he expressly condemns himself for having acted imprudently in that affair. *In pensione secunda*, says he, *cæci fuimus*. *Ad Att.* xi. 19.

4 In order to supplicate Cæsar's pardon, for having engaged against him on the side of Pompey.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

CAIUS FLAVIUS, an illustrious Roman knight, of an honourable family, is one with whom I live in great intimacy: he was a very particular friend likewise of my son-in-law Piso. Both he and his brother Lucius shew me the strongest instances of their regard. I shall receive it, therefore, as an honour done to myself, if you will treat Caius with all the marks of favour and distinction that shall be consistent with your character and dignity: and be assured you cannot, in any article, more effectually oblige me, than by complying with this request. I will add, that the rank which he bears in the world, the credit in which he stands with those of his own order, together with his polite and grateful disposition, will afford you reason to be extremely well satisfied with the good offices you shall confer upon him. When I say this, believe me, I am not prompted by any interested motives, but speak the sincere dictates of truth and friendship. Farewel.

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LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TERENTIA.

I WROTE to Atticus (somewhat later indeed than I ought) concerning the affair you mention. When you talk to him upon that head, he will inform you of my inclinations: and I need not be more explicit here, after having written so fully to him⁵. Let me know as soon as possible what steps are taken in that business: and acquaint me at the same time with every thing else which concerns me. I have only to add my request, that you would be careful of your health. Farewel.

July the 9th.

LETTER

⁵ Mr. Ross supposes that the letter to which Cicero refers, is the 19th of the 11th book to Atticus. If this conjecture be right (as it is highly probable) the business hinted at concerned the making of Terentia's will, and also the raising of money towards the support of Tullia, by the sale of some plate and furniture. *Ad Att.* xi. 19. 20.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

IN answer to what you object concerning the divorce I mentioned in my last⁶, I can only say, that I am perfectly ignorant what power Dolabella may at this time possess, or what ferments there may be among the populace⁷. However, if you think there is any thing to be apprehended from his resentment, let the mat-

ter
⁶ Between Tullia and Dolabella. The occasion of this divorce is so darkly hinted at in the letters to Atticus, that it is altogether impossible to penetrate into the reasons that produced it: one, however, seems to have arisen from an intrigue that was carrying on between Dolabella and Metella. This lady was wife to Lentulus Spinther (to whom several letters in the first and second book of this collection are addressed) and is supposed to be the same person whom Horace mentions to have had a commerce of gallantry with the son of the celebrated tragedian Æsopus. See rem. 6. p. 119. vol. i. *Ad Att.* xi. 20.

⁷ Dolabella was at this time tribune of the people, and employing the power and credit with which he was invested by that office, to the most seditious purposes. Among other attempts, he endeavoured to procure a law for the general cancelling of all debts, and likewise to oblige the proprietors of houses in Rome, to remit one year's rent to their respective tenants. The disturbances ran so high, that the senate was under a necessity of suffering Antony to enter Rome with a body of troops, and no less than 800 citizens lost their lives upon this occasion. But nothing proved effectual for quieting these commotions, till it was known that Cæsar, after having finished the war in Egypt, was actually upon his return into Italy. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Dio. xlii. Liv. Epit.* 113.

ter rest: and, perhaps, the first proposal may come from himself^a. Nevertheless, I leave you to act as you shall judge proper; not doubting that you will take such measures in this most unfortunate affair, as shall appear to be attended with the fewest unhappy consequences. Farewell.

July the 10th.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

MARCUS and Caius Clodius, together with Archagathus and Philo, all of them inhabitants of the noble and elegant city of Halesa, are persons with whom I am united by every tie of friendship and hospitality. But I am afraid if I recommend so many at once to your particular favour, you will be apt to suspect that I write merely from some motive of an interested kind: though, indeed, both myself and my friends have reason to be abundantly satisfied with the regard you always pay to my letters of this nature. Let me assure you then, that both Archagathus and Philo, as also the whole family of the

^a The passage in the original is extremely corrupt. The translator has adopted the reading proposed by Mr. Ross: *sed si metuendus iratus est: quiesce: tum ab illo fortasse nascetur.*

the Clodii, have, by a long series of affectionate offices, a right to my best assistance. I very earnestly entreat you, therefore, as an obligation that will be highly agreeable to me, that you would promote their interest upon all occasions, as far as the honour and dignity of your character shall permit. Farewell.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 706.]

To CASSIUS.

It was the hope that peace would be restored to our country, and the abhorrence of spilling the blood of our fellow-citizens, that equally induced both you and myself to decline an obstinate perseverance in the civil war^a. But though these sentiments were common to us both,

^a Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, crossed the Hellespont in pursuit of Pompey. Cassius, who was at the same time sailing in those streights with a very considerable fleet, might with great ease have destroyed him; as Cæsar was in no condition to have resisted so powerful an armament. But Cassius chose to act a most unworthy and treacherous part, by deserting with his whole fleet to the conqueror. Some of the historians account for this conduct, by assuring us that he was struck with a kind of panic at the amazing fortune of Cæsar, which rendered him incapable of making any farther resistance. Whereas it appears, by the present letter, to have been in consequence of a very extraordinary resolution he had formed in concert with Cicero, of resting the cause of liberty, for so they called it, upon a single engagement. *Suet. in Jul. 63. Appian, B. C. 483.*

both, yet, as I am considered as having been the first to inspire you with them, it is more my part, perhaps, to render you satisfied with having adopted them, than it is yours to perform the same friendly office towards me. But to say the truth, (and it is a circumstance upon which I frequently reflect) we mutually convinced each other in the free conversations we held upon this subject, that a single battle, if it should not wholly determine our cause, ought to be the limits, however, of our particular opposition. And these sentiments have never seriously been condemned by any, but by those alone who think it more eligible that our constitution should be totally destroyed, than in any degree impaired. But my opinion was far otherwise: for I had no views to gratify by its extinction, and had much to hope from its remains. As to the consequences which have since ensued; they lay far beyond the reach of human discernment; and the wonder is, not so much how they escaped our penetration, as how it was possible they should have happened. I must confess my own opinion always was, that the battle of Pharsalia would be decisive: and I imagined that the victors would act with a regard to the common preservation of all, and the vanquished to their own. But both the one and the other,

I was

I was well aware, depended on the expedition with which the conquerors should pursue their success. And had they pursued it immediately, those who have since carried the war into Africa^b, would have experienced (and experienced too, if I do not flatter myself, by my intercession) the same clemency with which the rest of our party have been treated, who retired into Asia and Achaia. But the critical opportunity (that season so important in all transactions, and especially in a civil war) was unhappily lost: and a whole year intervening, it raised the spirits of some of our party to hope they might recover the victory; and rendered others so desperate as not to dread the reverse. Fortune, however, must be answerable for the whole train of evils which this delay has produced. For who would have imagined either that the Alexandrine war could have been drawn out to so great a length, or that the paltry Pharnaces could have struck such a terror throughout Asia?

But

^b See rem. 3. p. 154. of this vol.

^c Pharnaces was son of the famous Mithridates, king of Pontus. [See rem. 2. p. 2. vol. 1.] This young prince, taking advantage of Caesar's being engaged in the Alexandrine war, made an incursion into Cappadocia and the Lesser Armenia; the dominions of Deiotarus, a tributary king to the Romans. Domitius Calvinus, whom Caesar had appointed to command in Asia and the neighbouring provinces, having received notice of this invasion, marched immediately to the assistance of Deiotarus. The two armies came to an engagement,

But though we both acted by the same measures, our present situations, however, are extremely different. The scheme which you thought proper to execute, has given you admission into Cæsar's councils, and opened a prospect to you of his future purposes: an advantage, most certainly, that must spare you all the uneasiness which attends a state of doubt and suspense. Whereas, for myself, as I imagined that Cæsar would immediately after the battle of Pharsalia have returned into Italy, I hastened hither in order to encourage and improve that pacific disposition which he had discovered, by his generosity to so many of his illustrious enemies: by which means, I have ever since been separated from him by an immense distance. Here, in truth, I sit the sad witness of those complaints^d that are poured forth

ment, in which Pharnaces had the superiority. Calvinus, at the same time, being called away by Cæsar, who had occasion for those troops to complete the conquest of Alexandria, Pharnaces took that opportunity of entering Pontus, which he seized as his hereditary dominions, and where he committed great cruelties and devastation. This letter seems to have been written soon after the transaction above related, and probably while Cæsar himself was on the march in order to chastise the insolence of Pharnaces. It was in giving an account of this expedition, that Cæsar made use of that celebrated expression in a letter to one of his friends, *Veni, vidi, vici.* *Hirt. Bel. Alexand. 31. Plut. in vit. Cæsar.*

^d Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, sent Mark Antony into Italy as his master of the horse: an office, in the absence of the dictator, of supreme authority in the commonwealth

forth in Rome, and throughout all Italy: complaints which both you and I, according to our respective powers, might contribute somewhat to remove, if Cæsar were present to support us.

I entreat you, then, to communicate to me, agreeably to your wonted friendship, all that you observe and think concerning the present state of affairs: in a word, that you would inform me what we are to expect, and how you would advise me to act. Be assured I shall lay great stress upon your sentiments, and had I wisely followed those you gave me in your first letter from Luceria^e, I might, without difficulty, have still preserved my dignities. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

THERE is no man of the same rank as Otacilius Naso, with whom I more intimately converse: as, indeed, the polite and virtuous cast of

wealth: but Antony abused the power with which he was thus invested; and taking advantage of the disturbances mentioned in rem. 7. p. 169. of this vol. turned them to his private purposes, by enriching himself with the spoils of his fellow citizens. This seems to have been the occasion of those general complaints to which Cicero here alludes. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Cic. Phil. ii. 24, 25.*

^e Now called Lucera, a city of Italy, situated in the Capitanata, a part of the ancient Apulia.

of his mind, renders my daily intercourse with him extremely pleasing to me. After having thus acquainted you with the terms upon which we live together, I need add nothing further to recommend him to your good opinion. He has some affairs in your province which he has entrusted to the management of his freedmen Hilarus, Antigonus, and Demostratus: these, therefore, together with all the concerns of Naso, I beseech you to receive under your protection. I ask this with the same warmth as if I were personally interested; and be assured, I shall think myself highly obliged, if I should find that this letter shall have had great weight with you. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TERENTIA.

I HAVE not yet heard any news either of Cæsar's arrival, or of his letter which Philotimus, I was informed, had in charge to deliver to me. But be assured, you shall immediately receive the first certain intelligence I shall be able to send you. Take care of your health. Adieu.

August the 11th.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIX.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

I HAVE at last received a letter from Cæsar, and written in no unfavourable terms⁹. It is now said that he will be in Italy much sooner than was expected. I have not yet resolved whether to wait for him here, or to meet him on his way; but, as soon as I shall have determined that point, I will let you know.

I beg you would immediately send back this messenger; and let me conjure you, at the same time, to take all possible care of your health. Farewel.

August the 12th.

⁹ This letter is not extant, but Cicero mentions the purport of it in one of his orations; by which it appears, that Cæsar therein assured our author, that he would preserve to him his former state and dignities. *Pro Ligar.* 3.

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LETTER XL.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

I HAVE been an old and hereditary guest^a, at the house of Lyso, of Lilybæum^b, ever since the time of his grandfather, and he accordingly distinguishes me with singular marks of his respect; as, indeed, I have found him to be worthy of that illustrious ancestry from which he descends. For this reason, I very strenuously recommend both himself and his family to your good offices, and entreat you to let him see that my recommendation has proved much to his honour and advantage. Farewel.

LETTER

^a Cicero was proquestor of Sicily, in the year of Rome 678; and he afterwards visited that island in order to furnish himself with evidence against Verres, the late governor, whom he had undertaken to impeach for his oppressive and cruel administration of that province. It was probably upon these occasions that he had been entertained at the house of Lyso, as well as of several others whom he recommends in his letters to Acilius, as persons to whom he was indebted for the rites of hospitality.

^b A sea-port town in Sicily, now called Marsala.

LETTER XLI.

[A. U. 706.]

To TERENTIA.

I AM in daily expectation of my couriers, whose return will, perhaps, render me less doubtful what course to pursue¹. As soon as they shall arrive, I will give you immediate notice. Meanwhile be careful of your health. Farewel.

September the 1st.

LETTER XLII.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

I PURPOSE to be at my Tusculan villa about the 7th or 8th of this month². I beg that every thing may be ready for my reception, as I shall, perhaps, bring several friends with me; and I may

¹ Whether to wait at Brundisium the arrival of Cæsar, or to set out in order to meet him.

² "Cicero continued at Brundisium till Cæsar arrived in Italy, who came much sooner than was expected, and landed at Tarentum some time in September. They had an interview with each other, which ended much to the satisfaction of Cicero; who, intending to follow Cæsar towards Rome, wrote this letter to his wife, to prepare for his reception at his Tusculan villa." *Ross. Rem. on Cic. Epistles.*

may probably, too, continue there some time. If a vase is wanting in the bath, let it be supplied with one; and I desire you would, likewise, provide whatever else may be necessary for the health and entertainment of my guests. Farewel.

Venusia³, October the 1st.

LETTER XLIII.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

CAIUS AVIANUS PHILOXENUS is my old host. But, besides this connexion, he is, likewise, my particular friend; and it was in consequence of my good offices that Cæsar admitted him into the corporation of Novocomum. It was upon this occasion he assumed the family name of his friend Flaccus Avianus, whom I believe you know to be, likewise, extremely mine. I mention these circumstances as so many proofs that my recommendation of Philoxenus is not founded upon common motives. I entreat you, then, to receive him into the number of your friends; to assist him in every instance that shall not break in upon your own convenience; and, in a word, to let him see that

³ Now called Venosa, a town in the kingdom of Naples, situated at the foot of the Appennine mountains.

that this letter proved of singular service to him. Your compliance with this request will be obliging me in the most sensible manner. Farewel.

LETTER XLIV.

[A. U. 706.]

To TREBONIUS⁴.

I READ your letter, but particularly the treatise that attended it⁵, with great pleasure. It was a pleasure, nevertheless, not without its alloy; as I could not but regret that you should leave us at a time when you had thus inflamed my heart, I do not say with a stronger affection, (for that could admit of no increase) but with

⁴ He was tribune in the year of Rome 693, at which time he distinguished himself by being the principal promoter of those unconstitutional grants that were made by the people to Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, for the enlargement of their power and dignities. After the expiration of his tribunate, he went into Gaul, in quality of Cæsar's lieutenant; and, on the breaking out of the civil war, he was honoured by Cæsar with the command at the siege of Marseilles. In the year before the date of this letter, he was elected to the office of prætor, in which he discovered great spirit and judgment in opposing the factious measures of his colleague, the turbulent Cælius; of whose attempts, mention has been made in note 6. p. 145. of this vol. In the present year, he was appointed proconsul of Spain; to which province he was either just setting out, or actually upon the road, when this letter was written. *Dio. xxxix. p. 105. Cæsar de Bel. Civil. i. 36. iii. 20. Hirt. de Bel. Afric. 64.* For a farther account of Trebonius, see rem. 6. below, and rem. 8. p. 99. vol. iii.

⁵ A collection of Cicero's *Bons Mots*.

with a more ardent desire of enjoying your company. My single consolation arises from the hope that we shall endeavour to alleviate the pain of this absence by a mutual exchange of long and frequent letters. Whilst I promise this on my part, I assure myself of the same on yours; as, indeed, you have left me no room to doubt, how highly I stand in your regard. Need I mention those public instances I formerly received of your friendship, when you shewed the world that you considered my enemies as your own; when you stood forth, my generous advocate, in the assemblies of the people; when you acted with that spirit which the consuls ought to have shewn, in maintaining the cause of liberty, by supporting mine; and, though only a quæstor, yet refused to submit to the superior authority of a tribune, whilst your colleague, at the same time, meanly yielded to his measures⁶? Need I mention (what I shall

⁶ Trebonius was quæstor in the year of Rome 693, when Lucius Afranius and Quintus Metellus Celer were consuls. It was at this time that Clodius (desirous of obtaining the tribunate in order to oppress Cicero with the weight of that powerful magistracy) made his first effort to obtain a law for ratifying his adoption into a plebeian family; none but plebeians being entitled to exercise that office. The tribune, to whom Cicero here alludes, is Herennius, whom Clodius had prevailed upon to propose this law to the people, and whose indigence and principles qualified him for undertaking any work for any man that would give him his price. Both the consuls were, likewise, favourers of this law, when it was first

shall always, however, most gratefully remember) the more recent instances of your regard to me, in the solicitude you expressed for my safety when I engaged in the late war; in the joy you shewed when I returned into Italy⁷; in your friendly participation of all those cares and disquietudes with which I was at that time oppressed⁸; and, in a word, in your kind intent of visiting me at Brundisium⁹, if you had not been suddenly ordered into Spain? To omit, I say, these various and inestimable proofs of your friendship; is not the treatise you have now sent me, a most conspicuous evidence of the share I enjoy in your heart? It is so, indeed, in a double view; and, not only as you are so partial as to be the constant, and, perhaps, single, admirer of my wit, but as you have placed it, likewise, in so advantageous a light, as to render it, whatever it may be in itself, extremely agreeable. The truth of it is, your manner of relating my pleasantries, is not less humorous than the conceits

you

first proposed; but Metellus, when he discovered the factious designs which Clodius had in view, thought proper, afterwards, most strongly to oppose it. The colleague of Trebonius, in the quæstorship, was Quintus Cæcilius Nepos; of whose particular enmity to Cicero, an account has been given in rem. 8. on let. 2. of book i. and by Cicero himself in the third letter of the same book. *Ad Att. i. 18, 19. Dio. xxxvii. p. 53. Pigh. Annal. 693.*

⁷ After the battle of Pharsalia.

⁸ See rem. 3. p. 154. of this vol.

⁹ When he was waiting the arrival of Cæsar.

you celebrate, and half the reader's mirth is exhausted ere he arrives at my joke. In short, if I had no other obligation to you for making this collection, than your having suffered me to be so long present to your thoughts, I should be utterly insensible if it were not to impress upon me the most affectionate sentiments. When I consider, indeed, that nothing but the warmest attachment could have engaged you in such a work, I cannot suppose any man to have a greater regard for himself, than you have thus discovered for me. I wish it may be in my power to make you as ample a return in every other instance, as I most certainly do in the affection of my heart; a return, with which I trust, however, you will be perfectly well satisfied.

But to return from your performance, to your very agreeable letter: full as it was, I may yet answer it in few words. Let me assure you, then, in the first place, that I no more imagined the letter which I sent to Calvus¹⁰ would be made

public,

¹⁰ A very celebrated orator; who, though not much above thirty when he died, (which was a short time before this letter was written) yet left behind him a large collection of orations: he was concerned with Cicero in most of the principal causes that came into the forum during the short time in which he flourished. The letter here mentioned was probably part of a correspondence carried on between Cicero and Calvus, on the subject of eloquence; the whole of which was extant long after the death of our author, though none of these epistles have reached our times. *Quinct. Inst. x. 1. Auct. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. 18. 21.*

public, than I suspect that this will; and you are sensible that a letter designed to go no farther than the hand to which it is addressed, is written in a very different manner from one intended for general inspection. But you think, it seems, that I have spoken in higher terms of his abilities, than truth will justify. It was my real opinion, however, that he possessed a great genius, and, notwithstanding that he misapplied it by a wrong choice of that particular species of eloquence which he adopted, yet he certainly discovered great judgment in his execution. In a word, his compositions were marked with a vein of uncommon erudition; but they wanted a certain strength and spirit of colouring to render them perfectly finished. It was the attainment, therefore, of this quality that I endeavoured to recommend to his pursuit; and the seasoning of advice with applause, has a wonderful efficacy in firing the genius and animating the efforts of those one wishes to persuade". This was the true motive

of
"It is but allowing a man to be what he would have the world think him, (says Sir Richard Steele) to make him any thing else that one pleases." This judicious piece of flattery, however, deserves to be highly applauded in the present instance, as it proceeded entirely from a desire of benefiting the person on whom it was employed. — But what renders it more remarkably generous is, that Calvus contested, though very unequally indeed, the palm of eloquence with Cicero. Yet the latter, we see, generously endeavoured to correct the taste of his rival, and improve

of the praises I bestowed upon Calvus, of whose talents I really had a very high opinion.

I have only farther to assure you, that my affectionate wishes attend you in your journey; that I shall impatiently expect your return; that I shall faithfully preserve you in my remembrance; and that I shall soothe the uneasiness of your absence, by keeping up this epistolary commerce. Let me entreat you to reflect, on your part, on the many and great good offices I have received at your hands; and which, though *you* may forget, I never can, without being guilty of a most unpardonable ingratitude. It is impossible, indeed, you should reflect on the obligations you have conferred upon me, without believing, not only that I have some merit, but that I think of you with the highest esteem and affection. Farewel.

LETTER

improve him into a less inadequate competitor. For Cicero was too conscious of his sublime abilities, to be infected with that low jealousy so visible in wits of an inferior rank, who seem to think they can only rise in fame in proportion as they shall be able to sink the merit of contemporary geniuses. *Senec. Controvers. iii. 19.*

LETTER XLV.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

I HAVE long had obligations to Demetrius Magus, for the generous reception he gave me when I was in Sicily^a: indeed there is none of his countrymen with whom I ever entered into so strong a friendship. At my particular instances, Dolabella prevailed with Cæsar to grant him the freedom of Rome, and I assisted at the ceremony of his admission: accordingly he now takes upon himself the name of Publius Cornelius. The ill use which some men, of a mean and avaricious turn, had made of Cæsar's confidence, by exposing privileges of this kind to sale, induced him to make a general revocation of these grants. However, he assured Dolabella, in my presence, that he had no reason to be under any apprehension with respect to Magus; for his benefaction, he said, should still remain to him in its full force. I thought proper to mention this, that you might treat him with the consideration which is due to a Roman citizen; and it is with the utmost zeal that I recommend him to your favour in all other respects. You cannot, indeed, confer upon

^a See rem. ^a, p. 178. of this vol.

upon me an higher obligation, than by convincing my friend that this letter procured him the honour of your peculiar regard.—
Farewel.

LETTER XLVI.

[A. U. 706.]

To SEXTILIUS RUFUS¹, Quæstor.

I RECOMMEND all the Cyprians in general to your protection, but particularly those belonging to the district of Paphos²: and I shall hold myself obliged to you for any instance of your favour that you shall think proper to shew them. It is with the more willingness I apply to you in their behalf, as it much imports your character (in which I greatly interest myself) that you, who are the first quæstor that ever held the government of Cyprus³, should form such ordinances as may deserve to be followed as so many precedents by your successors. It will contribute, I hope, to this end, if you shall pursue that edict which was published by your

¹ He was appointed governor of the island of Cyprus, as appears by the present letter. And this, together with his commanding the fleet under Cassius, in Asia, after the death of Cæsar, is the whole that is known of him.

² A city in the island of Cyprus.

³ Before this time it was always annexed (as Manutius observes) to the province of Cilicia.

your friend Lentulus⁴, together with those which were enacted likewise by myself⁵, as your adopting them will prove, I trust, much to your honour. Farewel.

LETTER XLVII.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

I STRONGLY recommend my friend and host, Hippias, to your good offices: he is a citizen of Calactina, and the son of Philoxenus. His estate (as the affair has been represented to me) has been illegally seized for the use of the public; and, if this should be the truth, your own equity, without any other recommendation, will sufficiently incline you to see that justice is done him. But, whatever the circumstances of his case may be, I request it as an honour to myself, and an honour too of the most obliging kind, that you would in this, and in every other article in which he is concerned, favour him with your assistance; so far, I mean, as shall not be inconsistent with the honour and dignity of your character. Farewel.

LETTER

⁴ Lentulus Spinther, to whom several letters in the first and second books of this collection are addressed. See rem. i. p. 50. vol. 1.

⁵ Cicero succeeded Appius in the government of Cilicia.

LETTER XLVIII.

[A. U. 706.]

To the same.

LUCIUS BRUTTIUS, a young man of equestrian rank, is in the number of those with whom I am most particularly intimate: there has been a great friendship, likewise, between his father and myself, ever since I was quæstor in Sicily. He distinguishes me by peculiar marks of his observance, and is adorned with every valuable accomplishment. He is at present my guest; but I most earnestly recommend his family, his affairs, and his agents, to your protection. You will confer upon me a most acceptable obligation, by giving him reason to find (as, indeed, I have ventured to assure him he undoubtedly will) that this letter proved much to his advantage. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XLIX.

[A. U. 706.]

TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PÆTUS^b.

Is it true, my friend, that you look upon yourself as having been guilty of a most ridiculous piece of folly, in attempting to imitate the thunder, as you call it, of my eloquence?—With reason, indeed, you might have thought so, had you failed in your attempt: but, since you have excelled the model you had in view, the disgrace surely is on my side, not on yours. The verse, therefore, which you apply to yourself, from one of Trabea's^c comedies, may with much more justice be turned upon me, as my own eloquence falls far short of that perfection at which I aim. But tell me what sort of figure do my letters make? are they not written, think you, in the true familiar? They do not constantly, however, preserve one uniform manner, as this species of composition bears no resemblance to that of the oratorical kind; though, indeed, in judicial matters, we vary our style according to the nature of the causes in which we are engaged. Those, for example,

^b See vol. ii. p. 15. rem. 1.^c The time when this poet flourished is uncertain. His dramatic writings seem to have been in great repute, as Cicero frequently quotes them in his Tusculan Disputations.

ple, in which private interests of little moment are concerned, we treat with a suitable simplicity of diction; but where the reputation or the life of our client is in question, we rise into greater pomp and dignity of phrase. But, whatever may be the subject of my letters, they still speak the language of conversation.

How came you to imagine that all your family have been plebeians, when it is certain that many of them were patricians, of the lower order^d? To begin with the first in this catalogue, I will instance Lucius Papirius Magillanus; who, in the year of Rome 312, was censor with Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, as he before had been his colleague in the consulate. At this time your family name was Papirius. After him there were thirteen of your ancestors who were curule magistrates^e, before Lucius Papirius Crassus, who was the first of your family that changed the name of Papirius.

^d The Patrician families were distinguished into the higher and the lower order. Of the former sort were those who derived their pedigree from the two hundred senators that composed the senate, as it was originally established by Romulus: of the latter, were the descendants of the members which, above a century afterwards, were added to this celebrated council, by Tarquinius Priscus. *Rosin. Antiquit. Rom. p. 687.*

^e The curule magistrates were those particular officers of the state who had the privilege of being drawn in a car.—These were the consuls, the censors, the prætors, and curule ædiles.

sus. This Papirius, in the year 315, being chosen dictator, appointed Lucius Papirius Castor to be his master of the horse, and four years afterwards he was elected consul, together with Caius Duilius. Next in this list appears Cursor, a man highly honoured in his generation; and after him we find Lucius Masso, the ædile, together with several others of the same appellation: and I could wish that you had the portraits of all these patricians among your family-pictures. The Carbones and the Turdi follow next. This branch of your family were all of them plebeians, and they by no means reflect any honour upon your race. For, excepting Caius Carbo, who was murdered by Damaspus, there is not one of his name who was not an enemy to his country. There was another Caius, whom I personally knew, as well as the buffoon, his brother: they were both of them men of the most worthless characters. As to the son of Rubria, he was my friend; for which reason I shall pass him over in silence, and only mention his three brothers, Caius, Cneius, and Marcus. Marcus, having committed numberless acts of violence and oppression in Sicily, was prosecuted for those crimes by Publius Flaccus, and found guilty: Caius being, likewise, impeached by Lucius Crassus, is said to have poisoned himself with cantharides. He was

the author of great disturbances, during the time that he exercised the office of tribune, and is supposed to have been concerned in the murder of Scipio Africanus. As to Cneius, who was put to death by my friend Pompey, at Lilybæum, there never existed, I believe, a more infamous character. It is generally imagined that the father of this man, in order to avoid the consequences of a prosecution which was commenced against him by Marcus Antonius, put an end to his life by a draught of vitriol. Thus, my friend, I would advise you to claim your kindred among the patricians; for you see the plebeian part of your family were but a worthless and seditious race. Farewel.

LETTER

^f This Cneius Papirius Carbo was three times consul; the last of which was in the year of Rome 671. Having exercised his power in a most oppressive and tyrannical manner, he was deposed, to the great satisfaction of the republic, by Sylla, who was immediately declared dictator. Carbo soon afterwards appeared, with a considerable fleet, upon the coast of Sicily; and being taken prisoner by Pompey, whom Sylla had sent in pursuit of him, he was formally arraigned before the tribunal of Pompey, and publicly executed by his orders at Lilybæum. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

^g It may be proper to apprise the reader, in this place, that there is one epistle from Cicero to Pætus, which is omitted in this translation. Cicero takes occasion, in this rejected letter, to explain to his friend the notion of the stoics concerning obscenity; and, in order to illustrate their absurd reasoning upon this subject, he introduces a great variety of *double entendres*, which, as they turn upon ambiguities that hold only in the Latin language, it is utterly impossible to translate. But, had they been reconcileable to

our

LETTER L.

[A. U. 706.]

To ACILIUS, Proconsul.

I HAVE long had a friendship with the family of the Titurnii; the last surviving branch of which is Marcus Titurnius Rufus. He has a claim, therefore, to my best good offices, and it is in your power to render them effectual. Accordingly I recommend him to your favour, in all the most unfeigned warmth of my heart; and you will extremely oblige me by giving him strong proofs of the regard you pay to my recommendation. Farewel.

LETTER

our idiom, the translator would nevertheless have declined the office of being their interpreter; as he would not have deprived himself of the satisfaction to think that there is nothing in these volumes unfit for the perusal of the fair part of his readers. *Vid. Epist. Famil. ix. 22.*

O 2

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK VIII.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS¹.

WHENEVER I reflect, as, indeed, I frequently do, on those public calamities we have thus long endured, and are still likely to endure, it always brings to my thoughts the last interview we had together. It made so strong an impression

¹ See rem. 2. p. 116. vol. 1.

pression upon my mind, that I can name the very day; and I perfectly well remember it was on the 10th of May, in the consulate of Lentulus and Marcellus², that, upon my arrival at my Pompeian villa³, I found you waiting for me with the most friendly solicitude. Your generous concern arose from a tenderness both for my honour and my safety; as the former, you feared, would be endangered if I continued in Italy; and the latter, if I went to Pompey. I was myself, likewise, as you undoubtedly perceived, so greatly perplexed, as to be incapable of determining which of these measures was most advisable. However, I resolved to sacrifice all considerations of personal safety to the dictates of my honour, and accordingly I joined Pompey in Greece. But I no sooner arrived in his army, than I had occasion to repent of my resolution; not so much from the danger to which I was myself exposed, as from the many capital faults I discovered among them. In the first place, Pompey's forces were neither very considerable in point of numbers⁴, nor by any means

² An. Urb. 704 about two years before the date of this letter, which was probably written very early in the present year.

³ "This villa of Cicero was situated near Pompeii, upon the eastern coast of the bay of Naples, and at no great distance from the villa of Marius." Mr. Ross.

⁴ Pompey's army, at the battle of Pharsalia, was more than

means composed of warlike troops: and, in the next place, (I speak, however, with exception of Pompey himself, and a few others of the principal leaders) they carried on the war with such a spirit of rapaciousness, and breathed such principles of cruelty in their conversation, that I could not think even upon our success without horror. To this I must add, that some of the most considerable officers were deeply involved in debt; and, in short, there was nothing good among them but their cause. Thus despairing of success, I advised (what, indeed, I had always recommended) that proposals of accommodation should be offered to Cæsar; and when I found Pompey utterly averse to all measures of that kind, I endeavoured to persuade him, at least, to avoid a general engagement. This last advice he seemed sometimes inclined to follow; and, probably, would have followed, if a slight advantage, which he soon afterwards gained⁴, had not given him a confidence in his troops. From that moment, all

the
than double in number to that of Cæsar, whose forces amounted only to about 22,000 men. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

⁴ Before the walls of Dyrrachium. Notwithstanding Cicero speaks with some sort of contempt of this advantage which Pompey gained over the troops of Cæsar; yet it appears to have been very considerable. It was thought so at least by Cæsar himself, who observed to some of his friends, after the action was over, that the enemy would have obtained a complete victory, had they been commanded by a general that knew how to conquer. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

the skill and conduct of this great man seems to have utterly forsaken him: and he acted so little like a general, that, with a raw and inexperienced army, he imprudently gave battle⁵ to the most brave and martial legions. The consequence was, that he suffered a most shameful defeat; and, abandoning his camp to Cæsar, he was obliged to run away, unaccompanied even with a single attendant⁶. This event determined me to lay down my arms; being persuaded

⁵ In the plains of Pharsalia. The principal officers of Pompey's army were so elated by their late success before Dyrrachium, that they pursued Cæsar as to certain conquest; and, instead of concerting measures for securing their victory, were employed in warmly contesting among themselves their several proportions of the spoils. Pompey was not less confident of success than the rest; and he had the imprudence to declare, in a council of war, which was holden a few days before this important battle, that he did not doubt of entirely defeating Cæsar by the single strength of his cavalry, and without engaging his legions in the action. *Cæs. de Bel. Civ. iii. 83. 86.*

It is very observable, that the day on which this memorable battle was fought, is no where recorded, and that it was not known even in Lucan's time:

*Tempora signavit leviorum Roma malorum,
Hunc voluit nescire diem.* LUC. vii. 410.

⁶ Plutarch resembles Pompey's flight to that of Ajax before Hector, as described in the 11th Iliad:

*Zeus δὲ πατήρ Αἰάνθ' ὑψιζόγῳς ἐν φόνῳ ὤρε·
Στῆ δὲ ταφάν, &c.*

—Partial Jove, espousing Hector's part,
Shot heav'n-bred horror thro' the Grecian's heart;
Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's presence grown,
Amaz'd he stood, with horrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
And, glaring round, by tardy steps withdrew. POPE.

In

suaded that, if we could not prevail with our united forces, we should scarce have better success when they were broken and dispersed. I declined, therefore, to engage any farther in a war, the result of which must necessarily be attended with one or other of the following unhappy consequences: either to perish in the field of battle, to be taken prisoner by the conquerors, to be sacrificed by treachery⁷, to have recourse to Juba⁸, to live in a sort of voluntary

In fact, however, it was attended with all the circumstances of disgrace which Cicero mentions. Pompey, after various deliberations, resolved to take shelter in Egypt, where he had reason to hope for a protector in Ptolemy, whose father he had formerly assisted in recovering his dominions. [See vol. i. p. 51. rem. 2.] But Theodotus, a sort of tutor to this young prince, not thinking it prudent either to receive Pompey, or to refuse him admittance, proposed, as the best policy, that he should be destroyed. Accordingly the persons who were sent to conduct him from his ship had directions to be his executioners; which they performed, by stabbing him, as he was stepping out of the boat, in order to land.—These assassins, having severed Pompey's head, left his body on the shore, where it was burnt with the planks of an old fishing-boat, by a faithful freedman, who had been the unhappy spectator of this affecting tragedy: Pompey's ashes were afterwards conveyed to his wife Cornelia, who deposited them in a family monument near his Alban villa. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

⁷ This seems to allude to the fate of Pompey.

⁸ He was a very considerable prince, whose dominions extended not only over that part of Africa which is now called the coast of Barbary, but southward beyond mount Atlas, and from the Streights mouth along the Atlantic ocean to the Canary islands. Upon the first breaking out of the civil war, he distinguished himself in supporting the Pompeian party, in Africa, against the army commanded by Curio, whom

voluntary exile, or to fall by one's own hand. Other choice most certainly there was none, if you would not, or durst not, trust to the clemency of the victor. Banishment, it must be owned, to a mind that had nothing to reproach itself with, would have been the most eligible of all these evils; especially under the reflection of being driven from a commonwealth, which presents nothing to our view but what we must behold with pain. Nevertheless, I chose to remain

whom he entirely defeated. [See rem. 1. on let. 1. B. iii.] Lucan has given a very poetical description of the several tributary nations which, upon this occasion, he led to battle:

*Autololes, Numidæque vagi, semperque paratus
Inculto Gætulus equo, &c.*

*With him unnumber'd nations march along,
Th' Autololes with wild Numidians throng;
The rough Gætulian, with his ruder steed;
The Moor, resembling India's swarthy breed:
Poor Nasamons, and Garamantines join'd,
With swift Marmaridans that match the wind;
The Marax bred the trembling dart to throw,
Sure as the shaft that leaves the Parthian bow;
With these Massylia's nimble horsemen ride;
They nor the bit, nor curbing rein provide,
But with light rods the well-taught courser guide.
From lonely cots the Lybian hunters came,
Who still unarm'd invade the salvage game,
And with spread mantles tawny lions tame.* ROWE.

After the battle of Pharsalia, Scipio, who commanded the remains of Pompey's army that had assembled in Africa, applied to Juba for assistance; who, accordingly, joined him with a very considerable body of men. But their united forces were not sufficient to withstand the fortune of Cæsar; who, having defeated their combined troops, Juba was too high spirited to survive the disgrace, and, at his own request, was stabbed by one of his attendants. *Lucan. iv. 670: Hirt. de Bell. Afric. 94.*

main with my own; if any thing now, indeed, can with propriety be called our *own*; a misfortune which, together with every other calamity that this fatal war has produced, I long since foretold. I returned, therefore, to Italy, not as to a situation perfectly desirable, but in order, if the republic should in any degree subsist, to enjoy somewhat that had, at least, the semblance of our country; and if it were utterly destroyed, to live as if I were, to all essential purposes, in a real state of exile. But, though I saw no reason that could justly induce me to be my own executioner, I saw many to be desirous of death. For it is an old and true maxim, that "life is not worth preserving, when a man is no longer what he once was." A blameless conscience, however, is undoubtedly a great consolation; especially as I can add to it the double support that arises to my mind, from a knowledge of the noblest sciences, and from the glory of my former actions; one of which can never be torn from me so long as I live; and of the other, even death itself has not the power to deprive me.

I have troubled you with this minute detail, from a full persuasion of the tender regard you bear both to myself and to our country. I was desirous, indeed, to apprise you fully of the principles by which I have steered, that you might

might be sensible it was my first and principal aim, that no single arm should be more potent than the whole united commonwealth; and, afterwards, when there was one, who by Pompey's mistaken conduct, had so firmly established his power as to render all resistance vain; that it was my next endeavour to preserve the public tranquillity. I was desirous you should know that, after the loss of those troops, and that general⁹ wherein all our hopes were centered, I attempted to procure a total cessation of arms; and when this advice proved ineffectual, that I determined, at least, to lay down my own. In a word, I was desirous you should know, that if our liberties still remain, I also am still a citizen of the republic; if not, that I am no less an exile, nor more conveniently situated, than if I had banished myself to Rhodes or Mitylene¹⁰.

I should

⁹ Pompey.

¹⁰ Rhodes, the metropolis of an island in the Mediterranean, and Mitylene, the principal city of Lesbos, an island in the Ægean sea, where places to which Marcellus and some others of the Pompeian party retired after the battle of Pharsalia. These cities were esteemed by the ancients for the delightful temperature of their respective climates, and for many other delicacies with which they abounded; and, accordingly, Horace, in his ode to Plancus, mentions them in the number of those which were most admired and celebrated by his countrymen:

Laudabunt alii claram Rhoden, aut Mitylenen, &c.

Both Vitruvius and Cicero, likewise, speak of Mitylene in particular, with the highest encomiums on the elegance, beauty, and magnificence of its buildings. It should seem, therefore, that

I should have been glad to have said this to you in person; but, as I was not likely to meet with an opportunity for that purpose so soon as I wished, I thought proper to take this earlier method of furnishing you with an answer, if you should fall in the way of those who are disposed to arraign my conduct. For, notwithstanding that my death could in no sort have availed the republic, yet I stand condemned, it seems, by some, for not sacrificing my life in its cause. But they are those only, I am well assured, who have the cruelty to think, that there has not been blood enough spilt already. If my advice, however, had been followed, those who have perished in this war, might have preserved their lives with honour, though they had accepted of peace upon ever so unreasonable conditions. For they would still have had the better cause, though their enemies had the stronger swords.

And now, perhaps, I have quite tired your patience;

that the text is corrupted in this place; and that, instead of *non incommodiore loco*, the true reading is *non commodiore*. Cicero, indeed, would make use of a very odd sort of justification, if we suppose him to have said that he had not chosen a more inconvenient place for his residence, than those who retired to Rhodes or Mitylene; whereas it was much to his purpose to assert, that the exiles in those cities were full as conveniently situated as himself. For the rest, it will appear in the progress of these letters, that Cicero was far from living at Rome as in a state of exile, during Caesar's usurpation. *Hor. Od. i. 7. Vitru. i. Cic. de Leg. Agr. ii. 16.*

patience; I shall think so, at least, if you do not send me a longer letter in return. I will only add, that if I can dispatch some affairs which I am desirous of finishing, I hope to be with you very shortly. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO CNEIUS PLANCIUS¹.

I AM indebted to you for two letters, dated from Corcyra. You congratulate me in one of them on the account you have received, that I still

¹ Cneius Plancius was of an equestrian family. He was early initiated into public affairs by Aulus Torquatus, whom he attended when he was proconsul in Africa. He afterwards served under Quintus Metellus, in his expedition against Crete; and, in the year of Cicero's banishment, was quæstor in Macedonia. This gave him an opportunity of distinguishing his friendship for our author, by the many good offices he exerted towards him as he passed through that province. Cicero very gratefully remembered them, as appears by his oration in defence of Plancius, when he was accused of illicit practices in obtaining the office of ædile. He seems, in the earlier part of his life, to have indulged himself in the prevailing vices of the fashionable world; but, upon the whole of his character, to have been a man of strict honour and integrity. Cicero particularly celebrates him for his filial piety, and that general esteem in which he lived with all his relations. At the time when this letter was written, he was in Corcyra, a little island in the Ionian sea, now called Corfu. It is probable he retreated thither, with some others of the Pompeian party, after the total overthrow of their army in the plains of Pharsalia. *Orat. pro. Planc.* 7, 11, 12.

I still preserve my former influence in the commonwealth, and wish me joy in the other, of my late marriage². With respect to the first, if to mean well to the interest of my country, and to approve that meaning to every friend of its liberties, may be considered as maintaining my influence, the account you have heard is certainly true. But if it consists in rendering those sentiments effectual to the public welfare, or, at least, in daring freely to support and enforce them; alas! my friend, I have not the least shadow of influence remaining. The fact is, it will be sufficient honour if I can have so much influence over myself as to bear with patience our present and impending calamities; a frame of mind not to be acquired without difficulty, when it is considered that the present war³ is such that if one party is successful, it will be attended with an infinite effusion of blood; and, if the other, with a total extinction of liberty. It affords me some consolation, however, under these dangers, to reflect, that I clearly foresaw them when I declared how greatly I dreaded our victory as well as our defeat;

I was

² See below note 5.³ Between Cæsar, and the remains of the Pompeian party under the command of Scipio, who had assembled a very considerable army in Africa. Cæsar set out upon this expedition towards the end of December, in the preceding year, about three or four months after his return from the Alexandrine war.

I was perfectly aware of the hazard to which our liberties would be exposed, by referring our political contentions to the decision of the sword. I knew, indeed, if that party should prevail which I joined, not from a passion for war, but merely with the hopes of facilitating an accommodation, what cruelties were to be expected from their pride, their avarice, and their revenge. On the contrary, should they be vanquished, I was sensible what numbers of the best and most illustrious of our fellow-citizens would inevitably perish. And yet, when I forewarned these men of our danger, and justly advised them to avoid it, instead of receiving my admonitions as the effect of a prudential caution, they chose to treat it as the dictates of an unreasonable timidity.

But to turn to your other letter; I am obliged to you for your good wishes in regard to my marriage⁵; as I am well persuaded that they are perfectly

⁵ Cicero had very lately divorced his wife Terentia, on occasion of some great offence she had given him in her economical conduct. The person to whom he was now married, was called Publia, a young lady to whom he had been guardian, and of an age extremely disproportionate to his own. His principal inducement to this match, seems to have been her fortune; which, it is said, was very considerable. However, he did not long enjoy the benefit of it, for finding himself uneasy, likewise, under this second marriage, he soon parted with his young wife, and consequently with her portion. This very unequal match exposed Cicero to much censure; and Calenus warmly reproaches him with it, in that bitter invective which he delivered, as Dio, at least, pretends,

perfectly sincere. I should have had no thoughts, in these miserable times, of entering into any new engagement of this sort, if I had not, upon my return into Italy, found my domestic affairs in no better a situation than those of the republic. When I discovered that, through the wicked practices of those whom I had infinitely obliged, and to whom my welfare ought to have been infinitely dear, that there was no security for me within my own walls, and that I was surrounded with treachery on all sides, I thought it necessary to protect myself against the perfidiousness of my old connexions, by having recourse to a more faithful alliance.—But enough of my private concerns: and perhaps too much. As to those which relate to yourself, I hope you have the opinion of them which you justly ought, and are free from all particular uneasiness on your own account. For I am well persuaded, that whatever may be the event of public affairs, you will be perfectly secure: as one of the contending parties, I perceive, is already reconciled to you; and the other you have never offended. With respect to my own disposition towards you: though I well know the narrow extent of my power, and how little my services can now avail, yet you may be assured

of
pretends, in reply to one of Cicero's against Mark Antony.
Ad Att. xiii. 34. *Dio.* lx. p. 303.

of my most zealous endeavours, at least, upon every occasion wherein either your character or your interest is concerned. In the mean time, let me know, as soon as possible, how it fares with you, and what measures you purpose to pursue. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TORANIUS¹.

ALTHOUGH I imagine this miserable war is either already terminated, by some decisive engagement², or at least is approaching to its conclusion; yet³ * * * * * I frequently reflect, that there was not a man throughout all the

¹ Suetonius mentions a person of this name, who was elected into the office of *Ædile* with Octavius, the father of Augustus, and who afterwards, notwithstanding he had been guardian to Augustus himself, was in the number of those who perished by the sanguinary proscriptions of that emperor. One of the commentators upon that historian, supposes him to be the same person to whom this letter is addressed; and indeed the conjecture is extremely probable. However, all that can be affirmed with any certainty concerning Toranius is, that he took part in the civil war on the side of Pompey, and that, after the battle of Pharsalia, he retired to *Coryra*, as he appears to have been in that island when this letter was written. *Suet. in vit. August. 27.* See the rem. of Mr. Ross, on the *Epist. Famil. vol. i. p. 498.*

² See rem. 3. on the foregoing letter, p. 207.

³ The first period of this letter in the original runs thus: *Etsi cum hæc ad te scribebam, aut appropinquare exitus hujus calamitosissimi belli, aut jam aliquid actum & confectum videbatur; tamen quotidie commemorabam, te unum in tanto exercitu*

the numerous army of Pompey who agreed with you and me in our opinion. We were the only persons, indeed, who were sensible, if there should be no hope of an accommodation, how pregnant with mischief that war must prove, in which torrents of blood would be the consequence, if we were vanquished; and slavery, if we proved victorious. I was represented, at that time, by such wise and heroic spirits as your Domitii and your Lentuli, as a man altogether under the dominion of fear: and fear, I will confess, I did, that those calamities would happen which have since ensued. But I am now totally void of all farther apprehensions; and I stand prepared to meet with indifference whatever it be that fortune may have in reserve. While prudence, indeed, could any thing avail, I lamented to see her dictates neglected. But now that counsel can profit nothing, and that the republic is utterly overturned, the only rational

exercitu mihi fuisse assentorem, & me tibi. The *etsi* and the *tamen* in this sentence, seem to be as absolutely incoherent as if Cicero had said, that "although *Eneas* settled in Italy, yet *Cæsar* was a consummate general." It should seem, therefore, that there is some error in the text. Perhaps the proper connecting words that followed *tamen*, have been dropped by the transcribers; and that *Quotidie* was the beginning of a new sentence. The translator has ventured, at least, to proceed upon this conjecture: and the place of the supposed omission is marked by asterisks.

⁴ This is explained by what he says of Pompey in a subsequent letter, p. 344. of this vol.

tional part that remains, is to bear with calmness whatever shall be the event; especially when it is considered, that death is the final period of all human concerns. In the mean time I have the satisfaction to be conscious, that I consulted the dignity of the republic, whilst it was possible to be preserved; and when it could no longer be maintained, that my next endeavour was, to save the commonwealth from being utterly destroyed. I mention this, not to indulge a vanity in talking of myself, but that you, who were entirely united with me in the same sentiments and disposition, may be led into the same train of reflections. For it must undoubtedly afford you great consolation to remember, that whatever turn affairs might have taken, your counsels were perfectly right. May we yet live to see the republic, in some degree at least, again restored! and may we have the satisfaction of one day comparing together the anxiety we mutually suffered, when we were looked upon as men that wanted spirit, merely because we declared that those consequences would happen which have accordingly taken place! Mean while, I will venture to assure you, that you have nothing to apprehend upon your own account, exclusive of the general subversion of the commonwealth. As for myself, be persuaded, that I shall

shall at all times, as far as lies in my power, be ready to exert my utmost services towards you and your family. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO⁶ MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO.

ATTICUS lately read a letter to me that he had received from you, by which I was informed where you are, and in what manner employed: but it mentioned no circumstance that could

* Marcus Terentius Varro had been lieutenant to Pompey in the piratic war; in which he distinguished himself with so much advantage, as to be honoured with a naval crown: an honour usually conferred on those who had signalized their valour in a sea engagement. He was afterwards appointed, in conjunction with Afranius and Petreius, lieutenant to Pompey in Spain: and he was serving in that quality, when the civil war broke out. He was at that time at the head of two legions in the farther Spain: but his colleagues having been defeated by Cæsar, he found himself in no condition to resist; and accordingly surrendered himself and his army into the hands of the conqueror. He seems from that time to have withdrawn from public affairs, and to have consecrated the remainder of his life (which he is said to have preserved, with all his senses entire, to the age of an hundred) wholly to philosophical studies. His genius and talents, indeed, were principally of the literary kind: in which he was universally acknowledged to hold the first rank among his contemporaries. He published many treatises in all the various branches of human science: one or two of the least considerable of which, and those not entire, are the whole that now remain of his numberless compositions. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. 17. &c. Val. Max. viii. 7. Cic. Academ. i. 3.*

could lead me to guess, when we might expect to see you. I hope, however, that the time of your coming hither is approaching, and that your company will afford me consolation under our general misfortunes: though, indeed, they are so numerous and so severe, that it is a folly to expect any thing will be sufficient for that purpose. Nevertheless, there are some instances, perhaps, in which we may prove of mutual assistance to each other. For since my return to Rome, you must know, I am reconciled to those old companions of mine, my books. Not that I was estranged from them out of any disgust; but that I could not look upon them without some sort of shame. It seemed, indeed, that I had ill observed their precepts, when I joined with perfidious associates in taking part in our public commotions. They are willing, however, to pardon my error, and invite me to renew my former acquaintance with them; applauding, at the same time, your superior wisdom, in never having forsaken their society. Thus restored, therefore, as I am to their good graces, may I not hope, if I can unite your company with theirs, to support myself under the pressure of our present and impending

⁷ Varro's books were his companions, it seems, in the camp as well as in the closet, and he was never wholly separated from them, it appears, even amidst the most active engagements of public life.

impending calamities? Wherever then you shall choose I should join you, be it at Tusculum, at Cumæ⁸, or at Rome, I shall most readily obey your summons. The place I last named would, indeed, be the least acceptable to me. But it is of no great consequence where we meet: for if we can but be together, I will undertake to render the place of meeting equally agreeable to both of us. Farewel.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TORIANUS.

As I wrote to you three days ago by some domestics of Plancius, I shall be so much the shorter at present: and as my former⁹ was a letter of consolation, this shall be one of advice.

I think nothing can be more for your advantage than to remain in your present situation till you shall be able to learn in what manner you are to act. For not to mention that you will by this mean avoid the danger of a long winter-voyage, in a sea that affords but few harbours: there is this very material consideration, that you may soon cross over into

Italy,

⁸ Varro had a villa near each of these places.

⁹ Probably the third letter of this book.

Italy, whenever you shall receive any certain intelligence. Nor do I see any reason for your being desirous of presenting yourself to Caesar's friends in their return. In short, I have many other objections to your scheme: for the particulars of which I refer you to our friend Chilo. You cannot, indeed, in these unfortunate times, be more conveniently placed, than where you now are: as you may, with great facility and expedition, transport yourself from thence, to whatever other part of the world you shall find it necessary to remove. If Caesar should return at the time he is expected¹, you may be in Italy soon enough to wait upon him; but should any thing happen (as many things possibly may) to prevent or retard his march, you are in a place where you may receive an early information of all that occurs. To repeat it, therefore, once more, I am altogether of opinion, that you should continue in your present quarters. I will only add, (what I have often exhorted you in my former letters to be well persuaded of) that you have nothing to fear beyond the general danger to which every citizen of Rome is equally exposed. And though this, it must be owned, is sufficiently great; yet we can both of us look back with so much satisfaction upon our past conduct,

¹ From Africa. See rem. 3. p. 207. of this vol.

duct, and are arrived at such a period of life², that we ought to bear with particular fortitude whatever unmerited fate may attend us.

Your family here are all well, and extremely regret your absence: as they love and honour you with the highest tenderness and esteem.—Take care of your health: and by no means remove without duly weighing the consequences. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO DOMITIUS¹.

IF you have not heard from me since your arrival in Italy, it is not that I was discouraged from

² Cicero was at this time about 62 years of age.

¹ The person to whom this letter is addressed, is supposed to have been the son of Domitius Enobarbus, who commanded the garrison of Corfinium at the breaking out of the civil war. [See vol. ii. p. 115. rem. 6.] The father was killed in his flight from the battle of Pharsalia: [Cæs. *Bel. Civ.* iii. 99.] after which his son, as it should seem by this letter, returned into Italy. He is mentioned in the list of those who were concerned in assassinating Cæsar. "But he managed his affairs (as Mr. Ross observes) with so much address, that, after the death of Brutus and Cassius, he first made his peace with Antony, and then, upon the decline of his power, took an occasion to leave him and join himself with Augustus. And though he did not live long enough to enjoy the benefit of that union; yet he left a son, who recovered the ancient splendour of the family, and laid a foundation for the empire, which took place in the person of his grand-son Nero." *Suet. in Nero, &c. Patere.* ii. 72.

from writing on my part, by the profound silence you have observed on yours. The single reason was, that I could find nothing to say. For on the one hand, I was in every respect too much distressed, as well as too much at a loss how to act myself, to offer you either assistance or advice: and, on the other, I knew not what consolation to suggest to you, under these our severe and general misfortunes. However, notwithstanding public affairs are so far from being in a better situation at present, that they are growing every day more and more desperate; yet I could not satisfy myself with being silent any longer: and rather chose to send you an empty letter, than not to send you any.

If you were in the number of those who tenaciously persevere in the defence of the republic, beyond all possibility of success, I should employ every argument in my power, to reconcile you to those conditions, though not the most eligible indeed, which are offered to our acceptance. But as you judiciously terminated the noble struggle you made in support of our liberties, by those limits which fortune herself marked out to our opposition; let me conjure you by our long and mutual amity, to preserve yourself
for

² It looks by this passage as if Domitius had been suspected at this time of an intention to destroy himself.

for the sake of your friends, your mother, your wife, and your children: for the sake of those, in short, to whom you have ever been infinitely dear, and whose welfare and interest depends entirely upon yours. Let me entreat you to call to your aid, in this gloomy season, those glorious precepts of philosophy, in which you have been conversant from your earliest youth; and to support the loss of those with whom you were united by the most tender ties of affection and gratitude, if not with a mind perfectly serene, at least, with a rational and manly fortitude.

How far my present power may reach, I know not; or rather, indeed, I am sensible that it cannot extend far. This, however, I will assure you, (and it is a promise which I have likewise made to that excellent woman your affectionate mother) that, in whatever instance I imagine my services can avail either to your honour or your welfare, I shall exert them with the same zeal which you have always shewn in regard to myself. If there is any thing, therefore, in which you shall be desirous to employ them, I beg you will let me know: and I will most punctually perform your commands. Indeed, without any such express request, you may depend upon my best offices

ON

³ The father and friends of Domitius, who had perished in the civil war.

on every occasion, wherein I shall be capable of promoting your interest. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO CNEIUS PLANCIUS⁴.

I HAVE received your very short letter, which informs me of what I never once questioned, but leaves me entirely ignorant in a point I was extremely desirous of knowing. I had not the least doubt, indeed, of the share I enjoy in your friendship; but wanted much to hear with what resolution you submit to our common calamities: a circumstance, of which if I had been apprised, I should have adapted my letter accordingly. However, though I mentioned in my last, what I thought necessary to say upon that subject, yet it may be proper, at this juncture, just to caution you again, not to imagine that you have any thing particular to fear. It is true, we are every one of us in great danger: but the danger, however, is general and equal⁵. You ought not, therefore, to complain of your own fortune, or think it hard to take your part in calamities that extend to all. Let us then, my friend, preserve the

⁴ See note 1. p. 206. of this vol.

⁵ See the 2d letter of this book.

the same mutual disposition of mind which has ever subsisted between us. I am sure I shall, on my part, and I have reason to hope that you will do so likewise on yours. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LUCIUS PLANCUS⁶.

YOU are sensible, I dare say, that, amongst all those friends whom you claim as a sort of paternal inheritance, there is not one so closely attached to you as myself. I do not mean in consideration only of those more conspicuous connexions of a public kind in which I was engaged with your father; but in regard, likewise, to that less observable intercourse of private friendship, which I had the happiness, you well know, of enjoying with him in the highest degree. As this was the source from whence my

⁶ He was brother to Plancus Burrus, the great enemy of Cicero, and of whom an account has been given in rem. 5. vol. 1. p. 263. Plancus does not seem to have figured in the commonwealth; at least, history does not take much notice of him, till after the death of Cæsar, at which time he was at the head of a considerable army in the farther Gaul, as governor of that province. But as there are several letters in this collection which passed between him and Cicero at that period, the particulars of his character will be best remarked in the observations that will arise upon his conduct in that important crisis. In the mean time, it may be sufficient to observe, that when this letter was written, he was probably an officer under Cæsar in the African war. See rem. 2, on let. 20. B. xii.

my affection for the son originally took its rise: so that affection, in its turn, improved and strengthened my union with the father: especially when I observed you distinguishing me with peculiar marks of respect and esteem, as early as you were capable of forming any judgment of mankind. To this I must add, (what is of itself, indeed, a very powerful cement) the similitude of our tastes and studies: and of those particular studies too, which are of a nature most apt to create an intimacy between men of the same general cast of temper⁷. And now, are you not impatient to learn the purpose of this long introduction? Be assured, then, it is not without just and strong reason, that I have thus enumerated the several motives which concur in forming our amity: as it is in order to plead before you with more advantage the cause of my very intimate friend Ateius Capito⁸. I need not point out to you the variety of fortune with which my life has been chequered: but in all the honours and disgraces I have experienced, Capito has ever most zealously assisted me with his power, his interest, and even with his purse.

Titus

⁷ The studies to which Cicero here alludes, are, probably, those of the philosophical kind.

⁸ Pighius supposes, that this is the same Ateius Capito, who devoted Crassus to destruction when he set out upon his Parthian expedition: of which the reader has already met with an account in rem. 7. p. 128. vol. i. *Pigh. Annal.* iii. 389.

Titus Antistius, who was his near relation, happened to be quæstor in Macedonia (no person having been appointed to succeed him) when Pompey marched his army into that province⁹. Had it been possible for Antistius to have retired, it would have been his first and most earnest endeavour to have returned to Capito, whom he loved with all the tenderness of a filial affection: and, indeed, he was so much the more desirous of joining him, as he knew the high esteem which Capito had ever entertained for Cæsar. But finding himself thus unexpectedly in the hands of Pompey, it was not in his power wholly to decline the functions of his office: however, he acted no farther than he was absolutely constrained. I cannot deny, that he was concerned in coining the silver at Apollonia¹⁰. But he was by no means a principal in that affair: and two or three months were the utmost that he engaged in it. From that time he withdrew from Pompey's camp, and totally avoided all public employment. I hope you will credit this assertion, when I assure you, that I know it to be fact: for, indeed, Antistius saw how much I was dissatisfied

⁹ When Pompey retreated before Cæsar, and abandoned Italy.

¹⁰ For the payment of Pompey's army. Apollonia was a city in Thrace: a part of Greece annexed to the province of Macedonia.

fied with the war, and consulted with me upon all his measures. Accordingly, that he might have no part in it, he withdrew, as far as possible, from Pompey's camp, and concealed himself in the interior parts of Macedonia. After the battle of Pharsalia he retired to his friend Aulus Plautius¹, in Bithynia. It was here that he had an interview with Cæsar², who received him without the least mark of displeasure, and ordered him to return to Rome. But he soon afterwards contracted an illness, which he carried with him into Corcyra, where it put an end to his life. By his will, which was made at Rome in the consulate of Paulus and Marcus, he has left ten twelfths, of his estate to Capito. The remaining two parts, amounting to 300,000 sesterces³, he has devised to those for whose interest no mortal can be concerned: and, therefore, I am not in the least solicitous whether Cæsar shall think proper, or not, to seize it as forfeited to the public. But I most earnestly conjure you, my dear Plancus, to consider the cause of Capito as my own, and to employ your influence with Cæsar, that my friend may be permitted to inherit this legacy, agreeably

¹ At that time governor of Bithynia, an Asiatic province situated on the Euxine sea.

² Probably in his return from the Alexandrine war.

³ About 2400l. of our money.

agreeably to the will of his relation. I entreat you by all the various ties of our friendship, as well as by those, likewise, which subsisted between your father and myself, to exert your most zealous and active offices for this purpose. Be assured, if you were to grant me all that lies within the compass of your extensive credit and power, you could not more effectually oblige me than by complying with my present request. I hope it may be a means of facilitating your success upon this occasion, that Capito, as Cæsar himself can witness, has ever held him in the highest esteem and affection. But Cæsar, I know, never forgets any thing: I forbear, therefore, to furnish you with particular instances of Capito's attachment to him, and only desire you to make a proper use of those which are fresh in Cæsar's memory. It may not, however, be unnecessary to point out one proof of this sort, which I myself experienced: and I will leave it to your own judgment to determine how far the mentioning of it may avail. I need not tell you by what party my interest had been supported, nor whose cause I espoused in our public divisions. But believe me, whatever measures I pursued in this war, which were unacceptable to Cæsar, (and I have the satisfaction to find that he is sensible of it himself) were most contrary to my own inclinations, and merely in compliance with

the persuasions and authority of others. But if I conducted myself with more moderation than any of those who were joined with me in the same cause; it is principally owing to the advice and admonitions of Capito. To say truth, if the rest of my friends had been influenced by the same spirit with which he was actuated, I might have taken a part that would have proved of some advantage, perhaps, to my country; I am sure, at least, of much to myself³. In one word, my dear Plancus, your gratifying my present request, will confirm me in the hope that I possess a place in your affection: and at the same time extremely contribute to your own advantage, in adding, by a very important obligation, the

³ The part which Cicero here accuses his friends, (and surely with some want of generosity) that they would not suffer him to act, seems to have been that of standing neuter in the war between Pompey and Caesar. And it must be owned that this conduct would have been far less exceptionable, if, instead of faintly joining with one side, he had determined to engage with neither. This too, as the event proved, might have been most prudential in point of interest: for a neutrality was all that Caesar desired of him. But that it could in any sort have advantaged his country, appears to be a notion altogether improbable, and advanced only to give a colour to his not having entered with more spirit into the cause of the republic. Cicero often intimates, indeed, that by preserving a neutrality, he might have been more likely to have facilitated an accommodation between Pompey and Caesar. But it is utterly incredible, from the temper and character of these contending chiefs, that either of them entertained the least disposition for this purpose: as it is certain, from Cicero's own confession in his letters to Atticus, that he was well persuaded Pompey would never listen to any pacific overtures. *Vid. Ad Att. vii. 8. viii. 15.*

the most grateful and worthy Capito to the number of your friends. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

• TO ALLIENUS, Proconsul⁶.

DEMOCRITUS of Sicyon is not only my host⁷, but (what I can say of few of his countrymen beside) he is likewise my very intimate friend. He is a person, indeed, of the highest probity and merit, and distinguished for his most generous and polite hospitality towards those who come under his roof: in which number I have received particular marks of his affection and esteem. In one word, you will find him a man of the first and most valuable character amongst his fellow-citizens, I had almost said in all Achaia. I only mean, therefore, by this letter, to introduce him to your acquaintance: for I know your sentiments and disposition so well, that I am persuaded nothing more is necessary to make you think him worthy of being received both as your guest and friend. Let me

entreat

⁶ He was at this time proconsul, or governor of Sicily, and distinguished himself by his care and diligence in transporting the troops which Caesar received from thence in order to carry on the present war in Africa. There is a silver coin still extant, on which is inscribed, A. ALLIENVS. PRO. COS. and on the reverse, C. CÆSAR. IMP. COS. ITER. *Pighi Anal. iii. 453.*

⁷ See p. 113 of this vol. rem. 3.

entreat you, in the mean time, to favour him with your patronage, and to assure him that, for my sake, he may depend upon all the assistance in your power. If after this you should discover (as I trust you will) that his virtues render him deserving of a nearer intercourse: you cannot more sensibly oblige me than by admitting him into your family and friendship. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LUCIUS MESCINIUS¹.

YOUR letter afforded me great pleasure, as it gave me an assurance (though indeed I wanted none) that you earnestly wish for my company. Believe me, I am equally desirous of yours: and, in truth, when there was a much greater abundance of patriot citizens and agreeable companions, who were in the number of my friends, there was no man with whom I rather chose to associate, and few whose company I liked so well. But now that death, absence, or change of disposition has so greatly contracted this social circle, I should prefer a single day with you, to a whole life with the generality of those with whom I am, at present, obliged to live².

Solitude

¹ See rem. 1. p. 91. of this vol.² The chiefs of the Cæsarean party: with whom Cicero now found it convenient to cultivate a friendship, in order to ingratiate himself with Cæsar.

Solitude itself, indeed, (if solitude, alas! I were at liberty to enjoy) would be far more eligible, than the conversation of those who frequent my house: one or two of them, at most, excepted. I seek my relief, therefore, (where I would advise you to look for yours) in amusements of a literary kind, and in the consciousness of having always intended well to my country. I have the satisfaction to reflect, (as I dare say you will readily believe) that I never sacrificed the public good to my own private views; that if a certain person (whom for my sake, I am sure, you never loved) had not looked upon me with a jealous eye³, both himself and every friend to liberty had been happy; that I always endeavoured that it should not be in the power of any man to disturb the public tranquillity; and, in a word, that when I perceived those arms, which I had ever dreaded, would

³ Pompey; who being jealous of the popularity which Cicero had acquired during his consulship, struck in with the designs of Cæsar, and others, who had formed a party against our author. It was by these means that Pompey laid the principal foundation of Cæsar's power, which, without the assistance of the former, could never have prevailed to the destruction both of himself and of the republic. [see rem. 4. p. 8. vol. i.] The censure which Cicero here casts upon Pompey's conduct towards him, is undoubtedly just: but it is a proof, at the same time, how unworthily he flattered that great man in the plenitude of his power, when he professed to have received obligations from him, that gave him the most unquestionable right to his highest gratitude. See rem. 2. p. 12. of this vol.

would prove an over-match for that patriot-coalition I had myself formed* in the republic, I thought it better to accept of a safe peace upon any terms, than impotently to contend with a superior force. But I hope shortly to talk over these, and many other points, with you, in person. Nothing, indeed, detains me in Rome, but to wait the event of the war in Africa: which, I imagine, must now be soon decided. And though it seems of little importance on which side the victory shall turn; yet I think it may be of some advantage to be near my friends when the news shall arrive, in order to consult with them on the measures it may be advisable for me to pursue†. Affairs are now reduced to such an unhappy situation, that

* Cicero probably alludes to the coalition he formed during his consulship, of the equestrian order with that of the senate: which, indeed, was one of the most shining parts of his administration. "This order, (as Dr. Middleton observes) consisted, next to the senators, of the richest and most splendid families in Rome: who, from the ease and affluence of their fortunes, were naturally well affected to the prosperity of the republic; and being also the constant farmers of all the revenues of the empire, had a great part of the inferior people dependent upon them. Cicero imagined that the united weight of these two orders would always be an overbalance to any other power in the state, and a secure barrier against any attempts of the popular and ambitious upon the common liberty." *Life of Cic.* i. 159. 8vo. edit.

† Cicero would have had great occasion for the advice of his friends, if the remains of Pompey's army had defeated Caesar's in Africa. For he had reason to expect, and would probably have experienced, the severest effects of their resentment,

that though there is a considerable difference, it is true, between the cause of the contending parties, I believe there will be very little as to the consequence of their success. However, though my spirits were too much dejected, perhaps, whilst our affairs remained in suspense; I find myself much more composed now that they are utterly desperate. Your last letter has contributed to confirm me in this disposition; as it is an instance of the magnanimity with which you support your unjust disgrace‡. It is with particular satisfaction I observe, that you owe this heroic calmness, not only to philosophy, but to temper. For I will confess, that I imagined your mind was softened with that too delicate sensibility which we, who passed our lives in the ease and freedom of Rome, were apt in general to contract. But as we bore our prosperous days with moderation; it becomes us to bear our adverse fortune, or more properly, indeed, our irretrievable ruin, with fortitude. This advantage we may at least derive from our extreme calamities; that they will teach us to look upon death with contempt: which, even if we were happy, we ought to despise, as a state of total insensibility;

ment, if they had returned victorious into Italy. *Vid. Epist. Famil. ix. 6.*

‡ Mescinius, it is probable, was banished by Cæsar, as a partisan of Pompey, to a certain distance from Rome.

insensibility⁶; but which, under our present afflictions, should be the object of our constant wishes

⁶ Cicero expresses himself to the same purpose, in two or three other of these letters. Thus, in one to Torquatus; *si non ero, sensu omnino carebo*: and in another to Toranius; *Una ratio videtur, quicquid exnerit ferre moderate; præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum*. From whence it has been inferred, that Cicero, in his private opinion, rejected the doctrine of the soul's immortality. In answer to which it may be observed, in the first place, that these passages, without any violence of construction, may be interpreted as affirming nothing more, than that death is an utter extinction of all sensibility with respect to human concerns: as it was a doubt with some of the ancients whether departed spirits did not still retain a knowledge of what passed in this world. In the next place, admitting these several passages to be so many clear and positive assertions, that the soul perishes with the body; yet it would by no means follow, that this was Cicero's real belief. It is usual with him to vary his sentiments in these letters, in accommodation to the principles or circumstances of his correspondents. Thus, in a letter to Dolabella, he does not scruple to say, *sum avidior quam satis est gloriæ*: But in writing to Cato, he represents himself of a disposition entirely the reverse: *ipsam quidem gloriam per se nunquam putavi expetendam*. In a letter to Torquatus, when he is endeavouring to reconcile him to his banishment from Rome, he lays it down as a maxim, that *in malis omnibus acerbius est videre quam audire*: but, in another letter to Marcellus, written in order to persuade him to return to Rome, he reasons upon a principle directly opposite, and tells him, *non est tuum uno sensu oculorum moveri: cum idem illud auribus percipias, quod etiam majus videri solet, &c.* Other instances of the same variation from himself might be produced: but these, together with those that have already been occasionally pointed out in the course of these remarks, are sufficient, perhaps, to evince, that Cicero's real sentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any particular passages in these letters. In those to Atticus, indeed, he was generally, though not always, more sincere: and Mr. Ross has cited a passage from one of them, in which Cicero very expressly mentions his expectations of a future state: *tempus est nos de illa perpetua jam, says he, non de hac exigua vita cogitare*. But Cicero's speculative

wishes. Let not any fears then, I conjure you by your affection for me, disturb the peace of your retirement: and be well persuaded, nothing can befall a man that deserves to raise his dread and horror, but (what I am sure ever was, and ever will be, far from you) the reproaches of a guilty heart.

I purpose to pay you a visit very soon, if nothing should happen to make it necessary for me to change my resolution: and if there should, I will immediately let you know. But I hope you will not, whilst you are in so weak a condition, be tempted by your impatience of seeing me, to remove from your present situation: at least, not without previously consulting me. In the mean time, continue to love me; and take care both of your health and your repose. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO ALLIENUS, Proconsul.

As you are no stranger, I imagine, to the esteem I entertained for Avianus Flaccus; so I have often heard him acknowledge the generous

culative notions are best determined, by looking into his philosophical writings: and these abound with various and full proofs, that he was strongly persuaded of the soul's immortality. *Epist. Famil. ix. 14. xv. 4. vi. 4. iv. 9. Ad Att. x. 8.* see also *Life of Cic. iii. 341. 8vo. edit.*

rous manner in which you formerly treated him; as, indeed, no man ever possessed a more grateful or better heart. His two sons, Caius and Marcus, inherit all the virtues of their father: and I most warmly recommend them to your protection, as young men for whom I have a very singular affection. Caius is now in Sicily: and Marcus is at present with me. I entreat you to shew every mark of honour to the former, and to take the affairs of both under your patronage; assuring yourself, that you cannot render me in your government a more acceptable service. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VARRO.

THOUGH I have nothing to write, yet I could not suffer Caninius to pay you a visit, without taking the opportunity of conveying a letter by his hands. And now I know not what else to say, but that I propose to be with you very soon: an information, however, which I am persuaded you will be glad to receive. But will it be altogether decent to appear in so gay a scene⁷, at a time when Rome is in such a ge-

neral

⁷ Varro seems to have requested Cicero to give him a meeting at Baia, a place much frequented by the Romans on account of its hot baths: as the agreeableness of its situation

neral flame? And shall we not furnish an occasion of censure to those, who do not know that we observe the same sober philosophical life, in all seasons, and in every place? Yet, after all, what imports it? since the world will talk of us in spite of our utmost caution. And, indeed, whilst our censurers are immersed in every kind of flagitious debauchery; it is much worth our concern, truly, what they say of our innocent relaxations. In just contempt, therefore, of these illiterate barbarians, it is my resolution to join you very speedily. I know not how it is, indeed, but it should seem that our favourite studies are attended with much greater advantages in these wretched times than formerly: whether it be that they are now our only resource; or that we were less sensible of their salutary effects, when we were in too happy a state to have occasion to experience them.—

But

ation on the bay of Naples, rendered it at the same time the general resort of the pleasurable world. The tender Propertius has addressed some pretty lines to his Cynthia at this place, which sufficiently intimate in what manner the Roman ladies were amused in that dangerous scene of gallantry and dissipation.

*Tu modo quam primum corruptas desere Baias,
Multis ista dabunt littora dissidium:
Littora quæ fuerant castis inimica puellis, &c.*

*Fly, fly, my love, soft Baia's tainted coast,
Where many a pair connubial peace have lost;
Where many a maid shall guilty joys deplore:
Ah fly, my fair, detested Baia's shore!*

But this is sending owls to Athens*, as we say; and suggesting reflections which your own mind will far better supply. All that I mean by them, however, is, to draw a letter from you in return, at the same time that I give you notice to expect me soon. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

OUR friend Caninius paid me a visit, some time ago, very late in the evening, and informed me that he purposed to set out for your house the next morning. I told him I would give him two or three lines to deliver to you, and desired he would call for them in the morning. Accordingly I wrote to you that night²; but as he did not return, I imagined he had forgotten his promise; and should, therefore, have sent that letter by one of my own domestics, if Caninius had not assured me of your intention to leave Tusculum the next morning. However, after a few days had intervened, and I had given over all expectations of Caninius, he made

* A proverbial expression of the same import with that of "sending coals to Newcastle." It alludes to the Athenian coin, which was stamped (as Manutius observes) with the figure of an owl.

² Probably the preceding letter.

made me a second visit, and acquainted me that he was instantly setting out to you. But, notwithstanding the letter I had written was then become altogether out of date, especially after the arrival of such important news¹; yet, as I was unwilling that any of my profound lucubrations should be lost, I delivered it into the hands of that very learned and affectionate friend of yours: who, I suppose, has acquainted you with the conversation which passed between us at the same time.

I think it most prudent for both of us to avoid the view, at least, if we cannot so easily escape the remarks of the world. For those who are elevated with this victory, look down upon us with an air of triumph; and those who regret it, are displeased that we did not sacrifice our lives in the cause. But you will ask, perhaps, (as it is in Rome, that we are particularly exposed to these mortifications) why I have not followed your example in retiring from the city? But tell me, my friend, superior as your judgment confessedly is, did you never find yourself mistaken? Or who is there, in times of such total darkness and confusion, that can always be sure of directing his steps aright? I have long thought, indeed, that it would be happy

¹ Concerning Caesar's defeat of Scipio in Africa.

happy for me to retire where I might neither see, nor hear, what passes in Rome. But my groundless suspicions discouraged me from executing this scheme: as I was apprehensive that those who might accidentally meet me on my way, would put such constructions upon my retreat, as best suited with their own purposes. Some, I imagined, would suspect, or at least pretend to suspect, that I was either driven from Rome by my fears, or withdrew in order to form some revolution abroad; and, perhaps, too, would report, that I had actually provided a ship for that purpose. Others, I feared, who knew me best, and might be disposed to think most favourably of my actions, would be apt to impute my recess to an abhorrence of a certain party³. It is these apprehensions that have hitherto, contrary to my inclinations indeed, detained me in Rome: but custom, however, has familiarized the unpleasant scene, and gradually hardened me into a less exquisite sensibility.

Thus I have laid before you the motives which induce me to continue here. As to what relates to your own conduct; I would advise you to remain in your present retirement, till the warmth of our public exultation shall be somewhat

³ The Cæsareans.

what abated, and it shall certainly be known in what manner affairs abroad are terminated: for terminated, I am well persuaded, they are⁴. Much will depend on the general result of this battle, and the temper in which Cæsar may return. And though I see, already, what is abundantly sufficient to determine my sentiments as to that point, yet I think it most advisable to wait the event. In the mean time, I should be glad you would postpone your journey to Baiæ, till the first transports of this clamorous joy is subsided: as it will have a better appearance to meet you at those waters, when I may seem to go thither rather to join with you in lamenting the public misfortunes, than to participate in the pleasures of the place. But this I submit to your more enlightened judgment: only let us agree to pass our lives together in those studies, which were once, indeed, nothing more than our amusement, but must now, alas! prove our principal support. Let us be ready, at the same time, whenever we shall be called upon, to contribute not only our councils, but our labours, in repairing the ruins of the republic. But if none shall require our services

⁴ When this letter was written, there seems to have been only some general accounts arrived of Cæsar's success in Africa; but the particulars of the battle were not yet known.

services for this purpose, let us employ our time and our thoughts upon moral and political inquiries. If we cannot benefit the commonwealth in the forum and the senate; let us endeavour, at least, to do so by our studies and our writings: and after the example of the most learned among the ancients, contribute to the welfare of our country, by useful disquisitions concerning laws and government.

And now, having thus acquainted you with my sentiments and purposes, I shall be extremely obliged to you for letting me know your's in return. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

YOU must know, my friend, that I am one of those philosophers who hold the doctrine of Diodorus concerning contingencies⁷. Accordingly

⁷ Diodorus was a Greek philosopher who lived in the court of Ptolomæus Soter, and flourished about 280 years before the Christian æra. He is said to have died with grief for not being able immediately to solve a philosophical question, which that prince put to him in conversation. He maintained that nothing could be contingent; but that whatever was possible must necessarily happen. Cicero ludicrously applies this absurd doctrine to the intended visit of his friend. *Cic. de fato*. 7.

ingly I maintain, that, if you should make us a visit here, you are under an absolute necessity of so doing; but if you should not, that it is because your coming hither is in the number of those things which cannot possibly happen.--- Now tell me which of the two opinions you are most inclined to adopt: whether this of the philosopher I just now mentioned, whose sentiments, you know, were so little agreeable to our honest friend Diodotus⁸, or the opposite one of Chrysippus⁹? But we will reserve these curious speculations, till we shall be more at leisure: and this, I will agree with Chrysippus, is a possibility which either may or may not happen. I am

⁸ Diodotus was a stoic philosopher, under whom Cicero had been educated, and whom he afterwards entertained for many years in his house. He died about thirteen years before the date of this letter, and left his friend and pupil a considerable legacy. *Cic. Academ. ii. Ad Att. ii. 20.*

⁹ Chrysippus was successor to Zeno, the celebrated founder of the Stoic School. It appears, by a list of some of his writings, which Laertius has given, that he published a treatise on Fate; and probably it was in this book that he opposed the ridiculous notions of Diodotus. Seneca represents him as a penetrating genius, but one whose speculations were somewhat too subtle and refined. He adds, that his diction was so extremely close, that he never employed a superfluous word; a character he could scarce deserve, if what is reported of him be true, that he published no less than 311 treatises upon logic, and above 400 upon other subjects.— One cannot bear, indeed, of such an immoderate flux of pen, without being in some danger of suffering the same fate that attended this inexhaustible genius, who is said to have died in a fit of excessive laughter. *Laertius in vit. Senec de benef. i. 3. Stanley's Hist. of Philos. 487.*

I am obliged to you for your good offices in my affair with Cocceius^a; which I likewise recommend to Atticus. If you will not make me a visit, I will pay you one; and, as your library is situated in your garden, I shall want nothing to complete my two favourite amusements---reading and walking. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 707.]

To APULEIUS, Proquæstor^a.

LUCIUS EGNATIUS, a Roman knight, is a very particular friend of mine, whose affairs in Asia, together with his slave Anchialus, who superintends them, I recommend to you with as much zeal as if they were my own. For be assured we are united to each other, not only by a daily intercourse of the highest friendship, but by many good offices that have been mutually exchanged between us. As he has not the least doubt of your disposition to oblige

^a In the text he is called *Costius*; but, perhaps, (as one of the commentators imagines) it should be *Cocceius*. For Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, supposed to have been written about the same time with the present, requests his assistance in procuring the payment of a sum of money, owing to him from Cocceius; which is not unlikely to be the same affair he alludes to in this passage. *Ad Att.* xii. 13.

^a It is wholly uncertain both who this person was, and when he exercised the office of proquæstor.

oblige me, let me earnestly entreat you to convince him, by your services in his favour, that I warmly requested them. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 707.]

To VARRO.

THE 7th seems to be a very proper time, not only in consideration of public affairs, but in regard also to the season of the year: I approve, therefore, of the day you have named, and will join you accordingly.

I should be far from thinking we had reason to reproach ourselves for the part we have lately acted, even were it true that those who pursued a different conduct had not repented of their measures. It was the suggestions of duty, not of interest, that we followed, when we entered into the war; and it was a cause utterly desperate, not the duty we owed our country, that we deserted, when we laid down our arms. Thus we acted, on the one hand, with greater honour than those who would not leave Italy, in order to follow the war abroad; and, on the other hand, with more prudence than those who, after having suffered a total defeat^b, would not be prevailed upon to return home.

^b At the battle of Pharsalia.

home. But there is nothing that I can bear with less patience than the affected severity of our inglorious neuters: and, indeed, whatever might be the final event of affairs, I should be much more inclined to venerate the memory of those mistaken men who obstinately perished in battle, than to be in the least concerned at the reproaches of those who only lament that we are still alive.

If I should have time, I purpose to call upon you at Tusculum before the 7th: if not, I will follow you to Cumæ, agreeably to your appointment. But I shall not fail to give you previous notice, that your bath may be prepared. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

YOUR letters to Seius and myself were delivered to us, whilst we were at supper together, in his house. I agree with you in thinking that this is a very proper time for your intended expedition; which, to own my artifice, I have hitherto endeavoured to retard by a thousand pretences. I was desirous, indeed, of keeping you near me, in case any favourable

able news should have arrived². For, as Homer sings,

The wise new wisdom from the wise acquire³.

But now that the whole affair is decided, beyond all doubt you should set forward with the utmost speed.

When I heard of the fate that has attended Lucius Cæsar⁴, I could not forbear saying to myself, with the old man in the play, "What *tenderness* then may not I expect!" For this reason I am a constant guest at the tables of our present potentates: and what can I do better, you know, than prudently swim with the

² Concerning the success of the Pompeian party against Cæsar, in Africa; an event, if it had taken place, that would extremely have embarrassed Cicero. For which reason he was desirous of keeping Varro within his reach, that he might immediately have consulted with him in what manner to act. See rem. 3. p. 155. of this vol.

³ Il. X. 224. Pope's transl.

⁴ He was a distant relation of Julius Cæsar; whom, however, he had constantly opposed throughout the civil war.—Lucius, being taken prisoner at the late battle of Thapsus, where Cæsar gained a complete victory over the combined troops of Scipio and Juba, obtained the conqueror's pardon; but Cæsar afterwards changed his mind, and gave private orders to have him assassinated. Dio. xliii. p. 219.

⁵ This alludes to a passage in the *Andria* of Terence, where Simo, the father of Pamphilus, giving an account of his son's tender behaviour at the funeral of Chrysis, could not forbear reflecting, he says, *Quid mihi hic faciet patri!* But Cicero applies it in a different sense, and means that, if Cæsar acted towards his own relations with so much cruelty, he had little reason to expect a milder treatment.

the current of the times? But, to be serious, (for serious, in truth, we have reason to be)

*See vengeance stalk o'er Afric's trembling plain;
And one wide waste of horrid ruin reign!*

A circumstance that fills me with very uneasy apprehensions.

I am unable to answer your question, when Cæsar will arrive, or where he proposes to land. Some, I find, doubt whether it will be at Baiæ; and they now talk of his coming home by the way of Sardinia. It is certain, at least, that he has not yet visited this part of his *demesnes*: and though he has not a worse *farm*⁷ upon all his *estate*, he is far, however, from holding it in contempt. For my own part, I am more inclined to imagine he will take Sicily in his return.

⁷ These lines are quoted from Ennius, a poet, of whom some account has been given in the foregoing remarks. The troops of Cæsar pursued their victory over those of Scipio with great cruelty: *acrior Cæsarianorum impetus fuit*, says Florus, *indignantium post Pompeium crevisse bellum*. Numbers, indeed, of Scipio's army must necessarily have been massacred in cool blood; for the historians agree that Cæsar's loss amounted only to 50 men, whereas 10,000 were killed on the side of Scipio, according to the account which Hirtius gives of this action; and five times that number, if we may credit Plutarch. *Flor. iv. 2. Hirt. Bel. Afric. 86. Plut. in vit. Cæsar.*

⁸ The island of Sardinia was, in the time of the Romans, (what it still is) extremely barren and unwholesome. Martial has a pretty allusion to this latter circumstance, in one of his epigrams:

*Nullo fata loco possis excludere: cum mors
Venerit, in medio Tibure Sardinia est.* *iv. 60.*

return. But these doubts will soon be cleared up, as Dolabella⁹ is every moment expected. I believe, therefore, I must take my instructions from my disciple¹⁰; as many a pupil, you know, has become a greater adept than his master. However, if I knew what you had determined upon, I should chiefly regulate my measures by yours; for which purpose I expect a letter from you with great impatience. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO APULEIUS, Proquæstor.

LUCIUS ZOILUS was appointed, by the will of his patron, coheir, in conjunction with me. I mention this, not only to shew you the occasion of my friendship with him, but as an evidence, likewise, of his merit, by being thus distinguished

⁹ Dolabella attended Cæsar in the African war.

¹⁰ Cicero means that he should learn from Dolabella where Cæsar purposed to land, and in what temper he was returning into Italy, together with such other circumstances as it was necessary he should be apprised of, in order to pay his personal congratulations to the conqueror in the most proper and acceptable manner. It seems probable, from this passage, that Dolabella had formed his eloquence under Cicero, agreeably to an excellent custom which prevailed in Rome, of introducing the youth, upon their first entrance into business, to the acquaintance and patronage of some distinguished orator of the forum, whom they constantly attended in all the public exercises of his profession. *Auct. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. 34.*

distinguished by his patron. I recommend him, therefore, to your favour, as one of my own family; and you will oblige me in letting him see that you were greatly influenced to his advantage by this letter. Farewel.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VARRO.

OUR friend Caninius acquainted me with your request that I would write to you whenever there was any news which I thought it concerned you to know. You are already informed that we are in daily expectation of Cæsar²; but I am now to tell you that, as it was his intention, it seems, to have landed at Alsium³, his friends have written to dissuade him from that design. They think that his coming on shore at that place will prove extremely troublesome to himself, as well as very much incommode many others; and have therefore recommended Ostia⁴

as

² Cæsar returned victorious from Africa, about the 26th of July, in the present year; so that this letter was probably written either in the beginning of that month, or the latter end of June. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 98.

³ The situation of this place is not exactly known: some geographers suppose it to be the same town which is now called *Severa*, a sea-port about twenty-five miles distant from Rome, on the western coast of Italy.

⁴ It still retains its ancient name, and is situated at the mouth of the Tiber.

as a more convenient port. For my own part, I can see no difference. Hirtius⁵, however, assures me, that himself as well as Balbus⁶, and Oppius⁷ (who, let me observe by the way, are every one of them greatly in your interest) have written to Cæsar for this purpose. I thought proper, therefore, to send you this piece of intelligence for two reasons. In the first place, that you might know where to engage a lodging; or rather, that you might secure one in both these towns; for it is extremely uncertain at which of them Cæsar will disembark. And in the next place, in order to indulge a little piece of vanity, by shewing you that I am so well with these favourites of Cæsar, as to be admitted into their privy council. To speak seriously, I see no reason to decline their friendship; for, surely, there is a wide difference between submitting to evils we cannot remedy, and approving measures that we ought to condemn⁸.

Though,

⁵ He lived in great intimacy with Cæsar, and had served under him in quality of one of his lieutenants in Gaul. It appears, by this passage, that he did not attend Cæsar into Africa; so that if the history of that war annexed to Cæsar's commentaries, was really written, as is generally supposed, by Hirtius, he was not an eye-witness of what he relates; a circumstance which considerably weakens the authority of his account.

⁶ See rem. 2. p. 319. vol. i.

⁷ See rem. 9. p. 134. of this vol.

⁸ To cultivate friendships with the leaders of a successful faction, has surely something in it that much resembles the approving

Though, to confess the truth, I do not know there are any that I can justly blame, except those which involved us in the civil wars; for these, it must be owned, were altogether voluntary. I saw, indeed, (what your distance from Rome prevented you from observing⁹) that our party were eager for war; while Cæsar, on the contrary, appeared less inclined than afraid to have recourse to arms. Thus far, therefore, our calamities might have been prevented, but all beyond was unavoidable; for one side or the other must necessarily prove superior. Now we both of us, I am sure, always lamented those infinite mischiefs that would ensue, whichever general of the two contending armies should happen to fall in battle; as we were well convinced, that of all the complicated evils which attend a civil war, victory is the supreme. I dreaded it, indeed, even on that side which both you and I thought proper to join, as they threatened most cruel vengeance on those who stood neuter; and were
no

approving of measures which we ought to condemn; and though it may be policy, most certainly it is not patriotism. It ill agrees, at least, with that sort of abstracted life, which Cicero, in the first letter of this book, declares he proposed to lead, if the republic should be destroyed. *Vid. Epist. Famil. vii. 3.*

⁹ Varro, at the breaking out of the civil war, was in Spain; where he resided in quality of one of Pompey's lieutenants.

no less offended at your sentiments than at my speeches. But had they gained this last battle, we should still more severely have experienced the effects of their power, as our late conduct had incensed them to the highest degree. Yet what measures have we taken for our own security, that we did not warmly recommend for their's? And how have they more advantaged the republic by having recourse to Juba and his elephants¹⁰, than if they had perished by their own swords, or submitted to live under the present system of affairs, with some hopes, at least, if not with the fairest. But they may tell us, perhaps, (and, indeed, with truth) that the government under which we have chosen to live, is altogether turbulent and unsettled. Let this objection, however, have weight with those who have treasured up no stores in their minds to support themselves under all the possible vicissitudes of human affairs; a reflection, which brings me round to what I principally had in view, when I undesignedly wandered into this long digression. I was going to have said, that as I always looked upon your character with
great

¹⁰ These elephants were drawn up in the front of the right and left wing of Scipio's army. But being driven back upon the line behind them, they put the ranks into great confusion; and, instead of proving of any advantage to Scipio, contributed to facilitate his defeat. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric. 83.*

great admiration, so nothing raises it higher in my esteem, than to observe that you are almost the only person, in these tempestuous days, who has wisely retreated into harbour, and are enjoying the happy fruits of those important studies which are attended with more public advantage, as well as private satisfaction, than all the ambitious exploits, or voluptuous indulgencies of these licentious victors. The contemplative hours you spend at your Tusculan villa, are, in my estimation, indeed, what alone deserve to be called life; and I would willingly renounce the whole wealth and splendour of the world, to be at liberty to pass my time in the same philosophical manner. I follow your example, however, as far as the circumstances in which I am placed will permit, and have recourse, with great satisfaction of mind, to my favourite studies. Since our country, indeed, either cannot or will not accept our services, who shall condemn us for returning to that contemplative privacy which many philosophers have thought preferable (I will not say with reason, however, they have preferred) even to the most public and patriot labours? And why should we not indulge ourselves in those learned inquiries, which some of the greatest men have deemed a just dispensation from all public employments;

employments; when it is a liberty, at the same time, which the commonwealth itself is willing to allow us. But I am going beyond the commission which Caninius gave me, and while he only desired that I would acquaint you with those articles of which you were not already apprised, I am telling you what you know far better than I can inform you. For the future, I shall confine myself more strictly to your request, and will not fail of communicating to you whatever intelligence I may learn, which I shall think it imports you to know. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

YOUR letter afforded me a very agreeable instance of your friendship, in the concern it expressed lest I should be uneasy at the report which had been brought hither by Silius. I was before, indeed, perfectly sensible how much you were disturbed at this circumstance, by your

care

¹ See vol. 2. p. 15. rem. 1.

Silius, it should seem, had brought an account from the army, that some witticisms of Cicero had been reported to Caesar, which had given him offence.

care in sending me duplicates of a former letter upon the same subject; and I then returned such an answer as I thought would be sufficient to abate, at least, if not entirely remove, this your generous solicitude. But since I perceive, by your last letter, how much this affair still dwells upon your mind, let me assure you, my dear Pætus, that I have employed every artifice (for we must now, my friend, be armed with cunning as well as prudence) to conciliate the good graces of the persons you mention; and, if I mistake not, my endeavours have not proved in vain. I receive, indeed, so many marks of respect and esteem from those who are most in Cæsar's favour, that I cannot but flatter myself they have a true regard for me. It must be confessed, at the same time, that a pretended affection is not easily discernible from a real one, unless in seasons of distress. For adversity is to friendship, what fire is to gold, the only infallible test to discover the genuine from the counterfeit; in all other circumstances, they both bear the same common signatures. I have one strong reason, however, to persuade me of their sincerity; as neither their situation nor mine can by any means tempt them to dissemble with me. As to that person¹ in whom all power is now centered, I am

not

¹ Cæsar.

not sensible that I have any thing to fear from him; or nothing more, at least, than what arises from that general precarious state in which all things must stand where the fence of laws is broken down; and, from its being impossible to pronounce with assurance concerning any event which depends wholly upon the will, not to say the caprice, of another. But this I can, with confidence, affirm, that I have not, in any single instance, given him just occasion to take offence; and, in the article you point out, I have been particularly cautious. There was a time, 'tis true, when I thought it well became me, by whom Rome itself was free⁴, to speak my sentiments with freedom; but now that our liberties are no more, I deem it equally agreeable to my present situation, not to say any thing that may disgust either Cæsar or his favourites. But were I to suppress every rising raillery, that might pique those at whom it is directed, I must renounce, you know, all my reputation as a wit. And, in good earnest, it is a character upon which I do not set so high a value, as to be unwilling to resign it, if it were in my power. However, I am in no danger of suffering in Cæsar's opinion, by being represented as the author of any

sarcasms

⁴ Alluding to his services in the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

sarcasms to which I have no claim: for his judgment is much too penetrating ever to be deceived by any imposition of this nature. I remember your brother Servius, whom I look upon to have been one of the most learned critics that this age has produced, was so conversant in the writings of our poets, and had acquired such an excellent and judicious ear, that he could immediately distinguish the numbers of Plautus from those of any other author. Thus Cæsar, I am told, when he made his large collection of apophthegms³, constantly rejected any piece of wit that was brought to him as mine, if it happened to be spurious; a distinction which he is much more able to make at present, as his particular friends pass almost every day of their lives in my company. As our conversation generally turns upon a variety of subjects, I frequently strike out thoughts which they look upon as not altogether void, perhaps, of spirit or ingenuity. Now these little sallies of pleasantry, together with the general occurrences of Rome, are constantly transmitted to Cæsar, in pursuance of his own express directions; so that if any thing of this kind is mentioned by others as coming from

³ This collection was made by Cæsar when he was very young, and probably it was a performance by no means to his honour. For Augustus, into whose hands it came, after his death, would not suffer it to be published. *Suet. in vit. Jul. 56.*

from me, he always disregards it. You see, then, that the lines you quote with so much propriety from the tragedy of Oenomaus⁶, contain a caution altogether unnecessary. For tell me, my friend, what jealousies can I possibly create? Or who will look with envy upon a man in my humble situation? But granting that I were in ever so enviable a state; yet let me observe, that it is the opinion of those philosophers, who alone seem to have understood the true nature of virtue, that a good man is answerable for nothing farther than his own innocence. Now in this respect I think myself doubly irreproachable: in the first place, by having recommended such public measures as were for the

⁶ Written by Accius, a tragic poet, who flourished about the year of Rome 617. The subject of this piece, probably, turned upon the death of Oenomaus, king of Elis, and the marriage of his daughter Hippodamia. This prince being informed, by an oracle, that he should lose his life by his future son-in-law, contrived the following expedient to disappoint the prophecy. Being possessed of a pair of horses of such wonderful swiftness, that it was reported they were begotten by the winds, he proposed to the several suitors of his daughter, that whoever of them should beat him in a chariot race should be rewarded with Hippodamia, upon condition that they consented to be put to death if they lost the match. Accordingly, thirteen of these unfortunate rivals entered the list: and each of them, in their turn, paid the forfeiture of their lives. But Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, being more artful than the rest, bribed the charioteer of Oenomaus to take out the lynch pin of his chariot wheel; by which means Oenomaus was dashed to pieces in the course, and Pelops carried off the beautiful Hippodamia. *Hygin. Fab. 83.*

the interest of the commonwealth; and in the next, that, finding I was not sufficiently supported to render my counsels effectual, I did not deem it adviseable to contend for them by arms against a superior strength. Most certainly, therefore, I cannot justly be accused of having failed in the duty of a good citizen. The only part then that now remains for me, is to be cautious not to expose myself, by any indiscreet word or action, to the resentment of those in power: a part which I hold likewise to be agreeable to the character of true wisdom. As to the rest; what liberties any man may take in imputing words to me which I never spoke; what credit Cæsar may give to such reports; and how far those who court my friendship, are really sincere: these are points for which it is by no means in my power to be answerable. My tranquillity arises therefore from the conscious integrity of my counsels in the times that are past, and from the moderation of my conduct in these that are present. Accordingly, I apply the simile you quote from Accius², not only to Envy, but to Fortune: that weak and inconstant power, whom every wise and resolute mind should resist with as much firmness as a rock repels the waves. Grecian story will abundantly supply examples of the

² The Poet mentioned in the preceding remark.

greatest men, both at Athens and Syracuse, who have, in some sort, preserved their independency, amidst the general servitude of their respective communities. May I not hope then to be able so to comport myself, under the same circumstances, as neither to give offence to our rulers, on the one hand, nor to injure the dignity of my character on the other.

But to turn from the serious to the jocose part of your letter.—The strain of pleasantry you break into, immediately after having quoted the tragedy of Oenomaus, puts me in mind of the modern method of introducing at the end of those graver dramatic pieces, the humour of our mimes, instead of the old Atellan farces¹. Why else do you talk of your paltry polypus², and your mouldy cheese? In pure good-nature, it is true, I formerly submitted to sit down with you to such homely fare: but more refined company has improved me into a better taste. For Hirtius and Dolabella, let me tell you, are my preceptors in the science of

¹ These Atellan farces, which, in the earlier periods of the Roman stage, were acted at the end of the more serious dramatic performances, derived their name from Atella, a town in Italy, from whence they were first introduced at Rome. They consisted of a more liberal and genteel kind of humour than the mimes: a species of comedy, which seems to have taken its subject from low life. *Vid. Menut. in loc.*

² A sea fish so extremely tough that it was necessary to beat it a considerable time before it could be rendered fit for the table. *Bruxer. de re cib. xxi. 14.*

the table: as, in return, they are my disciples in that of the bar. But I suppose you have already heard, at least if all the town-news is transmitted to you, that they frequently declaim at my house¹⁰, and that I as often sup at theirs. You must not, however, hope to escape my intended visit, by pleading poverty in bar to the admission of so luxurious a guest. Whilst you were raising a fortune, indeed, I bore with your parsimonious humour: but now that you are in circumstances to support the loss of half your wealth, I expect that you receive me in another manner than you would one of your compounding debtors¹¹. And though your finances may somewhat suffer by my visit, remember it is better they should be impaired by treating a friend, than by lending to a stranger. I do not insist, however, that you spread your

table

¹⁰ Cicero had lately instituted a kind of academy for eloquence in his own house: at which several of the leading young men in Rome used to meet, in order to exercise themselves in the art of oratory. Cicero himself will acquaint the reader with his motives for instituting this society, in the 22d letter of the present book.

¹¹ This alludes (as Manutius observes) to a law which Cæsar passed in favour of those who had contracted debts before the commencement of the civil war. By this law, as appears from the passages which that commentator has cited, commissioners were appointed to take an account of the estate and effects of these debtors, which were to be assigned to their respective creditors according to their valuation before the civil war broke out: and whatever sums had been paid for interest, was to be considered as in discharge of the principal. By this ordinance, Pætus, it seems, had been a particular sufferer. *Cas. Bel. Civil. iii. 1. Suet. in vit. Jul. 42.*

table with so unbounded a profusion, as to furnish out a splendid treat with the remains: I am so wonderfully moderate, as to desire nothing more than what is perfectly elegant and exquisite in its kind. I remember to have heard you describe an entertainment, which was given by Phameas. Let yours be the exact copy of his: only I should be glad not to wait for it quite so long. Should you still persist, after all, to invite me, as usual, to a penurious supper, dished out by the sparing hand of maternal œconomy; even this, perhaps, I may be able to support. But I would fain see that hero bold who should dare to set before me the villanous trash you mention; or even one of your boasted polypusses, with an hue as florid as vermillioned Jove¹². Take my word for it, my friend, your prudence will not suffer you to be thus adventurous. Fame, no doubt, will have proclaimed at your villa my late conversion to luxury, long before my arrival; and you will shiver at the sound of her tremendous report. Nor must you flatter yourself with the hope of abating the edge of my appetite by your cloying sweet-wines before supper: a silly custom which I have now entirely renounced; being

¹² Pliny, the naturalist, mentions a statue of Jupiter, erected in the Capitol, which, on certain festival days, it was customary to paint with vermillion. *Manut.*

being much wiser than when I used to damp my stomach with your antepasts of olives and Leucanian sausages.—But not to run on any longer in this jocose strain; my only serious wish is, that I may be able to make you a visit. You may compose your countenance, therefore, and return to your mouldy cheese in full security: for my being your guest will occasion you, as usual, no other expence than that of heating your baths. As for all the rest, you are to look upon it as mere pleasantry.

The trouble you have given yourself about Selicius's villa¹, is extremely obliging: as your description of it was excessively droll. I believe, therefore, from the account you give me, I shall renounce all thoughts of making that purchase: for though the country, it seems, abounds in salt, the neighbourhood, I find, is but insipid. Farewel.

¹ In Naples.

LETTER

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 707.]

To VOLUMNIUS¹.

You have little reason, believe me, to regret the not being present at my declamations²; and if you should really envy Hirtius, as you assure me you should if you did not love him, it must be much more for his own eloquence, than as he is an auditor of mine. In truth, my dear Volumnius, either I am utterly void of all genius, or incapable of exercising it to my satisfaction, now that I have lost those illustrious fellow-labourers at the bar that fired me with emulation when I used to gain your judicious applause. If ever, indeed, I displayed the powers of eloquence with advantage to my reputation, let me send a sigh when I reflect, with the fallen Philoctetes in the play, that

*These potent shafts, the heroes wonted dread,
Now spend on meaner war their idle force;
Aim'd at the wing'd inhabitants of air!*

However,

¹ See rem. 8. on let. 18. B. iv.

² See rem. 10. on the preceding letter.

³ Philoctetes was the friend and companion of Hercules, who, when he was dying, presented him with his quiver of arrows which had been dipped in the hydra's gall. When the Grecian princes assembled in order to revenge the cause of Menelaus, they were assured by an oracle that Troy

However, if you will give me your company here, my spirits will be more enlivened: though I need not add, that you will find me engaged in a multitude of very important occupations. But if I can once get to the end of them (as I most earnestly wish) I shall bid a long farewell both to the forum and the senate, and chiefly devote my time to you and some few others of our common friends. In this number are Cassius and Dolabella, who are united with us in the same favourite studies, and to whose performances I with great pleasure attend. But we want the assistance of your refined judgment, and of that uncommon erudition which has often struck me with awe when I have been delivering my sentiments before you. I have determined, then, if I should obtain the consent, or at least the permission of Cæsar, to retire from that stage

on
could never be taken without the assistance of these arrows. An embassy, therefore, was sent to Philoctetes to engage him on their side, who accordingly consented to attend their expedition. But being disabled from proceeding with these heroes in their voyage, by an accidental wound which he received in the foot from one of his own arrows, they ungenerously left him on a desolate island; and it was here that he was reduced to the mortifying necessity of employing these formidable shafts in the humble purposes of supplying himself with food. The lines here, quoted are taken from Accius, a dramatic poet who flourished about the year of Rome 623, and who, probably, had formed a tragedy upon the subject of this adventure. *Serv. in Æn. iii. 402.*

on which I have frequently performed a part that he himself has applauded. It is my resolution, indeed, totally to conceal myself in the secret shades of philosophy, where I hope to enjoy, with you, and some others of the same contemplative disposition, the honourable fruits of a studious leisure. I am sorry you shortened your last letter in the apprehension that I should not have patience to read a longer. But assure yourself, for the future, that the longer yours are, the more acceptable they will always prove to me. Farewell.

LETTER XXII.

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

YOUR very agreeable letter found me wholly disengaged at my Tusculan villa. I retired hither during the absence of my pupils, whom I have sent to meet their victorious friend^b, in order to conciliate his good graces in my favour.

As Dionysius the tyrant, after he was expelled from Syracuse, opened a school, it is said, at Corinth; in the same manner, being driven from

Hirtius and Dolabella.
Cæsar, in his return from the African war.
He was expelled from Sicily about 340 years before the

from my dominions in the forum, I have erected a sort of academy in my own house: and I perceive, by your letter, that you approve the scheme. I have many reasons for approving it too; and principally as it affords me what is highly expedient in the present conjuncture, a mean of establishing an interest with those in whose friendship I may find a protection. How far my intentions in this respect may be answered, I know not: I can only say, that I have hitherto had no reason to prefer the different measures which others of the same party with myself have pursued; unless, perhaps, it would have been more eligible not to have survived the ruin of our cause. It would so, I confess, had I died either in the camp⁶, or in the field: but the former did not happen to be my fate; and, as to the latter, I never was engaged in any action. But the inglorious manner

the birth of our Saviour, on account of his oppressive government; when retiring to Corinth, he employed himself in exercising the humbler tyranny of a pedagogue. It is supposed that he engaged in this office the more effectually to conceal the schemes he was still meditating, of recovering his dominions. *Justin. xxi. 5.*

⁵ Particularly Hirtius and Dolabella.

⁶ The expression in the original is extremely concise.—*In lectulo. Fatior sed non accidit.* This seems to allude to the sickness with which Cicero was attacked in the camp of Dyrrachium, and that prevented him from being present at the battle of Pharsalia, or at least furnished him with a plausible excuse for his absence. *Plut. in vit. Ciceron.*

ner in which Pompey⁷, together with Scipio⁸, Afranius⁹, and your friend Lentulus¹⁰, severally lost their lives, will scarcely, I suppose, be thought a more desirable lot. As to Cato's death¹¹, it must be acknowledged to have been truly noble; and I can still follow his example, when—

⁷ An account of the manner and circumstance of Pompey's death has already been given in rem. 6. p. 200. of this vol.

⁸ Scipio, after the unfortunate battle of Thapsus [see rem. 7. p. 246. of this vol.] endeavouring to make his escape into Spain, was driven back upon the coast of Africa, where he fell in with a squadron of Cæsar's fleet, commanded by Hirtius. Scipio was soon overpowered by the strength and number of the enemy's ships: and himself, together with the few vessels that attended him, were all sunk. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric. 96.*

⁹ Afranius had been one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, and had a command in Scipio's army in Africa. He was taken prisoner in attempting to make his escape after the defeat of that general, and murdered by the soldiers. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric. 95.*

¹⁰ This is not the same person to whom the letters in the first and second book of this collection are addressed, but Lucius Lentulus, who was consul with Marcellus *an urb. 704*, the year in which the civil war broke out. After the defeat at Pharsalia, he fled to the island of Cyprus; where, receiving intelligence that Pompey was gone into Egypt, he immediately set sail in order to join him. He arrived on the next day after that unfortunate general had been cruelly assassinated: and being seized the moment he landed, he underwent the same fate with that of his illustrious friend, in pursuance of an order for that purpose from Ptolemy. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Cæsar de Bel. Civil. iii. 102. 104.*

¹¹ The manner and circumstances of Cato's having destroyed himself are too well known to be particularised in this place. A late noble writer is of opinion, that Cato abandoned the cause of liberty too soon, and that he would have died with a better grace at *Munda*, than at *Utica*. This censure, it must be owned, has the appearance of being just,

whenever I shall be so disposed. Let me only endeavour, as in fact I do, not to be compelled to it by the same necessity¹²: and this is my first

just, if we consider it only in respect to the event: but if there had been a real foundation for the reproach, it can scarce be supposed that it should have escaped every one of the ancient writers who speak of this illustrious Roman's exit; and that Cicero, in particular, who most certainly did not love Cato, should have made an honourable exception of his death, out of that list which he here condemns. It is true, the republican party, after the defeat of Scipio in Africa, made a very powerful struggle against Cæsar under the command of young Pompey in Spain. But it is highly probable, that there was not the least rational expectation of this circumstance, when Cato thought it became him to put an end to his life. For it appears, from Plutarch, that he would have defended Utica to the last, if he could have persuaded the principal Romans in that garrison to have supported him: and it was not till after all his remonstrances for that purpose proved utterly ineffectual, and that he had secured the retreat of those who did not choose to surrender themselves to Cæsar, that this exemplary patriot fell upon his own sword. Thus died this truly great and virtuous Roman! He had long stood forth the sole uncorrupted opposer of those vices that proved the ruin of this degenerate commonwealth; and supported, as far as a single arm could support, the declining constitution. But when his services could no farther avail, he scorned to survive what had been the labour of his whole life to preserve, and bravely perished with the liberties of his country. This is the purport of that noble eulogy which Seneca, in much stronger language, has justly bestowed upon Cato: *Adversus vitia degenerantis civitatis*, says he, *stetit, solus, & cadentem rempublicam, quantum, modo una retinui manu poterat, retinuit; donec comitem se diu sustentatæ ruine dedit: simulque extincta sunt quæ nefas erat dividi. Neque enim Cato post libertatem cecidit, nec libertas post Catonem.* Lord Bolingbroke's Letter on Patriotism, p. 36. Plut. in vit. Caton. Senec. de constant. Sapient. 2.

¹² The only necessity which Cato was under of putting an end to his life, arose from that uniform opposition he had given

first reason for engaging in my present scheme. My next is, that I find it an advantage, not only to my health¹³, which began to be impaired by the intermission of exercises of this kind, but also to my oratorical talents, if any I ever possessed: which would have totally lost their vigour, if I had not had recourse to this method of keeping them in play. The last benefit I shall mention (and the principal one, I dare say, in your estimation) is, that it has introduced me to the demolishing of a greater number of delicious peacocks¹⁴, than you have had the de-

vouring given to the dangerous designs of the conqueror: and it must be allowed, that Cicero took sufficient care not to fall under the same.

¹³ A mere English reader will be surprised to hear Cicero talk of eloquence as an exercise. There is nothing, indeed, more indolent and immoveable than a British orator: or if he ventures into action, his gestures are generally such as would render the finest speech that Demosthenes or Cicero ever delivered, absolutely powerless or ridiculous. "You may see many a smart rhetorician (says the inimitable Mr. Addison) turning his hat in his hands, moulding it into several different cocks, examining sometimes the lining, and sometimes the button, during the whole course of his harangue. A deaf man would think he was cheapening a beaver: when, perhaps, he is talking of the fate of the British nation." But among the orators of Greece and Rome it was far otherwise. They studied the eloquence of action as much as that of diction: and their rhetoricians have laid down rules for the graceful management of the shoulders, the arms, the hands, and the feet, which were each of them engaged by turns in the emphatical exercise of ancient elocution. *Spect.* vi. p. 50. *Quintil.* xi. 3.

¹⁴ This bird was esteemed by the Romans amongst the most refined delicacies of the table, and no entertainment was

vouring of paltry pigeons in all your life. The truth of it is, whilst you are humbly sipping the meagre broths of the sneaking Aterius, I am luxuriously regaling myself with the savoury soups of the magnificent Hirtius.¹⁵ If you have any spirit, then, fly hither, and learn, from our elegant bills of fare, how to refine your own: though, to do your talents justice, this is a sort of knowledge in which you are much superior to our instructions. However, since you can get no purchasers for your mortgages, and are not likely to fill those pitchers you mention with denarii¹⁵, it will be your wisest scheme to return hither: for it is a better thing, let me tell you, to be sick with good eating at Rome, than for want of victuals at Naples¹⁶. In short, I plainly perceive that your finances are in no flourishing situation, and I expect to hear the same account of all your neighbours: so that famine, my friend, most

formidable

was thought completely elegant where a peacock did not make one of the dishes. They bore a most incredible price: Varro assures us, that an hundred peacocks produced to the owner, the annual profit of about three hundred pounds sterling. *Var. de re Rustic.* iii. 6.

¹⁵ The denarius was a silver coin, equivalent to about eight pence of our money. Cicero's raillery alludes to the loss which Pætus had suffered by the late edict of Cæsar concerning debtors: of which an account has been given in rem. 11. p. 260. of this vol.

¹⁶ Pætus had a house in Naples: where he appears to have been when this letter was written.

formidable famine must be your fate, if you do not provide against it in due time. And since you have been reduced to sell your horse, e'en mount your mule (the only animal, it seems, belonging to you which you have not yet sacrificed to your table) and convey yourself immediately to Rome. To encourage you to do so, you shall be honoured with a chair and cushion next to mine; and sit the second great pedagogue in my celebrated school. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

YOUR satirical humour, I find, has not yet forsaken you: and I perfectly well understand your raillery, when you gravely tell me, that Balbus contented himself with your humble fare. You insinuate, I suppose, that since these our sovereign¹ rulers are thus wonderfully temperate, much more does it become a discarded consular² to practise the same abstemiousness. But do you know, my friend, that I have artfully drawn from Balbus himself, the whole history of Balbus was a sort of prime minister and chief confident of Cæsar. The consulars were those who had passed through the office of consul.

tory of the reception you gave him? He came directly to my house the moment he arrived in Rome: a circumstance, by the way, somewhat extraordinary. Not that I am surprised at his wanting the politeness to call first at yours; but my wonder is, that he should not go directly to his own². However, after the two or three first salutations had passed, I immediately enquired what account he had to give of my friend Pætus? "Never, he protested, was he better entertained in his whole life." Now, if you merited this compliment by your wit, I desire you to remember, that I shall bring as elegant a taste with me as Balbus himself: but if he alluded to the honours of your table, let it never be said, that the family of the stammerers⁴ were more splendidly regaled by Pætus, than the sons of elocution.

Business has prevented me, from time to time, in my design of paying you a visit: but if I can dispatch

² There is undoubtedly some raillery in this passage, either upon Pætus or Balbus: but it is impossible to discover of what nature, as it alludes to circumstances utterly unknown.

⁴ In the original it is, *ne plaris esse Balbos, quam disertos putes*: a witticism which could not, possibly, be preserved in the translation. For it turns upon the equivocal sense of the word *Balbus*: which was not only the name of the person of whom Cicero is speaking, but signifies, likewise, a man who labours under that defect of speech called stuttering.

dispatch my affairs so as to be able to come into your part of the word, I shall take care that you shall have no reason to complain of my not having given you timely notice. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

ARE you not a pleasant mortal to question me concerning the fate of those estates³ you mention, when Balbus had just before been paying you a visit? It is from him, indeed, that I derive my whole fund of intelligence; and you may be assured, that where he is ignorant, I have no chance of being better informed. I might, with much more propriety, desire you would tell me what is likely to be the fate of my own possessions, since you have so lately had a person⁴ under your roof, from whom, either in or out of his cups, you might certainly have discovered that secret. But this, my dear Pætus, is an article that makes no part

³ Probably the estates of the Pompeians that lay about Naples, where Pætus seems to have been when this letter was written. It appears that Pætus had been alarmed with a rumour that Caesar intended to seize those estates; and, therefore, had applied to Cicero to learn the truth of this report.

⁴ Balbus.

part of my inquiry; for, in the first place, I have reason to be well satisfied, having now almost these four years⁷ been indulged with my life; if life or indulgence it may be called, to be the sad survivor of our country's ruin. In the next place, I believe it is a question I may easily answer myself. For I know it will be just as it shall seem meet to the men in power; and the men in power, my friend, will ever be those whose swords are the most prevailing. I must rest contented, therefore, with whatever grace it shall be their pleasure to shew me; for he who could not tamely submit to such wretched terms, ought to have taken refuge in the arms of death. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the estates about Veii and Capena⁸, are actually dividing out, (and these, you know, are not far distant from Tusculum⁹) yet it gives me no sort of disquietude.

⁷ One of the commentators, who conceals his true name under that of Ragazonius, collects from this passage, that the present letter was written A. U. 707. whereas it seems to prove, on the contrary, that its date cannot be placed earlier than the year 709. For Cicero appears, evidently, to allude to the pardon he had received from Cæsar. Now this could not have been till after the battle of Pharsalia, A. U. 705; and the fourth year from that period brings us down to 709. In the beginning, therefore, of that year, this letter ought to have been placed; but the error of its present situation was not discovered till it was too late to be rectified.

⁸ Veii and Capena were cities in that part of Italy called Etruria, which is now comprehended under the name of Tuscany.

⁹ Where Cicero had a villa.

disquietude. I enjoy my property whilst I may, and please myself with the hope that I shall never be deprived of that privilege. But should it happen otherwise, still, however, since it was my noble maxim (hero and philosopher as I was!) that life is the fairest of all possessions, I cannot, undoubtedly, but love the man¹⁰ by whose bounty I have obtained the continuance of that enjoyment. It is certain, at the same time, that how much soever he may be disposed, perhaps, to restore the republic, (as we ought all of us most certainly to wish) yet he has entangled himself in such a variety of different connexions, that he is utterly embarrassed in what manner to act. But this is going farther into these points than is necessary, considering the person to whom I am writing. Nevertheless, I will add, that our chief himself is as absolutely ignorant what measures will finally be resolved upon, as I am, who have no share in his councils. For Cæsar is no less under the control of circumstances, than we are under the control of Cæsar; and it is as much impossible for him to foresee what these may require, as it is for us to penetrate into what he may intend.

You must not impute it to neglect, (a fault, you are sensible, of which I am seldom guilty in the

¹⁰ Cæsar.

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the article of writing) that I have not said thus much to you before. The single reason for my not sooner answering your inquiry, was, that as I could only speak from conjecture, I was unwilling, without a just foundation, either to increase your fears, or to encourage your hopes. But this I can with truth assure you, that I have not heard the least hint of the danger you apprehend. A man of your philosophy, however, ought to hope for the best, to be prepared for the worst, and to bear, with equanimity, whatever may happen. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

YOUR letter gave me a double pleasure; for it not only diverted me extremely, but was a proof, likewise, that you are so well recovered as to be able to indulge your usual gaiety. I was well contented, at the same time, to find myself the subject of your raillery; and, in truth, the repeated provocations I had given you were sufficient to call forth all the severity of your satire. My only regret is, that I am prevented from taking my intended journey into your part of the world, where I purposed to have made myself, I do not say your guest, but

but one of your family. You would have found me wonderfully changed from the man I formerly was, when you used to cram me with your cloying antepasts¹. For I now more prudently sit down to table with an appetite altogether unimpaired, and most heroically make my way through every dish that comes before me, from the egg² that leads the van, to the roast veal that brings up the rear³. The temperate and unexpensive guest whom you were wont to applaud, is now no more. I have bidden a total farewell to all the cares of the patriot, and have joined the professed enemies of my former principles; in short, I am become an absolute Epicurean. You are by no means, however, to consider me as a friend to that injudicious profusion,

¹ These antepasts seem to have been a kind of collation preparatory to the principal entertainment. They generally consisted, it is probable, of such dishes as were provocatives to appetite; but prudent oeconomists, as may be collected from the turn of Cicero's raillery, sometimes contrived them in such a manner as to damp rather than improve the stomach of their guests.

² The first dish at every Roman table, was constantly eggs; which maintained their post of honour even at the most magnificent entertainments:

Nec dum omnis abacta

Pauperis epulis regum: num vilibus oris

est—hodie locus. Hor. Sat. ii. 2.

The humble egg at lordly feasts we see:

This still remains of old simplicity!

³ It appears, by a passage which Manutius cites from Tertullian, that the Romans usually concluded their feasts with broiled or roasted meat.

fusion, which is now the prevailing taste of our modern entertainments; on the contrary, it is that more elegant luxury I admire which you formerly used to display when your finances were most flourishing⁵, though your farms were not more numerous than at present. Be prepared, therefore, for my reception, accordingly, and remember you are to entertain a man who has not only a most enormous appetite, but who has some little knowledge, let me tell you, in the science of elegant eating. You know there is a peculiar air of self-sufficiency, that generally distinguishes those who enter late into the study of any art. You will not wonder, therefore, when I take upon me to inform you, that you must banish your cakes and your sweetmeats, as articles that are now utterly discarded from all fashionable bills of fare. I am become, indeed, such a proficient in this science, that I frequently venture to invite to my table those refined friends of yours, the delicate Verrius and Camillus. Nay, I am bolder still, and have presumed to give a supper even to Hirtius himself; though, I must own, I could not advance so far as to honour him with a peacock⁶. To tell you the truth, my honest cook had not skill enough to imitate any other part of his splendid

⁵ See rem. 11. p. 260. of this vol.

⁶ See rem. 14. p. 270. of this vol.

splendid entertainments, except only his smothering soups.

But to give you a general sketch of my manner of life; I spend the first part of the morning in receiving the compliments of several both of our dejected patriots and our gay victors; the latter of whom treat me with great marks of civility and esteem. As soon as that ceremony is over, I retire to my library, where I employ myself either with my books or my pen. And here I am sometimes surrounded by an audience, who look upon me as a man of most profound erudition, for no other reason, perhaps, than because I am not altogether so ignorant as themselves. The rest of my time I wholly devote to indulgencies of a less intellectual kind. I have sufficiently, indeed, paid the tribute of sorrow to my unhappy country: the miseries whereof I have longer and more bitterly lamented, than ever tender mother bewailed the loss of her only son.

Let me desire you, as you would secure your magazine of provisions from falling into my hands, to take care of your health; for I have most unmercifully resolved that no pretence of indisposition shall preserve your larder from my depredations. Farewel.

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LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

I ARRIVED yesterday at Cumæ⁷, and perhaps I may pay you a visit to-morrow; but I shall take care to give you a short notice beforehand. I am determined, indeed, not only to see you, but to sup with you too. For though I had the mortification to be informed by Marcus Ceparius, whom I met on the road, that you were laid up with the gout; yet I suppose your cook is not disabled as well as his master. You may expect, therefore, very speedily to receive a guest, who, as he is remarkable for having a wonderful puny stomach, is equally famous likewise for being an irreconcilable enemy to all sumptuous entertainments.—
Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

To MARCUS MARIUS.

I ARRIVED at Cumæ on the 24th, accompanied by our friend Libo, and purpose to be at my Pompeian villa⁸ very shortly: but I will give

⁷ Where he had a country house.

⁸ See rem. 3. p. 198. of this vol.

give you previous notice when I shall have fixed the day. I wish you the enjoyment of your health at all times; but particularly whilst I am your neighbour. If you have an assignation, therefore, with your old companion, the gout, pray contrive to put it off to some other opportunity. In good earnest, let me desire you to take care of your health, and expect to see me in two or three days. Farewel.

LETTERS

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK IX.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS¹.

I AM continually receiving accounts from various hands, that you are in a more than common degree affected by the general calamities of our country. This is by no means a matter of surprise to me, as it in some measure corresponds

¹ Some account has already been given of Sulpicius, in rem. 1. p. 119. of this vol. Upon the breaking out of the civil

sponds with what passes in my own bosom. Nevertheless, I cannot but regret that a man of your superior understanding should not rather enjoy his own good fortune, than vainly disquiet himself with the misery of others. As for myself, there is none who has more bitterly lamented the general desolation of the commonwealth: yet there are many reflections from which I now derive great relief; particularly from a consciousness of the integrity of my former counsels. I long foresaw, as from some advantageous eminence, the storm that was gathering around us; and I foresaw it, not only by the force of my own discernment, but much clearer by the assistance of your prophetic admonitions. For though I was absent during the greater part of your consulate, yet I was not unapprised how often you foretold this fatal war, and what measures you recommended for its prevention. In the commencement, indeed, of your consular administration,

civil war he was a considerable time in suspense on which side to declare himself: [See rem. 1. p. 138. of this vol.] but at length he determined to join Pompey. However, soon after the battle of Pharsalia, he made his peace with Caesar, and was appointed by him governor of Greece. It was during his administration of this province, that the present letter, together with the rest of those which are addressed to him in this and the following book, were written.

Sulpicius was consul in the year 702; and it was about the latter end of April, or the beginning of May, in the same year, that Cicero left Rome, in order to proceed to his government in Cilicia. *Ad Att. v. 2.*

tration, I was myself present in the senate when you prudently endeavoured to awaken our fears, by enumerating those civil wars that had happened within our own memories. And if the authors of these, you told the house, unsupported by a single example of the same kind to give a colour to their conduct, had exercised such dreadful cruelties, whoever in future times should successfully turn his arms against the republic, would most assuredly prove a much more intolerable tyrant. For they that act by precedent, you observed, generally think they act by right, and in cases of this nature seldom fail of improving upon their model. You should remember, therefore, that those who refused to follow your judicious advice, owe their destruction entirely to their own imprudence. But you will ask, perhaps, "what relief can this consideration afford to your mind, amidst the universal wreck of the republic?" It must be acknowledged, indeed, that our misfortunes will scarce admit of

recon-
About two-and-twenty years before the date of this letter, the dissensions between Marius and Sylla broke out into an open civil war, which terminated in the perpetual dictatorship of the latter.

Both Marius and Sylla perpetrated, in their turns, the most horrid outrages against the partisans of each other; but particularly Sylla, whose sanguinary proscriptions, during his usurpation, afford the most dreadful instances, perhaps, of human cruelty, that are to be met with in the whole annals of despotic power. *Vid. Sallust. Bel. Catil. 51.*

consolation : so total and so irrecoverable is the ruin we deplore ! However, Cæsar himself, as well as every citizen of Rome besides, looks upon you as shining forth, amidst this general extinction of the great lights of the republic, in all the lustre and dignity of wisdom and virtue. These considerations, therefore, ought greatly to alleviate the generous disquietude of your heart. 'Tis true you are absent from your friends and family ; but this you have the less reason to regret, as you are removed at the same time from many very disagreeable circumstances. I would particularly point them out to you, but that I am unwilling you should have the pain of hearing what you are so happy as not to see : an advantage which renders your situation, I think, so much the more eligible than ours.

I have thus far laid before you, in the warmest friendship of my heart, those reasons which may justly contribute to lighten and compose your uneasiness. The rest are to be found within yourself ; and they are consolations which I know, by daily experience, to be of the best and most efficacious kind. I well remember that you passionately cultivated the whole circle of sciences from your earliest youth, and carefully treasured up in your mind whatever the wisest philosophers have delivered concerning

concerning the best and happiest regulation of human life. Now these are contemplations both useful and entertaining, even in seasons of the greatest calm and prosperity ; but in the present calamitous situation of public affairs, there is nothing else that can sooth and compose our minds. I would not be so arrogant as to take upon myself to exhort a man of your sense and knowledge to have recourse to those studies to which I know you have your whole life been devoted. I will only say with respect to myself, (and I hope I shall be justified by your approbation) that I consecrated all my time and attention to philosophy, when I perceived there was no farther employment either in the forum or the senate for my favourite art. Scarce more room is there for the exercise of that excellent science, in which you, my friend, are so eminently distinguished. I am persuaded,

³ Oratory.

⁴ Sulpicius distinguished himself by his superior skill in the laws of his country ; to the knowledge and practice of which science he principally devoted the studies and the labours of his life. He was the first, indeed, among the Romans who seems to have traced and explained the principles of civil law ; and to have reduced that branch of knowledge from the vague and confused manner in which it had been formerly treated, into a regular and rational system. The number of treatises which he is said to have composed, amount to above an hundred and fifty ; but nothing of his hand remains, except two very elegant and interesting letters, addressed to Cicero, in the eleventh book of the present collection. See p. 6. and 28. of vol. iii. *Cicer. de Clar. Orat.* 152. *Pompon. de Orig. Juris.*

suaded, therefore, that I have no occasion to admonish you to apply your thoughts to the same philosophical contemplations; which, if they were attended with no other advantage, would have this, at least, to recommend them, that they divert the mind from dwelling on its anxieties.

Your son applies himself to all the polite arts in general with great success: but he particularly excels in those philosophical studies from whence I just now professed to derive the principal consolation of my life. I know not any man, except yourself, for whom I have conceived a stronger affection: and, indeed, he very amply returns the warmth of my friendship: but he evidently shews, at the same time, that, in distinguishing me with the marks of his respect and esteem, he imagines that he is acting in the most agreeable manner to your inclinations. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PUBLIUS SERVILIUS ISAURICUS,
Proconsul.

I RECEIVED the account you sent me of your voyage, with much pleasure, as it was a proof that you are not unmindful of our friendship: than which nothing, be assured, can afford me a more real satisfaction. Would you still oblige me more! let it be by freely communicating to me the state of your province, and the plan of government upon which you proceed. For, though the fame of your administration will undoubtedly reach me by many other ways, yet I shall be most pleased in being made acquainted with it by your own hand. As for myself, the hazards to which my letters are exposed, will not suffer me to be so frequent in giving you my sentiments of public affairs, as I shall be in apprizing you of what passes amongst us. I have hopes, however, that our colleague

¹ Cæsar nominated him joint consul with himself, in the year 705; and Servilius exercised the consular functions at Rome, whilst his colleague was employed in carrying on the war against Pompey in Macedonia. He was, at this time, proconsul of Asia Minor; to which province he succeeded at the expiration of his consulate. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. iii. 1.*

colleague Cæsar¹ intends, and, indeed, that he actually has it under his consideration, to establish a republican form of government of some kind; and it is of much importance, that you should be present in his council for this purpose. But if it be more for your own glory to preside over Asia, and preserve that ill-affected part of the republic in its allegiance, I ought to regulate my inclinations by yours, and prefer what will most contribute to the advancement of your interest and your honour. Be assured, I shall employ my utmost zeal to promote both, by every mean that shall appear conducive to that end; among which, it shall be my principal care to distinguish your illustrious father² with all possible marks of my observance.

¹ Cæsar was a fellow member of the college of augurs with Cicero and Servilius.

² Servilius the father, after having passed through the office of consul in the year 673, was elected governor of Cilicia, where he greatly distinguished himself in several obstinate and successful engagements with the piratic nations, that infested the Roman commerce in this part of the eastern world. He particularly turned his arms against the Isauri; a people situated between Cilicia and Lycaonia; and having penetrated as far as their capital, he not only laid it level with the ground, but demolished several strong forts which the pirates possessed in the maritime parts of that kingdom. It was upon this occasion, that he obtained the title of *Isauricus*; and, at his return to Rome, he was honoured, likewise, with a triumph. He died not long after this letter was written, in an extreme old age, and is said to have preserved his health and senses entire to his last moments. *Liv. Epit. 93. Flor. iii. 6. Dio. xlv. p. 277.*

observance. This, indeed, is what I justly owe him, not only in regard to his high character, and the friendship in which we have been long united, but in return, likewise, to the many favours which you and he have conferred upon me. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 707.]

TO NIGIDIUS FIGULUS¹.

THOUGH I have long been looking out for an occasion of writing to you, yet I have not only been unable to meet with any particular subject

¹ Nigidius Figulus was a person of great distinction, not only in the civil, but literary world. He had passed through the offices of tribune and prætor, with much honour; and was at this time in the number of those who were suffering exile for having taken up arms on the side of Pompey. He was extremely well versed in all the liberal sciences, but his studies were principally consecrated to moral and natural knowledge; in the latter of which he seems to have made such extraordinary discoveries, as to have occasioned a suspicion that he practised the magic art. He was much addicted to judicial astrology; and, it is said, that being informed of the birth of Octavius, he immediately pronounced that he was destined to empire. Lucan has celebrated him for his learning of this kind, and represents him as prophetically declaring the future calamities of his country.

*At Figulus, cui cura Deos secretaque cæli
Nosse fuit, &c.*

One of the commentators asserts, (though it does not appear upon

ject for that purpose, but find myself utterly at a loss even to furnish out a common letter. The calamities of our country have spoiled me for those jocose epistles with which, in happier days, I used to entertain my friends; as fortune has rendered me incapable of writing, or, in truth, of thinking, upon any subject of a cheerful nature. There remains another species of letters of a grave and serious cast, peculiarly adapted to these miserable times. But, as a letter of this kind ought to contain either some promise of assisting you to surmount your misfortunes, or some arguments to support you under them; from these, too, I am likewise excluded. Sunk, indeed, as I am, into the same abject fortune as yourself, what assistance can I possibly offer you? In sad truth, I am obliged to have recourse myself to the aid of others, and I have much more reason to lament that I live upon these disgraceful terms, than to rejoice that I am still in being. I say not this from any extraordinary injuries which I have suffered in my own person; indeed, there is nothing which in the present conjuncture I could wish for myself, that Cæsar has not voluntarily

upon what authority) that Figulus died in exile, the year following the date of this letter. *Ad Q. F. l. 2. Cic. Fragm. de Uniter. in Princip. Dio. xlv. p. 270. Suet. in Aug. 94. Lacan. i. 693.*

voluntarily offered me. Nevertheless, the sorrows that oppress my heart, are of so severe a nature, that I think myself guilty of a crime in still continuing to live. For I live deprived of many of my most intimate friends, whom death, or those public calamities which have driven them from their country, have separated from me; as I have, likewise, lost, by the same means, all those whose good-will I formerly conciliated, when, by your assistance*, I successfully stood forth in defence of the republic. I have the unhappiness, at the same time, to be placed in the midst of the general wreck and plunder of their fortunes; and not only have the pain to hear, (but what is far more affecting) am a spectator of the dissipation of the estates which belonged to those illustrious associates, who assisted me in extinguishing the flames of that dangerous conspiracy. In a word, I have the mortification to find myself utterly divested of all credit, authority, and honours in that republic, where I once flourished in the full possession of those glorious distinctions. Cæsar, 'tis true, acts towards me with the utmost

* This alludes to the affair of Catiline's conspiracy; in which, as in every other article of public concern, Cicero was principally determined in his conduct by the sentiments and advice of Nigidius. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

most generosity; but his generosity cannot restore what I have lost by the general violence and confusion of the times. Thus bereaved of those advantages to which I was habituated by genius, by inclination, and by custom, I imagine that the world is no less dissatisfied with me, than I am with myself. Formed, indeed, as I was by nature, to be perpetually engaged in the noblest and most important occupations, I am now deprived of every mean, not only of acting, but of thinking to any public purpose. There was a time when my assistance could have raised the obscure, and protected even the guilty; but now I cannot so much as send a favourable promise to Nigidius; to the virtuous, the learned Nigidius; to the man who once flourished in the highest credit, and who was always my warmest friend! Thus you see that I am totally disqualified from writing letters to you of this kind.

The only subject that remains to me, then, is to endeavour to draw off your mind from its inquietudes, by laying before you such arguments as may afford you a well-grounded consolation. But, if ever any man was peculiarly qualified to employ the strongest reasonings of this nature, either for his own use, or for that of others, most undoubtedly it is yourself.

Such,

Such, therefore, as may be drawn from the refined sources of philosophy, I will not pretend to touch; but shall leave them entirely to your own suggestions. Whatever is worthy of a man of true wisdom and fortitude; whatever is agreeable to that character you have sustained in the world, and to those studies in which you so early excelled; whatever, in short, is expected from a great and exalted mind in the circumstances wherein you are placed, your own reflections will best supply. I will only take upon myself, therefore, to inform you of what I have been able to discover from my being situated in Rome, and giving a particular attention to every occurrence that passes. I will venture, then, with confidence, to assure you, that your present troubles (perhaps, too, I might add, that those of the republic itself) will not be of long continuance. For, in the first place, Cæsar seems well inclined to recal you from exile; and, trust me, I speak this from no hasty conjecture. On the contrary, I examine his sentiments and dispositions so much the more strictly, as I am less biassed in his favour by any particular connexions. I am persuaded, then, that the single reason for his delaying to restore you, is that he may with a better grace, refuse the same

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favour

favour to others against whom he is more warmly incensed. I am sure, at least, that all his most intimate friends and favourites both think and speak of you highly to your advantage.

In the next place, the populace, or rather, I should say, the whole community in general, are strongly in your interest. And let me add, that the republic herself, whose power at present, it must be confessed, is certainly inconsiderable, but who must necessarily, however, recover some degree of credit; the republic herself, believe me, will soon obtain your restoration from those who at this time hold her in subjection. In this respect, therefore, I may venture even to promise you some assistance. With this view, I shall closely attach myself to Cæsar's favourites, who are all of them, indeed, extremely fond of me, and spend much of their time in my company; as I shall insinuate myself into an intimacy with Cæsar, to which my own modesty has hitherto proved the single obstruction. In short, I shall pursue every probable mean of this kind (and some, too, that I dare not

commit

¹ It requires, perhaps, no ordinary portion of faith, to believe it was modesty that kept Cicero at a distance from Cæsar. The true reason, indeed, appears from Cicero's own account in the last paragraph of the following letter, where he touches upon this article in a more ingenuous manner, than he thought proper in the present instance. See the 17th and 22d letters of this book.

commit to paper) in order to obtain your return. As to other articles of assistance, I am sensible there are many who are perfectly well inclined to offer you their services; but you may depend upon me as the first and forwardest in that number. The sincere truth is, there is no part of my estate which is not as freely at your disposal as it is at mine. But I will say the less upon this subject, as I would rather encourage you to hope (what I am well persuaded will be the case) that you will soon have it in your power to make use of your own. In the meanwhile, let me conjure you to preserve a firm and unbroken spirit, remembering not only the sublime precepts you have received from other celebrated philosophers, but those likewise which have been the produce of your own judicious reflections. If you attend to these, they will teach you to hope the best, and at the same time to meet whatever may happen with a wise composure of mind. But these are sentiments which

² Nigidius published many treatises on different branches of human and theological science, the subjects of which Manutius, with his usual learning and industry, has collected from the several ancient writers wherein they are cited. It is probable, from the present passage, that he had published also some treatise concerning fortitude, upon the Pythagoric principles. It is certain, at least, that Nigidius (and it is a circumstance greatly to the honour of his character) attempted to bring the philosophy of Pythagoras into credit with

no man is so capable to suggest to you as yourself. I will only add, then, that you may be assured of my carefully and zealously embracing every opportunity of promoting your welfare; as I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the generous services you conferred upon me during my severe afflictions.⁵ Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A.U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS.⁶

I WILL not venture to condemn, though I have not myself pursued those measures in which I find you still persevere,⁷ as I have too

high with his countrymen; which, after having flourished in Italy during some centuries, was now grown almost entirely out of repute. It is no wonder, indeed, that a system which, in many of its precepts, seems to have approached very near to the divine morality of the Christian institution, was rejected in an age in which the only fashionable principles were, to acquire wealth by every means of avarice and injustice, and to dissipate it by every method of luxury and profusion. *Cic. Fragm. de Univ. in Princip.*

⁵ This alludes to Cicero's banishment, in the year 694, at which time Nigidius was prætor. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 361.*

⁶ For a particular account of the character and conduct of Marcellus, see rem. 3. let. 31. of book iii.

⁷ This alludes to the different conduct of Cicero and Marcellus, after the battle of Pharsalia; the former (as has already been remarked), having immediately returned into Italy, in order to throw himself at the feet of the conqueror, the latter retiring to Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos. In this city Marcellus probably resided, when the present letter was written.

high an opinion of *your* judgment, to think the preference is due to my own. The friendship, however, in which we have so long been intimately united, together with those singular marks of affection you have shewn towards me, from your earliest youth, induce me to recommend to you what seems conducive to your interest, at the same time that it appears by no means inconsistent with your honour.

I am sensible that you long foresaw, no less than myself, those calamities that have fallen upon our country: and I well remember the patriot conduct you displayed during your glorious administration of the consular office. But I remember, too, that you disapproved of the manner in which the civil war was conducted; and that, far from being satisfied either with the strength or nature of Pompey's forces, you were always extremely diffident of their success, in which, I need not add, I entirely agreed with you. In conformity to these our mutual sentiments, as you did not enter very far into the war on your part, so I always endeavoured as much as possible to avoid it on mine. The point in contest between the adverse parties was not to be decided indeed by the force of their counsels, and the justice of their cause, in which we had undoubtedly the advantage, but by the single strength

strength of their swords, wherein we were evidently inferior. Vanquished, therefore, we accordingly are: or, if virtue never can be vanquished, yet certainly, at least, we are fallen. Your conduct cannot but be greatly and universally applauded, in having renounced the spirit of contention, when you lost the hopes of success; and you shewed, by your own example, that as a wise and honest patriot will always enter into a civil war with reluctance, so he will never choose to carry it on to its last desperate extremity. Those who did not pursue the same measures formed themselves into two different parties; and while some retreated into Africa, in order to renew the war, others, and myself among the rest, submitted to the conqueror. But you thought proper to steer a middle course, imagining, perhaps, that it was mean to yield, and obstinacy to resist. In this, I must confess, you are thought by many (I might say by the world in general) to have given a proof of your virtue; while there are numbers who admire it likewise as an instance of great magnanimity⁹. Nevertheless there is
a time,

⁹ It is probable that Brutus was in the number of those who were in Cicero's thoughts upon this occasion, as may be collected from a passage in Seneca. This noble moralist relates, that Brutus, in a treatise which he wrote concerning virtue, mentioned his having paid a visit to Marcellus
at

a time, it should seem, when this measure may cease to be any longer justifiable; especially as nothing, I am persuaded, is wanting to establish you in the full possession of your fortunes, but your own concurrence. For he in whom all power is centred^a has no other objection, I find, to granting you this favour, but that he is apprehensive you are by no means disposed to think it one. What my own sentiments are as to that point, is too evident by my conduct, to render it necessary to explain them. But this, however, I will say, that although you should prefer a state of perpetual exile, rather than be a spectator of what you cannot but disapprove, yet you should reflect, that it is impossible, in any part of the world, to be placed out of the reach of his power whom you desire to avoid. And even granting
ing

at Mitylene, where he found him in the utmost tranquillity, pursuing, with all his usual taste and spirit, the moral and polite arts. "And I could not forbear thinking," added Brutus, "when I took my leave of Marcellus, in order to return to Rome, that it was I myself, and not my friend, who deserved to be lamented as the exile." Seneca takes occasion from hence to introduce a soliloquy, which he puts into the mouth of this illustrious exile; and he concludes it with a sentiment that raises the highest idea both of Brutus and Marcellus. "Let conquered nations (he supposes Marcellus to have said to himself) look with wonder upon Caesar; but live thou, BRUTO MIRATORE CONTENTUS, satisfied with having gained the admiration of Brutus!" *Senec. Consul. ad Helvid. 9.*
at Caesar.

ing it probable that he should suffer you to live free and unmolested in a voluntary banishment, yet it deserves your consideration, whether it would not be more eligible, whatever the situation of public affairs may be, to spend your days in Rome, than at Rhodes or Mitylene. But, since that power which we dread extends itself over every part of the globe, is it not better to live securely under your own roof, than in perpetual danger under that of another? For myself, at least, if even death were my resolution, yet I would rather choose to expire in my own country, and in my own mansion, than at a stranger's house, and in a foreign land.

All who love you (and your illustrious virtues have rendered that party extremely numerous) join with me in these sentiments. In this we have a regard, likewise, to the preservation of your estate, which we should be sorry to see dissipated. For though neither that person who governs the republic, nor, indeed, the republic itself, would suffer any injuries of this kind to remain always unredressed, yet I would not, in the mean time, have your estate exposed to the depredations of certain lawless invaders, whom I should not scruple to name, if I were not persuaded that you perfectly well know to whom I allude.

Your

Your very excellent relation, Caius Marcellus¹, discovers a singular zeal in his frequent and earnest applications to Cæsar on your behalf. And though I am not in a situation to second these his solicitations, I claim, however, the next rank, in my anxiety for your welfare. The truth is, I have stood too much in need of an advocate myself, to take the liberty of acting that part for another; as all the merit I can plead, is to have yielded after having been conquered². Nevertheless, as far as my advice and endeavours can be of any avail in your affairs, they are not wanting to Caius. The rest of your family do not think proper to consult me, though they may always be assured of finding me ready to exert my best services wherever your interest is concerned. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ An account has been given of him in rem. 4. p. 322. vol. 1.

² See rem. 3. on the preceding letter.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TREBIANUS.

I SHOULD have written to you sooner, if it had been either in my power to have promised you any effectual assistance, or necessary to have offered you any consolation; one or the other being the part of every friend, in so unhappy a conjuncture as the present. But I forbore the latter, as I was informed by many hands, of the resolute and philosophical spirit with which you support the unjust persecution you are suffering from the violence of the times, and of the strong consolation you receive from the consciousness of that integrity by which all your counsels and actions towards the public were directed. If this account be true, (and let me earnestly exhort you to verify it) you reap the happy fruits of those noble contemplations, in which, I well know, you have ever been conversant. I will venture at the same time to assure you, (how unnecessary soever that

The person to whom this letter is inscribed is mentioned by no other ancient writer; so that nothing more is known of him than what may be collected from this and two more epistles addressed to him in the present book. It appears he was at this time in exile, as having taken part against Cæsar in the civil war; and that he was soon afterwards restored to his country by the good offices of Dolabella.

assurance may be to a man so perfectly well acquainted with the present age, and so thoroughly versed in the annals of all the past) that the cruel injuries under which you are oppressed cannot possibly continue long. And this conjecture you may safely take from one, who, if he is less a politician in theory, perhaps, than he wishes, is certainly much more so by experience than he desires. Cæsar, indeed, seems to be every day more and more inclined to adopt those equitable measures, which our public circumstances require. The cause, likewise, for which you suffer, is of such a nature, that it must necessarily revive and flourish with the republic: which most undoubtedly cannot always remain in its present state of subjection. To which I will add, that Cæsar is continually giving proofs of greater moderation and generosity than we once imagined he would have shewn. But as instances of this kind are generally produced by particular conjunctures, and frequently too depend upon very minute circumstances, I shall watch every favourable moment, and endeavour to improve it to your best advantage: for you may be assured I shall neglect no opportunity of assisting and alleviating your misfortunes. I hope, likewise, that the time is approaching, when I shall be enabled to promise you some more effectual service:

service: of which, however, I had much rather give you proofs, than professions. In the mean while be persuaded, that, as far as I have been capable of observing, there is no man who either is, or has been, under the same misfortune with yourself, that can boast of so many zealous and faithful friends: in which number I claim the principal rank.

Let me conclude with entreating you to preserve a firm and unbroken fortitude: for this is a possession which depends entirely upon yourself. As to what is in the disposal of Fortune, it must be governed by particular circumstances: and I shall exert all my prudence to turn them in the most advantageous manner for your interest. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO GALLUS⁴.

I AM much surprised at your reproaches: as I am sure they are altogether without foundation. But were they ever so just, they would come with a very ill grace from you, who ought

to

⁴ Manutius conjectures, that this Gallus is the same with Publius Sestius, to whom the fifth letter of the first book is addressed: whose family name, he supposes (from a passage which he cites out of the oration for Milo) to have been Gallus. That learned commentator supports this opinion with

to have remembered those marks of distinction you received from me during my consulate. It seems, however, (for so you are pleased to inform me) that Cæsar will certainly restore you. I know you are never sparing of your boasts: but I know too, that they have the ill luck never to be credited. It is in the same spirit you remind me, that you offered yourself as a candidate for the tribunitial office, merely in order to serve me⁵. Now to shew you how much I am in your interest, I wish you were a tribune still: as in that case you could not be at a loss for an *intercessor*⁶. You go on to reproach me, with not daring to speak my sentiments. In proof, however, of the contrary, I need only refer you to the reply I made, when you had the front to solicit my assistance.

Thus,

with some very plausible reasons: but as the point in question is of little consequence, the reader will readily excuse me that I save him the trouble of considering them. Gallus seems to have been in the number of the Pompeian exiles: and to have drawn upon himself this letter, in answer to one, wherein he had reproached Cicero with ingratitude, in refusing to assist him with his good offices.

⁵ Probably during Cicero's exile.

⁶ Cicero's witticism, in this passage, turns upon the double sense of the word *intercessor*: which, besides its general meaning, has relation likewise to a particular privilege annexed to the tribunitial office. For every tribune had the liberty of interposing his negative upon the proceedings of the senate: which act was called *intercessio*, and the person who executed it was said to be the *intercessor* of the particular law, or other matter in deliberation.

Thus, (to let you see how absolutely impotent you are, where you most affect to appear formidable) I thought proper to answer you in your own style. If you had made your remonstrances in the spirit of good manners, I should with pleasure, as I could with ease, have vindicated myself from your charge: and, in truth, it is not your conduct, but your language, that I have reason to resent. I am astonished, indeed, that you, of all men living, should accuse me of want of freedom, who are sensible it is by my means that there is any freedom left in the republic. I say *you of all men living*: because, if the informations you gave me concerning Catiline's conspiracy were false, where are the services of which you remind me? If they were true, you yourself are the best judge how great those obligations are which I have conferred upon every Roman in general. Farewel.

LETTER

[†] Alluding to his having suppressed Catiline's conspiracy.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proquæstor.

WHILST I was proconsul of Cilicia, (to which, you know, three Asiatic departments^a were annexed) there was no man with whom I entered into a stricter intimacy than with Andro, the son of Artemon, of Laodicea. I was his guest during my residence in that city: as his temper and manner of life extremely well accorded with mine. But my esteem for him rose still higher after I left the province, having, upon many subsequent occasions, experienced the gratitude with which he preserved me in his remembrance. Accordingly, it was with great pleasure

^a The classic writers speak of Asia in three different senses, which, if not carefully distinguished, are apt to create great confusion. Sometimes they comprehend under the denomination of *Asia*, that vast tract of land which made up the third part in their general division of the whole globe: sometimes they mean only so much of that continent which was terminated by the bay of Issus, and the Pontus; and sometimes they confine it to a still more limited portion, and understand by *Asia* that kingdom which Atalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, bequeathed to the Romans, containing Mysia, Phrygia, Ionia, Lycaonia, &c. In the two former of these senses, Cilicia was a province of Asia; in the latter it was not. It is with respect, therefore, to this last division that Cicero calls the three districts annexed to his government of Cilicia, *Asiatic*; in one of which the city of Laodicea was included. *Sigon. de Jur. Provinc. i. 10.*

pleasure I lately saw him in Rome: as you will easily believe, who know, by the many good offices you have yourself conferred upon his countrymen, how few of them are disposed to be thus sensible of obligations. I mention these circumstances to shew you, in the first place, that it is not without reason I interest myself in his concerns: and in the next, that his merit well entitles him to a generous reception under your roof. I shall be greatly indebted to you, therefore, for giving him a proof of the regard you bear me, by receiving him into your protection, and assisting him in all his affairs: so far, I mean, as may be consistent with your convenience and your honour. And this I most earnestly request, as an instance of your friendship that will be exceedingly agreeable to me. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TREBIANUS.

I AM no less sensible of the share you allow me in your friendship, than I am conscious of that affection which I have ever entertained for you in return. Agreeably to these sentiments, I always lamented that it was your choice, or rather, I should say, your fate, to persevere in our civil wars;

wars; and I now feel the same concern at the unjust delay you meet with in being restored to your estate and honours, as you have always shewn in my misfortunes. I have frequently and fully opened my heart upon this subject, not only to Posthumulus, to Sestius, and to our common friend Atticus, but lately also to your freedman Theuda: to each of whom I have given repeated assurances, that it is my earnest desire to serve both you and your children to the utmost of my ability. I beg, therefore, when you write to the latter, that you would assure them they may most readily command me, upon every occasion, wherein my purse, my pains, or my sincere advice (for these, at least, are still in my power) can be of any advantage to their affairs. If I enjoyed that influence and authority in the commonwealth, to which the public services I have performed most justly entitle me; you, who deserve every honour that can be conferred, as well as are confessedly the first of that illustrious order to which you belong¹, should retain the same distinguished rank in the republic you once possessed. But since we both of us fell at the same time, and in the same cause², I can only promise you what yet remains

¹ The equestrian.² That of Pompey.

remains in my power: the small assistance I mentioned above, together with that little degree of credit which I still, perhaps, have in some sort preserved from the general wreck of my former dignities. I have reason, indeed, from many instances, to believe, that Cæsar is not averse to me: and almost all his principal favourites, who happen to be persons to whom I have formerly rendered very considerable services, distinguish me with peculiar marks of their esteem and consideration. If, therefore, I should find a favourable opportunity of applying to Cæsar in your behalf, (which I am more and more inclined to hope, from what I can discover by the conversation of these my friends;) I shall not fail very strenuously to solicit him in person for your restoration, as it is upon the obtaining of this point that the recovery of your estate must depend. It is unnecessary to enter into particulars upon this article; let me only assure you, in one word, that I am wholly and most affectionately devoted to your service. But, as it much imports me that all your family should be apprised of this truth, I hope your letters will acquaint them, that Trebianus may command whatever is in the power of Cicero to perform. I particularly mention this, as I am desirous they should be persuaded that

that there is nothing so difficult which I should not with pleasure undertake, in order to render you any service. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO QUINTUS GALLIUS.

THOUGH I hope to receive many instances hereafter of the regard you bear me, (of which, indeed, you have long since rendered me sufficiently sensible) yet there is one which at present occurs, wherein you may give me a very convincing proof of your friendship. Lucius Oppius, the son of Marcus, is a merchant in Philomelum^b, with whom I am extremely intimate. But, besides warmly recommending him as a man I love, I must likewise claim your kindness to him, as he is an agent for Egnatius Rufus, a Roman knight, with whom I am most affectionately connected, not only by a daily intercourse, but by many and great good offices. I beseech you, then, to take the person of Oppius, together with the affairs of Egnatius, into your protection: a request which I make with

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^a Who this person was, is entirely unknown. He seems to have been setting out for the government of one of the eastern provinces, when this letter was written.

^b A city of Phrygia, upon the borders of Galatia.

as much zeal as if my own interest were concerned. Again and again, therefore, I entreat your compliance. I beg, likewise, that you would give two or three lines to be presented to you as a memorandum when you shall arrive in your province. But I desire you would express them in such terms, as may strongly remind you how very earnestly I applied in behalf of these my friends. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARC'US MARCELLUS.

I DARE not pretend to advise, or to animate a man of your distinguished judgment and magnanimity; much less shall I attempt to send you any consolation. If it be true, indeed, that you bear the sad events which have lately happened, in the manner I am informed, I have more reason to congratulate your fortitude, than to sooth your affliction. But were the fact entirely otherwise, and you had sunk under the pressure of our public misfortunes; yet I am so far from being qualified to alleviate your sorrows, that I am altogether incapable of assuaging my own. The single testimony, therefore, that I can give you of my friendship,

friendship, is to convince your family, by my readiness in complying with all their requests, that there are no services so great which they have not reason to expect from me on your account.

But, notwithstanding I just now disclaimed all right of sending you my admonitions; yet I cannot forbear saying (and you may consider it either as my advice, my opinion, or what my friendship would not suffer me to suppress) that I wish you would prevail with yourself to adopt the same measures which I have pursued, and return to Italy. I wish, indeed, you would be persuaded to think, that if the republic should in any degree subsist, you ought to live in it, as one who, though justly, and in the general estimation of the world, is deserving of the highest rank, yet wisely submitted to the irresistible necessity of the times: and if the republic should be totally destroyed, that you would look upon Rome as the most proper scene of exile. For, tell me, my friend, if liberty be the object of our pursuit, what part of the world is exempted from the present dominion? or if some place of retirement be what we seek, where can we find a more eligible retreat, than in our native country? And, believe me, he who holds the supreme power, is
not

not only a friend to genius and literature, but disposed, as far as the circumstances and situation of his affairs will permit, to pay a particular regard to those who are distinguished by their birth³ and dignities. But this is going farther than I intended. To return, therefore, to the single purpose of my letter: let me assure you that I am wholly yours, and ready to co-operate with your relations in every instance wherein they shall approve themselves such⁴. But if they should not, you may depend, at least, upon my acting, upon all occasions, agreeably to our friendship. Farewel.

LETTER

³ The family of Marcellus was one of the noblest in Rome. See rem. 3. p. 320. vol. i.

⁴ It appears from this and other passages in these letters, that some part of Marcellus's family discovered less warmth in promoting his welfare than seems to have been due to the merit of so illustrious a relation.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

I RECEIVED a letter from you some time since by your courier Phileros, as also another three days ago by the hands of Zethus: both which I will now answer. It was with much satisfaction I found, by the former, that you were extremely sensible of the concern I expressed for your health. Believe me, however, a letter could but faintly represent the uneasiness I suffered upon that account. For though I cannot but acknowledge that there are many from whom I receive great marks of esteem and affection; yet there is not one in that number whom I prefer to yourself. It is a very great, perhaps I might say, a principal inducement for my holding you in this rank, that you have long distinguished me with an unvaried friendship: yet this is a circumstance which you share in common with many others. But your amiable disposition, and those agreeable qualities of every kind which you possess, are claims to my heart in which you are without a rival. To these I must add, I will not call it the Attic, but (what is far more spirited) the true

old Roman wit, which so elegantly enlivens your conversation. I will not scruple, indeed, to acknowledge, (whatever you may think of me from the confession) that I am wonderfully delighted with humour; especially with that sort which is of our own domestic growth. I esteem this latter kind so much the more, as it is now become extremely uncommon: for, by the admission some years since of the Latians⁵ into Rome, and lately even of the Gauls⁶ themselves, our native humour has been tainted with the infusion of foreign cant, and is almost entirely extinct⁷. For this reason, whenever I converse

⁵ The inhabitants of Latium: a part of Italy which is now called the *Campagna di Roma*. They obtained the honour and advantage of being made free of Rome, towards the close of the Italic war, A. U. 664. See rem. 2. p. 77. of vol. i. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 226.

⁶ Cæsar, in the wantonness of his power, had lately admitted several of the Gauls into the privileges of Roman citizens: and had even introduced some of them to a seat in the senate. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 76.

⁷ It is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to determine, with any precision, what it was that distinguished the spirit of this true old Roman wit and humour which Cicero here represents as almost entirely extinct. But, in general, as far as can be collected from other parts of our author's writings, it seems to have consisted in what they call *Urbanity*: a term, however, which they themselves did not well know how to explain. For when Brutus, in the dialogue concerning the most celebrated orators, inquires, *Qui est iste tandem urbanitatis color?* Cicero replies, *Nescio: tantum esse quandam scio*. Nevertheless, it appears, by what he immediately subjoins, to have resulted from a certain refinement of expression and elegance of pronunciation, which was to be found only amongst the most polite and cultivated natives of

verse with you I imagine myself transported back into former times, and to be talking with the Granii, the Lucili, or, in truth, even with the Crassi and the Lælii of old^a. There is not a single person, indeed, except yourself, in whom I can discover the least vein of that original spirit which so agreeably distinguished the pleasantries of our forefathers. But since to these uncommon charms of wit, you add the

of Rome. Perhaps, therefore, it was this inexplicable grace of language and utterance that was infected by the admission of these strangers into Rome: who, probably, had introduced among the little pretenders to wit and humour, a foreign tone of voice, together with an exotic turn of phraseology. A prevailing fashion of this kind, would necessarily extinguish that spirit which seasoned the old Roman pleasantries with a *nescio quo sa pore vernaculo* (as Cicero somewhere calls it) a certain exquisite taste and flavour peculiar to its native soil. *Vide Cic. de Clar. Orator.* 170. & seq.

^a The several persons here mentioned were celebrated wits, who flourished about the time that Cicero was born, that is, in the consulate of C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio, U. C. 647. The reader has already had some account of *Lælius* in rem. 5. p. 4. vol. 1. *Crassus* was the most distinguished orator of his times: and signalized his eloquence when he was only twenty-one years of age, at the trial of C. Carbo, who was concerned in the disturbances which were raised by the Gracchi. *Lucilius* was a Roman knight, and great uncle to Pompey. He considerably improved upon that kind of satirical poetry, which received its utmost perfection in the following century from the hands of Horace. Some fragments of his writings still remain. *Granius* was a person of low rank; being only a præco, or sort of cryer, in the courts of justice. Cicero, however, has immortalised his memory by the frequent encomiums he passes upon the singular elegance and pleasantries of his wit and humour. *Cic. de Clar. Orat.* 158, 159, &c. *Dac. Præf. sur les Sat. d'Horace.* v. 10.

the attractions, likewise, of so singular a friendship towards myself, can you wonder that I was greatly alarmed at your late very dangerous indisposition.

As to your other letter, in which you acquit yourself of all intention to dissuade me from my Neapolitan purchase^a, and the assurance you give me that you only meant to advise my continuance in Rome, I understood you in no other sense. But I suppose (and your letter now before me confirms the supposition) that you did not agree with me in thinking I might be justified, I will not say in wholly renouncing, but in seldom taking a part in public affairs. With this view I imagine it was, that you reminded me of those times in which Catulus acted so distinguished a part^b. But tell me, my friend, what resemblance

^a See the last paragraph in p. 262. of this vol.

^b Q. L. Catulus was consul in the year 675, and died about the year 693: during which period he had many opportunities of exerting his patriotism, by rising up against the gradual encroachments of Pompey and Cæsar upon the public liberty. Thus he opposed, with a spirit worthy the best times of ancient Rome, that unlimited and unconstitutional commission, which was granted to Pompey under a pretence of the piratic war: and rendered himself so gloriously obnoxious to Cæsar, that the latter endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to blast his well-established credit, by an impeachment for embezzling the public treasure. In short, the welfare of his country was the great and constant object of his unwearied labours: in which he persevered with a zeal and resolution which no fears or hopes could shake; and which Cato, of all his contemporaries, seems alone to have equalled. *Pigh. Antal.* ii. 279. *Dio.* xxxvi. p. 18. 49. 50. *Orat. pro Sext.* 47.

blance is there between those days and the present? I was, at that period, far from being inclined to absent myself from the care of the republic, as I then sat at the helm of the commonwealth, and shared in the direction of its most important motions¹⁰. But now I can scarce claim the privilege to officiate even in the lowest functions of the state. Were I to reside, therefore, altogether at Naples, would there be a single decree of the senate the less by my absence? On the contrary, though I live in Rome, and appear publicly in the forum, they are settled by our friend¹¹ in his own house, entirely without my participation. If I happen, however, to occur to his memory, he sometimes does me the honour to prefix my name¹². Accordingly, I am often informed, from Syria and Armenia, that a decree of the senate is published in those provinces, and published, too, as made on my motion, of which I had never heard the least mention before. You will suspect, perhaps, that I am not serious; but, be assured, I speak the literal truth.

¹⁰ The consulate of Cicero fell within the period mentioned in the preceding remark; that is, in the year 690.

¹¹ Cæsar.

¹² It was usual, in drawing up the decrees of the senate, to prefix the names of those senators who were principally concerned in promoting them.

truth. I have, at this instant, letters in my possession from the remotest potentates of the globe, returning me thanks for having procured them an acknowledgment of their regal title from the senate¹³: when I was so far from knowing they were honoured with that appellation, that I was utterly ignorant there were any such persons existing. Nevertheless, as long as this *superintendant of our manners*¹⁴ shall continue in Rome, I will comply with your advice; but the moment he leaves us¹⁵, I shall certainly set out to join you over a plate of mushrooms.

¹³ It was the ambition of foreign princes to obtain an acknowledgment of their regal title from the senate, and to be declared friends and allies of the republic; an honour, which, in the more regular times of the Roman government, was but rarely granted, and only in consideration of some signal services. But, in that general corruption which preceded the ruin of the commonwealth, this honour became venal, as it supplied a very plentiful stream of wealth to those leading men in the state, who were not ashamed to prostitute the most sacred privileges to their insatiable avarice. Cæsar, in particular, drew immense riches from this single source; a strong instance of which has already been produced in rem. 2. p. 51. vol. 1. *Cæs. Bel. Gal.* i. 43. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 54.

¹⁴ This title had lately been decreed to Cæsar, by which he was invested with all the power of the censorial office, without the name. It does not appear for what reason he chose this appellation rather than that of censor. Some have supposed that it was from an affectation of modesty; but they who assign this reason, seem to forget, that Cæsar did not blush to be associated with the gods in the public worship of his degenerate Romans. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 76. *Appian. Bel. Civil.* iii. p. 494.

¹⁵ Cæsar was at this time preparing to set out upon his expedition against the two sons of Pompey, who had assembled a very considerable army in Spain.

mushrooms¹⁶. If I can procure a house at Naples, it is my purpose, you must know, to live so abstemiously, that what our late sumptuary law¹⁷ allows for one day's expence, shall suffice me for ten. But, if I cannot meet with one to my satisfaction, I intend to be your guest, and I am sure it is not in my power to oblige you more.

Though I mentioned in my last, that I almost despaired of Sylla's house, yet I have not absolutely given up all thoughts of that purchase. Agreeably, therefore, to your offer, I beg you would take some workmen with you in order to survey it; for, if the walls and roof are in a good repair, I shall perfectly well approve of all the rest. Farewel.

LETTER

¹⁶ This dish was in great esteem among the Romans.

¹⁷ This law was enacted by Cæsar soon after his return from the African war. It regulated the expences of the Romans, not only with regard to their tables, but also their dress, equipage, furniture, and buildings. But Cæsar seems to have found it a much easier task to corrupt, than to reform; for though he was very desirous of enforcing this salutary law; yet, it appears to have been extremely ill observed. *Suet. in Jul.* 43. *Ad Att.* xiii. 7.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TREBONIUS.

THOUGH I had always a great affection for Dolabella, yet I never received any favour from him till now. Indeed, he never before had an opportunity of repaying those good offices he owed me, for having more than once stood forth in his defence. But his late zeal in protecting your estate, together with his present assistance in promoting your restoration, have so abundantly satisfied every claim I have to his services, that there is no man to whom I think myself more strongly obliged. I take so sincere a part with you in the joy of this event, that, instead of your thanks, I expect your congratulations. The former, indeed, I by no means desire; but the latter you may, with great propriety, send me.

Since your distinguished merit has thus removed all obstructions to your return, it will be agreeable to your good sense, and greatness of mind, to forget all that you have lost, and reflect only on the advantages you have recovered. You will remember, then, that you are restored to your family and to your friends;
and

and that, whatever you have suffered in your estate, is considerably over-balanced by the glory you have acquired; which, I am persuaded, would be still more acceptable to you, if the republic had in any degree subsisted.

I have received a letter from my friend Vestorius, wherein he informs me of the grateful mention you make of my services. I am extremely obliged to you for your professions of this kind in general, but particularly for those you expressed to our friend Syro*: as I am greatly desirous to approve my conduct upon all occasions to every sensible and judicious man. I hope to see you very soon. Farewel.

LETTER

* A celebrated Epicurean philosopher, who is said to have been Virgil's preceptor.

Y 3

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.¹

I AM persuaded that your quæstor, Marcus Varro², who is setting out to attend you, needs no recommendation to your favour; for I doubt not,

¹ Marcus Brutus was nephew to Cato, whose virtues he had the just ambition to copy. He seems, however, in some points, to have fallen short of the model he proposed to imitate; as he by no means acted up to that inflexible uniformity of conduct, which renders the character of Cato so gloriously singular. Thus, though Brutus, at the battle of Pharsalia, engaged on the side of Pompey; yet, immediately after the unsuccessful event of that action, he not only made his peace with Cæsar, but was willing to contribute to the ruin of that cause in which he had so lately engaged. For, when Cæsar was doubtful what route Pompey had taken in his flight, it was by the advice and information of Brutus that he followed him into Egypt. Cæsar, just before he set out for Africa, appointed Brutus governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which he administered with great moderation and integrity. It was during his residence in this province, that the present and following letters addressed to him in this book, appear to have been written. *Plut. in vit. Brut.*

² Some of the commentators have supposed, that this is the celebrated Marcus Terentius Varro, to whom several letters in the preceding book are addressed. But Cellarius has justly observed, that the age and dignity of that illustrious Roman, render it highly improbable he should at this time have been quæstor to Brutus, who was a much younger man than himself. Perhaps the person recommended in this letter, is the same whom Horace mentions as an unsuccessful adventurer in satiric poetry:

*Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino,
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem.*

Sat. x. lib. i. 46.

For

not, that, in conformity to the maxims of our forefathers, you look upon his office as giving him a sufficient title to your regard. And I need not tell you, that it was the policy of ancient times to consider the relation between a proconsul and his quæstor, as next to that of a father and son. However, as Varro imagines that a letter from me will have great weight, and has pressed me to write to you in the strongest terms, I willingly perform an office, which, he believes, will prove so much to his advantage. That you may be sensible I ought not to refuse this request, I must inform you, that he cultivated my friendship from his first appearance in the forum; as, in his more mature years, two circumstances concurred, which extremely increased the affection I had conceived for him; the one, that he distinguished himself, as you well know, with great genius and application in that persuasive art, in which I still take particular pleasure; the other, that he early became a member of the society for farming

For the commentators upon these lines inform us, that the poet here spoken of was Terentius Varro, a native of the city of Atar, in the Narbonensian Gaul, from which he was called *Atacinus*, and who was born in the year of Rome 673. He must, consequently, in the present year, have been thirty-four, which perfectly well coincides with the age one may justly suppose the person to have been, in whose favour this letter is written.

Y 4

farming the public revenues. I wish, indeed, that he had never embarked in their concerns, as he has been a considerable sufferer by his engagements of this sort. However, his union with a company for whose interests I have so great a regard, was one means of more strongly cementing our friendship. After having acted with the highest integrity and applause, both as an advocate and a judge, he turned his ambition (long, indeed, before this revolution in the commonwealth had taken place) upon obtaining some employment in the magistracy; and he esteemed the honours of this kind, which his country should confer upon him, as the noblest reward of all his former services. During my late residence at Brundisium³, he obligingly charged himself with carrying a letter and a message from me to Cæsar; and he gave me a very strong proof of his affection, in the zeal and fidelity with which he undertook and executed this generous commission.

I purposed, after having thus assigned the reasons which induce me to give Varro my friendship, to have particularly pointed out the virtues of his heart; but I think I must have sufficiently rendered you sensible of these, by declaring upon what motives he has so strongly engaged

my

³ Cicero, upon his return to Italy, after the battle of Pharsalia, resided at Brundisium till Cæsar's arrival.

my affection. Nevertheless, I will here, in a more distinct and explicit manner, assure you, that you will receive much satisfaction and advantage from the company and assistance of my friend. You will find him, indeed, to be a man of singular modesty and good sense, as well as of indefatigable application to business, at the same time that he is an entire stranger to immoderate desires of every kind. I know not whether I ought to promise thus far in his behalf, as his character, after all, must be referred to your own experience. But in forming new connexions of every sort, it is of much importance in what manner the first approaches are made, and by whose hands the avenues of friendship (if I may so express myself) are laid open. It is this office that I have here undertaken; and though the employment in which Varro stands related to you may well render my services unnecessary, yet they certainly cannot render them prejudicial. If, then, I possess that share in your esteem which Varro imagines, and which I myself am persuaded I enjoy, let me soon have the satisfaction of hearing that my friend has received all the advantages from this letter that are agreeable to his own hopes, and to my firm expectations. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LIGARIUS⁴.

THOUGH, agreeably to the friendship which subsists between us, I ought to have offered you either assistance or consolation under your misfortunes; yet I have hitherto forborne writing, in the belief that it was not in the power of mere words to remove or alleviate your afflictions. But, as I have now reason to entertain the strongest hopes of shortly seeing you restored to your country, I cannot any longer omit to acquaint you with my sentiments and inclination concerning your affairs. In the first place, then, I am well convinced that you will by no means find Cæsar inexorable. The situation of public circumstances, a regard to his character in the world, length of time, together with what appears to me to be his natural temper, these all concur to soften his resentment every day more and more.

This

⁴ Quintus Ligarius was lieutenant to C. Considius, pro-consul of Africa, in the year 703; in which post he gained the general esteem of the whole province. Accordingly, at their unanimous request, Considius, upon his departure from Rome, resigned the administration into the hands of Ligarius. During his residence in that station, the civil war broke out; and he was at this time suffering exile, for having acted upon that occasion on the side of Pompey.—*Orat. pro. Ligar. i.* See *rem. i. p. 366. of this vol.*

This, I imagine, will appear to be his disposition towards all in general who have offended him; but that it is particularly so with respect to yourself, I will assure you upon the authority of his most intimate friends. I have never ceased to solicit them in your behalf ever since we received the first news from Africa⁵; and your brothers have, with equal assiduity, joined me in these applications. Their virtues, indeed, together with that affectionate and unwearied zeal with which they enter into your cause, are so extremely engaging, that I am persuaded even Cæsar himself cannot refuse any thing to their requests⁶. But if we do not advance with all the expedition we wish, it must be imputed to those numberless and important occupations which render Cæsar difficult of access; as it is to him alone that every suit is now preferred. To this I must add, that, as he was particularly incensed by the late war fomented against him in Africa, he was inclined to keep those so much longer in suspense concerning their fate, to whom he imagines it was owing that he had so many additional

⁵ Concerning Cæsar's victory over Scipio.

⁶ The two brothers of Ligarius seem to have stood neuters in the civil war. But one of them had something more than a mere negative merit to plead, as he had distinguished himself, during his quaestorship, by promoting the honours and interest of Cæsar. *Orat. pro. Ligar. 19.*

ditional difficulties to encounter. But his resentment, even upon this article also, appears evidently to be cooling; and I desire you would both believe and remember the assurance I here give you, that you will soon be removed from your present uneasy situation.

Having thus acquainted you with my sentiments of your affairs, I had rather leave it to my actions than professions, to declare how much I wish to assist you in them. Let me assure you, however, if I possessed that influence in the commonwealth, which you are pleased to think I have merited by my services, you should have no reason to regret your present circumstances.--- But, alas! the same cause for which you are suffering in your person, has impaired me in my credit. But whatever remains to me of my former authority; whatever shadow still attends me of that dignity I once enjoyed; in a word, as far as my advice, my assistance, or my interest can avail, they shall, upon all occasions, be faithfully employed in seconding the pious zeal of your excellent brothers. In the meantime, preserve that manly composure of mind which you have always possessed. You ought to do so, indeed, in the first place, for the reasons I have already assigned; and in the next, because your public conduct has ever been such

such as to afford you a just ground to entertain the most favourable hopes. But were your prospect entirely the reverse, yet a consciousness of the integrity of all your counsels and actions, with regard to the commonwealth, should enable you to support the worst that can happen with a firm and unshaken fortitude. Farewel,

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

I HAVE always had the satisfaction to observe that you were particularly inquisitive into every circumstance relating to me. I doubt not, therefore, of your being apprised, not only that Arpinum is the place of my nativity, but that, upon all occasions, I zealously patronise the interests of this city. The whole of their revenues for religious purposes, as also for the repairs of their temples and other public buildings, arises entirely from their estates in Gaul. Accordingly we have dispatched Quintus Fufidius, Marcus Faucius, and Quintus Mamerceus, each of them persons of equestrian rank, in order to collect the rents, and to inspect our affairs in that province. I therefore recommend them to your particular protection, entreating

you,

you, by our mutual friendship, to assist them in the speedy and successful discharge of their commission, and to distinguish their persons, agreeably to your usual politeness, with every possible mark of honour. You will, by these means, add three very worthy men to the number of your friends, as well as oblige a community extremely sensible of the good offices they receive. Let me add, too, you will perform a service highly acceptable also to myself; who, as I have at all times stood forth the patron of the Arpinates, am in a more especial manner engaged to take their interests under my protection during the present year. For, in order to the better government of this corporation, I have procured my son and nephew, together with my friend Marcus Cæsius, to be chosen ædiles; the only magistrates which our city admits. It will be much, therefore, to the credit of their administration, as well as a particular honour to myself, if the affairs of this community, during their office, should, by the assistance of your generous services, be placed in a more advantageous posture. For which purpose, I must again most earnestly conjure you to comply with my present request. — Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

I HAVE, in a separate letter, recommended to you, with all possible warmth, the commissaries appointed by the city of Arpinum. But I shall here single out one of them in particular, and desire your peculiar regards to Q. Fufidius, a person with whom I am united by every friendly tie. I do not mean, however, by thus distinguishing him from the rest, to lessen the weight of my general recommendation, but only to add this as a sort of supplement to what I have there requested. Fufidius, who is son-in-law to my particular friend Marcus Cæsius, acted under me in Cilicia, in quality of military tribune; and he acquitted himself so much to my satisfaction, that I had reason to think I received a favour, instead of bestowing one, when I nominated him to that employment. To this I must add, what I know will considerably raise him in your esteem, that he has a taste and genius for our favourite studies. Let me entreat you, then, to receive my friend with the most distinguishing marks of your politeness, and to assist him in the more effectual discharge of an office which he accepted merely in compliance with

with my persuasions, and contrary to his own convenience. But as it is the ambition of every man of a generous mind to be approved in all his actions, Fufidius is desirous of executing this commission in such a manner, as to merit not only my applause in particular, who engaged him to undertake it, but that, likewise, of our whole community in general. Now this he will undoubtedly receive, if my recommendation should procure him your friendly offices. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS,

THE excuse you alledge for so frequently sending me duplicates of your letters, I very readily admit; so far, I mean, as it relates to your caution of guarding against the negligence or treachery of those who undertake to deliver them. But when you add, that a poverty of genius likewise (to use your own expression) obliges you to this continual repetition, it is an apology I can neither approve nor allow. On the contrary, I who am enriched, as you ironically tell me (for in that sense I understand your compliment) with all the treasures of eloquence, and

and who, in good earnest, do not think myself wholly destitute of them; even I am far from pretending to equal the delicacy and elegance of your compositions.

I always approved of your having accepted the government of Achaia: but much more so, after I had read your last letter. The several reasons you mention are every one of them perfectly just, and altogether worthy of that prudence and dignity which distinguishes your character. But I can by no means agree with you in thinking, that this affair has proved so different from what you expected as to give you just occasion to condemn the step you have taken. The truth of it is, the dreadful confusion and desolation which this detestable civil war has universally spread, inclines every man to imagine that both himself, and the scene in which he happens to be placed, are, of all others, the most completely miserable. Hence it is that you repent of the choice you have made, and look upon us as much happier who remain at Rome; whereas we, on the contrary, though we do not suppose your situation is wholly without its inconveniencies, yet think it greatly preferable to our own. In one respect I am sure it is so; as you have at least the happiness of daring to write your complaints: which is more than we can do with any safety.

VOL. II.

Z

This,

This, however, is not to be imputed to the conqueror; who conducts himself, it must be acknowledged, with the utmost moderation: but is entirely owing to that general spirit of insolence, which victory, in all civil wars, never fails to inspire. The single point in which our situation can pretend to have had the advantage of yours is, that it gave us the satisfaction not only of knowing somewhat earlier than you could, that your colleague Marcellus⁷ has obtained his pardon; but of being witnesses in what manner that whole affair was conducted. For, be assured, it is the only honourable transaction, of a public nature, that has passed amongst us since the breaking out of this calamitous civil war. Cæsar, after having complained of the *acrimony* (as he called it) with which Marcellus had opposed him, and mentioned, with the highest applause, the equity and prudence of your conduct in the same conjuncture⁸; on a sudden, and much beyond our expectations, declared, that notwithstanding he had so much reason to complain of Marcellus, he could not refuse to pardon him at the general request of the senate. For I should have told you, that as soon as Lucius Piso had mentioned

⁷ Sulpicius and Marcellus were colleagues in the office of consul. An. Urb. 702.

⁸ That is, during the consulate of Sulpicius and Marcellus. See an account of his conduct at this critical period, in rem. 2. p. 120 of this vol.

mentioned in the senate the affair of Marcellus, and his relation Caius Marcellus had thrown himself at Cæsar's feet, the whole house unanimously rose up, and approaching towards Cæsar, joined in one common intercession. In short, there was something so truly glorious in the transaction of that day, that I could not but look upon it as a sort of symptom that the republic was again reviving. All the senators who had been asked⁹ their opinion before me, severally returned their acknowledgments to Cæsar, except Volcatius¹⁰: who declared that he would not have made them, even if he had been in the place of Marcellus himself. But when it came to my turn, I instantly changed a resolution which I had long formed. I had determined,

⁹ When a question was moved in the senate, the method of debating upon it was, that the consul, after having delivered his own opinion, proceeded to ask the opinions of all the other senators severally by name, and in their proper order; beginning always with the consulars, and going on to the prætorians, &c. *Mid. on the R. S.* p. 150.

¹⁰ Probably the person here mentioned, is Lucius Volcatius Tullus, who was consul in the year 687. The noble spirit which he shewed upon this occasion, in scorning to thank Cæsar for what the usurper ought to have had no power to bestow, was worthy of the best ages of the republic: and though Cicero speaks of it without the least approbation, it was the only circumstance in this business that merited his applause. For must it not have affected a true patriot with the utmost concern and indignation, to see the Roman senate, that august council of the whole world (as Cicero himself has somewhere called it) humbly supplicating, at the feet of Cæsar, for the restoration of one of the most illustrious citizens of the commonwealth?

determined, not from indolence, believe me, but as being sensible of the want of that authority which once attended my eloquence, to preserve a perpetual silence in public. But the greatness of mind which Cæsar discovered upon this occasion, together with that noble zeal which broke forth at the same time in the senate, entirely overcame the strength of my resolution: and I addressed my acknowledgments to Cæsar in a long harangue". This, I fear, may prove the occasion, in other instances, of drawing me out from that literary retirement, which affords the single consolation I receive under our general misfortunes. Nevertheless, since I have, by this mean, avoided giving Cæsar offence, who, perhaps, would have interpreted my silence into a proof that I considered the republic as no longer subsisting; I shall, now and then, resume this practice: I shall resume it, however, extremely seldom, and only just enough to comply with his inclinations, without interrupting my philosophical studies. For though I was early devoted to all the liberal arts and sciences, and particularly to philosophy, yet I find my passion

" This speech is still extant: and perhaps it is one of the noblest monuments that remains of the grace and energy of ancient eloquence. It abounds with the most spirited and best turned compliments, that wit ever paid to power: for which the severest patriotism could scarce condemn Cicero, as they all artfully tend to induce Cæsar to restore the republic.

passion for her growing still stronger upon me every day I live: perhaps it is, because age has rendered me more mature for the lessons of wisdom, and that the misery of the times have deprived me of every other relief. I perceive by your letters that you are called off by numberless occupations from studies of this kind: I hope, however, that the long nights will now afford you some leisure to resume them.

Your son (and let me call him also mine) distinguishes me with great marks of his consideration: as in return I admire him not only for his probity and virtue, but for his learning and genius. He frequently confers with me in relation to your resigning, or continuing in your government: and I still remain in the same opinion, that we should neither of us take any measures but such as shall be perfectly agreeable to Cæsar. Affairs are so situated at Rome, that you could find no other satisfaction in being here, than what would arise from enjoying the company of your friends and family. For though Cæsar's conduct is unexceptionable, yet, with respect to all the rest, both of persons and circumstances, I am sure you would much rather (if one or other must necessarily be your choice) receive an account of them from others, than be a spectator of them yourself. When I say this, it is in preference of *your* interest to

own: as upon all other considerations I am extremely desirous of seeing you amongst us. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To MARCUS BRUTUS.

LUCIUS CASTRONIUS PÆTUS, is by far the most considerable person in the city of Lucca: but not more distinguished, however, by his birth and rank, than by the solidity of his understanding, and the friendliness of his disposition. In one word, he is in every respect a most worthy man. I might add too (if it were of any importance to his character) that he is not only conspicuous for his eminent virtues, but for his affluent fortunes. I converse with him upon terms of the most unreserved intimacy; and, indeed, there is no man of senatorian rank whom he treats with greater marks of esteem. I therefore recommend him to you, not only as *my* friend, but as worthy of being *yours*. And I am very sure, that, whatever service you shall render him, will afford a satisfaction to yourself, as well as confer an obligation upon me. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 707.]

To MARCUS MARCELLUS.

I SENT you a long letter¹, a very few days ago, by Quintius Mucius; wherein I fully explained my sentiments with respect to the disposition and conduct which I thought would become you in the present conjuncture. Nevertheless, as your freedman Theophilus (of whose faithful affection towards you I have been a witness) is setting out for Greece, I was unwilling he should wait upon you without bringing a letter from me.

To repeat what I urged in my last: let me again most earnestly exhort you, whatever the form of our government be, to return to Rome as soon as possible. 'Tis true, you will have the mortification, perhaps, to see many things that will give you pain: but not more, however, than you every day learn from common report. Now it would be unworthy a man of your character, to be affected only with what passes before his view: when he can hear the very same facts related, (and probably magni-

¹ This letter is not extant: but it probably contained an account of what had passed in the senate, concerning the restoration of Marcellus. See p. 338 of this vol.

fied too) with less concern.—But you will tell me, perhaps, that should you return to Rome, you must submit either to act or to speak in contradiction to the sentiments of your heart. In answer to which, I must observe, in the first place, that it has ever been deemed the part of true wisdom, to yield to the circumstances of the times; or to express the same thing in other words, to comply with unavoidable necessity: and, in the next place, that, as matters now stand, the constraint you fear is in no sort among the number of our present grievances. 'Tis possible, indeed, that you may not be at liberty openly to declare your opinions: but totally silent you may, undoubtedly, be. For the sole cognizance of all affairs is centered in a single person¹: and he determines as seems good to himself, without consulting any of his party. And this would have been pretty much the case, had that other chief², whose cause we chose to follow, been now in possession of the commonwealth. For at a time when we were all embarked with him in the same common danger, he admitted none into his council, but those that were ill qualified to be his advisers. And can it be supposed that he would have placed himself

more

¹ Caesar.² Pompey.

more upon a level with us after victory, than when his success was altogether doubtful? Is it to be imagined, that he who rejected those most prudent measures you recommended in your consulate, and refused, likewise, to follow the concurrent sentiments of you and your relation³ who succeeded you in that office, and administered it by your counsels—is it to be imagined that such a man, were he now at the head of the commonwealth, would consult either your opinion or mine? All civil wars abound with numberless calamities: a truth, which though our ancestors were so happy as never once to have experienced, the present generation too frequently has⁴. But amidst its many miserable consequences, none is more justly to be dreaded than victory itself. For though it should turn on the more meritorious side, yet it will be apt to inspire even these with a spirit of insolence and cruelty: and if they should not be so by inclination, they at least will by necessity. For, in many instances, the victor must find himself constrained to comply with the will of those who assisted him in his conquest. Tell me, my friend, did we not both

at a time when we were all embarked with him in the same common danger, he admitted none into his council, but those that were ill qualified to be his advisers. And can it be supposed that he would have placed himself

more upon a level with us after victory, than when his success was altogether doubtful? Is it to be imagined, that he who rejected those most prudent measures you recommended in your consulate, and refused, likewise, to follow the concurrent sentiments of you and your relation³ who succeeded you in that office, and administered it by your counsels—is it to be imagined that such a man, were he now at the head of the commonwealth, would consult either your opinion or mine? All civil wars abound with numberless calamities: a truth, which though our ancestors were so happy as never once to have experienced, the present generation too frequently has⁴. But amidst its many miserable consequences, none is more justly to be dreaded than victory itself. For though it should turn on the more meritorious side, yet it will be apt to inspire even these with a spirit of insolence and cruelty: and if they should not be so by inclination, they at least will by necessity. For, in many instances, the victor must find himself constrained to comply with the will of those who assisted him in his conquest. Tell me, my friend, did we not both

³ Caius Marcellus.
⁴ The first civil war, in the strict acceptation of that term, which Rome had ever seen, was between Marius and Sylla: about forty-two years before the date of this letter.

foresee what cruelties would have been exercised, if our party had proved successful? And would you, in that case, have lived an exile from your country, that you might not have been a spectator of so sad a scene? I know you will reply in the negative: and will assure me, that you should then have remained in the undisturbed possession of your estate and honours. Yet certainly it would have become a man of your patriotic spirit to have been far less concerned for his own interest, than for that of the republic.

But to what purpose, let me farther ask, should you persevere in banishing yourself from Rome? Hitherto, indeed, the world has approved your conduct, in having entered into the civil war with reluctance, and in having wisely declined pushing it to its last desperate extremity. The world admires, too, your good fortune (as it may justly be called, considering the distracted state of the times) in having been able to maintain your dignity and reputation in an honourable retreat. But the time is now arrived, when you ought to think no place more desirable than your native country. If she appears less beautiful than formerly, this circumstance should not diminish your affection, but rather raise your compassion: and, as there are so many illustrious citizens whose

whose loss she deploras, you should spare her the additional sorrow of being deprived likewise of you. If you discovered a true greatness of spirit in scorning to be the suppliant of Cæsar's power, may you not betray too much pride in contemning the offers of his elemency? And if you acted wisely in withdrawing from your country, may it not be thought insensibility, should you shew no desire of returning? In a word, though you should take no satisfaction in public affairs, yet surely it is imprudent to abandon your own. But, above all, let me entreat you to consider whether your present situation is as secure, as it may perhaps be agreeable. Violences are every where committed with great licentiousness: but more particularly in foreign countries, where villany is less restrained by awe and shame from its cruel purposes. I mention this from my concern for your welfare: which is so great, indeed, that if it be not equal, it is certainly, at least, inferior only to that of your relation Marcellus. Believe me then, it becomes you to act agreeably to the circumstances of the times, and with a rational regard to the preservation of your life and fortunes. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ Caius Marcellus.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 707.]

MARCUS MARCELLUS^s to CICERO.

I HAVE, upon every occasion, shewn you, but particularly in the present, that I pay the highest regard to your sentiments and advice. Accordingly, notwithstanding my very affectionate relation Caius Marcellus, had not only entreated, but earnestly conjured me to act in the manner you recommend, yet his persuasions could by no means prevail, till I found them supported by yours.

I am indebted to your letter for a particular account of the manner in which this affair has been transacted: and I am extremely obliged to you for your congratulations thereupon, as I know they proceed from an excellent heart. But among the very few friends and relations who have sincerely endeavoured to promote my recall, nothing in this whole transaction affords me so true a joy, as to have experienced your singular zeal and good-will towards me. Every thing else, indeed, the calamities of the times have taught me to resign with great tranquillity and

^s This letter seems to be an answer to that which is mentioned in the first remark on the preceding epistle.

and indifference: but to be deprived of the friendship of men of your worth and character, would render life, under every circumstance, altogether insupportable. It is upon the enjoyment, therefore, of this privilege, that I chiefly congratulate myself: and I shall endeavour to convince you, that you have conferred your good offices upon one who is most sincerely and warmly your friend. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

LUCIUS TITIUS STRABO is one of the most illustrious and most distinguished of our Roman knights. I live with him in the strictest familiarity: as, indeed, we are united by every kind of friendly connexion. He claims a debt which is owing to him in your province, from Publius Cornelius: but Volcatius, who presides in our court of justice⁹ at Rome, having refused

⁹ The person who so presided was, according to the constitution of the Roman government, the *Prætor Urbanus*, or city prætor: but Cæsar would not suffer the people to proceed this year to the usual election of their magistrates, excepting only with respect to the tribunes and ædiles. Instead of prætors, therefore, he arbitrarily appointed a certain number of persons to administer the civil jurisdiction of the city, which is the reason (as one of the commentators conjectures) that Cicero does not call Volcatius by the proper title of his office. *Suet. in Jul. 76.*

to take cognizance of the cause, has directed it to be tried in Gaul. I request your assistance, therefore, in bringing this affair to a speedy determination: and I request it so much the more earnestly than if it were my own, as a man may, with a better grace, be anxious for the pecuniary concerns that relate to his friend than to himself. Let me entreat you, then, to take the whole conduct of this business under your immediate direction. And I hope you will endeavour, as far as justice shall permit, that Strabo's freedman, who is employed to manage this suit, may recover the money in question with as little trouble and expence as possible. In this you will greatly oblige me: and you will find, likewise, that Strabo is extremely deserving of your friendship. Again and again, therefore, I conjure you to take his interest under your protection, with the same care you are wont to exert in every instance that you know will be agreeable to me. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO L. PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

I WRITE this letter in great haste upon my tablets, in the midst of an entertainment¹ at the house of Volumnius. We lay down about the ninth hour²: and I am placed with your friends Atticus on my right hand, and Verrius on my left. You will wonder to find that I can pass my time thus jovially in the midst of servitude. Yet tell me, my friend, you who are the disciple of a philosopher, what else should I do? And to what purpose should I torment myself with endless disquietudes? "Spend your days," you will, probably, reply, "in literary occupations." But can you imagine I have any other? or that, without them, my very being would not be utterly insupportable? However, though employments of this kind cannot satiate, there is a certain time, nevertheless, when it is proper to

¹ The time of meals seems a very extraordinary season for the purpose of writing letters. However, it was customary with the Romans to employ themselves in this manner between the several courses: and they usually carried tablets about them for that use. Plutarch informs us, that Cæsar generally signed his dispatches at table. *Plut. in vit. Cæs.*

² The Romans reclined themselves upon couches at their meals. The ninth hour answers to our three o'clock in the afternoon, and was the usual time when they made their last and principal meal.

to lay them aside. Now, at such intervals, though a party at supper is not altogether a point of so much importance to me, as it was to you, when you made it the single subject of your arch query to the philosopher³; yet I know not in what manner I can more agreeably dispose of myself till the hour of sleep. But I was going to name the rest of our company, and to tell you that⁴ Cytheris is reclined⁵ at the left hand of Eutrapelus. You will be astonished, I suppose, to find your grave and philosophical friend in such society: and will be apt to cry out with the poet⁶,

*And is this he, the man so late renown'd?
Whom virtue honour'd, and whom glory crown'd:
This the fam'd chief, of every tongue the praise:
Of Greece the wonder, and of crowds the gaze:*

The truth of the matter is, I had not the least suspicion that this fair lady was to be of our party.

³ The story to which Cicero here alludes, is more explicitly mentioned in a subsequent part of this letter.

⁴ A celebrated courtesan, who, a few years before the date of this letter, had been a very favourite mistress of Mark Antony. If the authority of Servius may be relied upon, she is the *Lycoris* whose infidelity to the poet Gallus is the subject of the last of Virgil's pastorals. *Plut. in vit. Ant. Serv. Virg. Eclog. 10.*

⁵ The reclining posture, at table, was esteemed indecent for women, and only practised by those of a loose character: as the Roman ladies of modesty always sat at their meals.

⁶ Manutius supposes that the verses here quoted are from a tragedy of the poet Ennius, entitled *Telamon*: which is frequently mentioned by the ancient grammarians.

party. However, I have the example of the Socratic Aristippus⁷, to keep me in countenance: who, when he was reproached with having a commerce of gallantry with the Corinthian courtesan, *'tis true*, replied the philosopher, (without being in the least disconcerted) *I possess Laïs; but Laïs possesses not me.* The expression is much stronger in the original⁸; and I leave you, if you think proper, to render it in its full import. In the mean time, let me assure you, that I never had any passion of this sort, even when I was a young fellow, and much less now that I am an old one. But my great delight is in these festive meetings, where I throw out just what comes uppermost, and laugh away the sighs and sorrows of my heart. Nor were you yourself in a more serious mood, my friend, when even a venerable philosopher could not escape your railery; to whom, when he was enquiring if the company had any questions to propose to him⁹, you replied, with great gravity, that "it had been

"a question

⁷ He was a disciple of Socrates; but either mistaking or perverting the lessons of his excellent master, he maintained that "sensual pleasure was the supreme and ultimate good." His practice was agreeable to his doctrine, and he spent his life (a great part of which he passed at the court of Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant) in every kind of luxurious indulgence. *Cic. de Orat. iii. 16. 17. Athen. Deipn. 12.*

⁸ *ἔχω Λαῖδα καὶ ἔχουσι*, was the answer of Aristippus: where the verb *ἔχω*, as Manutius observes, conveys a more obscene sense than the word *habeo*, into which Cicero translates it.

⁹ The conceitedness of the ancient Sophists was so extravagant, that they pretended to be possessed of all knowledge,
VOL. II. A a human

"a question with you the whole morning, where
"you should find a party to sup?" The formal
pedant expected, perhaps, that you were going
to ask him, whether there was one heaven only,
or heavens innumerable; whereas it was at that
time, it seems, much more your concern to be re-
solved in the humourous problem you proposed.

Thus you see in what manner I pass my time.
I devote part of every day to reading or writ-
ing; after which, that I may not entirely se-
clude myself from the society of my friends, I
generally sup in their parties. But upon these
occasions I am so far from transgressing our
sumptuary law, (if any law, alas! can now be
said to subsist) that I do not even indulge
myself to the full extent it allows. You need
not be alarmed, therefore, at my intended vi-
sit: you will receive a guest who jokes much
more abundantly than he eats. Farewel.

LETTER

human and divine; insomuch that one of them publicly
boasted, at the Olympic games, that he was not only master
of the whole circle of liberal arts and sciences, but of the
meanest mechanic crafts. Accordingly, it was customary with
them to call upon their audience to propose any question
whatever, in which they were desirous to be informed; which
was no sooner delivered out, than these philological mounte-
banks harangued upon it in that fluent jargon with which
school-men, in all ages, have been so liberally endowed.—
The first who assumed these impious, shall they be termed,
or ridiculous pretensions to omniscience, was one Gorgias, a
Grecian: and this man, who, in more enlightened days,
would have been looked upon with the utmost contempt by
all true philosophers, was held in such high esteem by his
countrymen, that they erected a statue to his memory, of
solid gold. *Cic. de Orat. iii. 32. de Finib. ii.*

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AMPIUS¹.

BELIEVE me, my dear Appius, it is with the
utmost reason that I congratulate you on the
success of your affairs. I am by no means,
indeed, so imprudent, as to flatter you with
false hopes; for an unexpected disappointment
would probably so depress your spirits, that no-
thing would ever be capable of raising them
again.

I have solicited your cause with more freedom
than was altogether suitable, perhaps, to a man
in my circumstances; as the invariable friend-
ship which I have ever borne towards you, and
which you have always most faithfully culti-
vated, taught me to surmount the difficulties
that fortune, by impairing my credit, had
thrown in my way. Accordingly the promise
of your pardon is obtained, and all prelimina-
ries

¹ Titus Ampius had gradually risen through the several
employments of the state, till he arrived at the prætorship:
from which post he was elected, in the year 696, to the go-
vernment of Cilicia. As he had distinguished himself, dur-
ing his tribunate, by promoting the interest and honours of
Pompey, so he appears to have been a warm partisan of his
cause in the civil wars; in consequence of which, he was at
this time in exile. *Pigh. Annal. iii. 376.*

ries are adjusted and confirmed that relate to your restoration. I speak this upon my own certain knowledge, having been a witness to the whole transaction. It happens, indeed, very luckily, that I am connected with all Cæsar's favourites; insomuch that, next to Cæsar, there is no one who stands so high in their friendship as myself. Pansa, Hirtius, and Oppius; Balbus, Matius, and Postumius, have each of them distinguished me with particular marks of their esteem. If I had endeavoured to establish this interest, merely with a view of serving you in the present conjuncture, I should by no means think I had reason to be ashamed. But I did not cultivate their good graces upon any motive of this temporizing kind: on the contrary, every one of these whom I incessantly solicited in your behalf, are my old friends. In this number we are principally obliged to Pansa; who, as he has the greatest credit and influence with Cæsar, so he shewed himself extremely zealous for your interest, and very desirous likewise of obliging me. I must mention Tullius Cimber^a also, as one with whose good offices,

^a This person, though greatly in favour with Cæsar, was afterwards one of the principal conspirators against him.—It was he that gave the signal to the rest of his associates, when they assassinated Cæsar in the senate; and Cimber held him by the gown, while Cassius gave him the first stab. *Suet. in Jul.* 82.

fices, upon this occasion, I have great reason to be satisfied. He employed them more successfully upon your account, than he possibly could in favour of any other man; for it is not interested solicitations so much as those which proceed entirely from friendship and gratitude, that prevail with Cæsar. Your warrant, however, is not yet actually signed: for there are certain malevolent spirits (who affect to talk as if they were not secretly pleased that this civil war broke out, and who represent you as the principal fomentor of it,) that would be exceedingly offended if they knew you had obtained your pardon. It was thought advisable, therefore, to manage this affair with great caution and secrecy; nor by any means, at present, to suffer our success to be publicly known. It soon, however, will; and I doubt not that every thing will be ripe for that purpose, before this letter shall reach your hands: for Pansa, whose word may be depended upon, has promised me, in the strongest terms, that he will in a very few days procure your warrant. In the meantime, I thought proper to send you this previous account of the prosperous state of your affairs. For I find, by talking with your wife Epulia, and by the tender tears of your daughter Ampia, that you are more dispirited than

A a 3

your

your letters intimate; and they are apprehensive that your uneasiness will be increased by their absence. In order, therefore, to compose this anxiety of your mind, I thought it incumbent on me thus to anticipate a piece of good news, which most assuredly will be verified. You are sensible that in my former letters I have rather employed such arguments of consolation as were proper to affect a man of your philosophical magnanimity, than encouraged you to entertain any other certain hopes than those of being restored with the republic, when these flames should subside. And here let me remind you of your letters to me, in which you have always discovered the most heroic determination to meet with firmness and fortitude whatever it might be your fate to suffer. I was by no means surprised to find that you were animated with these manly sentiments, when I reflected that you had been conversant in the affairs of the world from your earliest youth; that you had exercised some of the most important employments of the commonwealth, at a time when our lives and liberties were in the utmost danger^{*}; and

* Ampius was tribune in the consulate of Cicero, when the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered; and was prætor in the year 695, when Clodius, who at the same time was tribune, raised so much disturbance by his seditious laws; particularly by that which occasioned Cicero's banishment. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 363.*

and that you entered into the present war, not merely with the pleasing prospect of victory, but with a mind prepared to bear the reverse with a wise and philosophical resignation. In fine, as you are employed in recording the deeds of illustrious heroes[†], it particularly concerns you to copy out, in your own conduct, that magnanimity which you are celebrating in others. But this is talking in a style more suitable to your late circumstances than to your present. Let me only, then, exhort you to come prepared to endure those calamities which you must suffer here in common with every citizen of Rome: calamities, for which, if I had discovered any remedy, I should most certainly impart it to you. The only refuge from them is in those philosophical studies, in which we have both of us ever been conversant; and these, though in more prosperous days they were only our amusement, must now prove likewise our strongest support. But, to end as I began, let me desire you to be well persuaded that all things are completely settled concerning your full pardon and restoration. Farewel.

LETTER

[†] This work seems to have been of the biographical kind, and to have included the life of Julius Cæsar; as Suetonius quotes a passage from it, concerning the conduct of that emperor. *Vid. Suet. in Jul. 77.*

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

To P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proconsul.

As the friendship that subsists between us, and the singular affection you bear me, are circumstances universally known: I find myself under a frequent necessity of applying to you in behalf of those who solicit my recommendations. But though I am a general well-wisher to all whom I thus introduce to your favour, yet I do not pretend to be equally interested in the success of every one of them. I am particularly so, however, in that of Titus Egnatius, as he was the generous companion of my exile, and shared with me in all the pains, the difficulties, and the dangers which I underwent, both by sea and land, during that most unfortunate period of my life. Nor would he, without my consent, have left me at this juncture. I recommend him to you, therefore, as one of my family for whom I have the greatest regard; and you will much oblige me by convincing him that this letter shall have proved greatly to his advantage. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 707.]

To CURIUS⁶.

THERE was a time when I thought you made a very injudicious choice, by preferring a foreign country to your own. I imagined that Rome (while yet, alas! it was Rome) must be far more suitable, I will not only say than Patræ, but even than the noblest city in the Peloponnesus, to a man of your amiable and elegant turn of mind. But now, on the contrary, I look upon your having retired into Greece, when our affairs were well nigh desperate, as a strong proof of your great penetration; and I consider your absence, not only as a very judicious, but a very happy resolution. Yet, why do I call it happy? when it is impossible that happiness should be the portion of any man, in these wretched times, who possesses the least degree

⁶ He was one of the city quæstors in the year 691, and about five years afterwards, was elected into the post of tribune. It does not appear that he advanced any farther in the offices of the state. On the contrary, it seems probable that he turned his pursuits into an humbler channel, and engaged in some branch of commerce. It was for this purpose, perhaps, that about the time when the dissensions between Pompey and Cæsar broke out, he retired into Greece, and settled at Patræ. See let. 2. of the following book. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 334.*

degree of sensibility. However, that desirable privilege which you, who were at liberty to leave Italy, enjoy by travelling, I have procured by another method; and I can in some sort say, no less than yourself, that I live

*Where nor the name nor deeds accurs'd I hear
Of Pelops' impious race?*

For, as soon as my levee is over, (which is somewhat more frequented than formerly, a patriot being now looked upon as a sight, of all others, the most uncommon*) I shut myself up in my library. And it is there, my friend, that I am employed in compositions which you will find, perhaps, to be animated with all that spirit you once said so ill agreed with my dejection and despair, when you reproached me, at your house, for not acting up to the fortitude that

* The sons of Pelops were Atreus and Thyestes, whose impious and cruel acts are recorded in fabulous history. The dramatic poet, Attius, wrote a tragedy entitled Atreus, from which play, it is probable, this line was quoted, and which Cicero seems to apply to the violences committed by some of the leading men in the successful party. That Cicero, however, by no means lived the recluse he here represents himself, has already appeared by several letters in the present and preceding book, by which it is evident that he mixed, with great freedom and gaiety, among the chiefs of the victorious faction.

* A true patriot was a sight in all ages too uncommon, it must be owned, not to have been worth remarking; but, whether those who visited Cicero, in order to view so singular a curiosity, were disappointed or not, is a question which every reader, by this time, perhaps, may be able very clearly to determine.

that appeared in my writings. I must confess, I could not at that time forbear lamenting the wretched fate of the republic; to which I was the more tenderly attached, as I had not only been distinguished with its honours, but had greatly assisted it by my services. And even now, that time (which wears out the sorrows of the weakest minds) together with reason, (which ought to have the strongest influence for that purpose) have jointly contributed to compose my breast; yet I still lament to see the commonwealth thus fallen, without a hope of ever rising more! There is nothing, however, that can at present be justly imputed to Him, in whom all power is now vested; unless, perhaps, it be that he has more than he ought. And as to what is past, our fate and our follies have had so large a share in all that has happened, that we cannot complain with a good grace. As little reason is there to hope that affairs will mend. I cannot, therefore, but conclude my letter as I began it, with admiring your judgment if it were choice, or your fortune if it were chance, that led you from this unpleasing scene. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LIGARIUS.

BE assured that I am exerting my utmost efforts of every kind in order to procure your restoration. In truth, the singular and pious affection of your brothers, for whom I bear the same warm friendship that I entertain for yourself, will not suffer me to neglect any opportunity of employing my best offices in your behalf. But I had rather you should learn from their letters than from mine, what I have already performed, and what I am still endeavouring to perform, in your affairs. I will only, therefore, acquaint you myself with the strong and well-grounded hopes I have conceived, that your restoration will soon be effected. Let me previously observe, that my fears in all doubtful cases of importance, are ever apt to be much superior to my hopes; a fault, if it be a fault, which I am very ready to acknowledge. Nevertheless, the last time I waited upon Cæsar, I came away with a full persuasion, that there was not the least reason to doubt of his granting you a pardon. I attended him for this purpose, at the request of your brothers, on the 26th of November last, in the morning

morning, not without encountering all the usual difficulties and indignities, before I could gain admittance. Your brothers, and the rest of your relations, having thrown themselves at his feet, I supported their petition with such arguments as I thought suitable to the occasion⁹. And I could plainly

⁹ Cicero had, shortly afterwards, a more public occasion of testifying his zeal for his friend. For Tubero, though he had himself engaged in the same party with Ligarius, having from private pique opposed the recall of Ligarius, Cicero defended him before Cæsar in the forum, in a noble oration, which is still extant. It was upon this occasion, that the pomp and energy of the Roman orator's rhetoric is said to have had such a wonderful effect, that it not only made Cæsar tremble, but what is yet more extraordinary, it made him change his determined purpose, and acquit the man he had resolved to condemn. This story has often been alledged in proof of the power of ancient eloquence; and the translator confesses, that he has himself, in the letters published under the name of Sir Thomas Fitzosborn, produced it for that purpose. But, upon a stricter enquiry, the supposed fact seems to be extremely questionable. For, in the first place, there is not the least trace of it in any part of Cicero's writings. Now this his total silence seems to furnish a very strong presumptive argument, to destroy the credit of the story; for it is altogether improbable, that a man of Cicero's character should have omitted any opportunity of displaying a circumstance so exceedingly to the honour of his oratorical powers. In the next place, it is very observable, that Valerius Maximus, who has a chapter expressly to shew the force of eloquence, and who mentions a particular instance of this kind with regard to Cæsar himself, yet takes not the least notice of the fact in question. But if it had been true, is it credible either that it should never have reached his knowledge, or that, knowing it, he should have passed it over in silence? especially as it afforded him a much stronger instance for his purpose, than any he has thought proper to enumerate. It is remarkable, likewise, that Quintilian, though he frequently cites the very passage in this celebrated

plainly perceive, not only by the gracious answer which Cæsar returned, but by the whole air of his countenance, together with several other little circumstances, much easier to remark than describe, that he was extremely well inclined in your favour¹. Preserve then, my friend, a firm and vigorous frame of mind; and, if you bore the dark and tempestuous season of your affairs with fortitude, let their present

celebrated oration, which is supposed to have raised the strongest emotions in Cæsar's breast; yet gives not the least intimation of the effect which it is pretended to have wrought. Plutarch is the only ancient writer who relates this story, and he introduces it with a λέγεται δὲ, an expression which seems to imply, that he did not copy it from any earlier historian, but received it only from common tradition. Now it might be sufficient to give rise to such a report, if Cæsar had been seized during the course of this trial with one of his usual epileptic fits, which were attended with that change of colour and trembling of the nerves, that Plutarch ascribes to the force of Cicero's rhetoric. And that this is all that there was of truth in the case, is rendered probable by the testimony of Suetonius, who informs us, that Cæsar was twice seized with these fits, when he was engaged in judicial affairs. *Val. Mar. viii. 9. Quint. Instit. Orat. viii. 4. 6. ix. 2. Plut. in vit. Cicer. Suet. in Jul. 45.*

¹ Cicero's presages in the present instance, appear to have been well grounded; for Ligarius, shortly afterwards, obtained Cæsar's permission to return to Rome. Ligarius, nevertheless, entered into the conspiracy against him, and history has recorded the very spirited answer which Ligarius made to Brutus, when that illustrious Roman paid him a visit, in order to invite him into a participation of his scheme. Brutus, finding him sick in bed, began to lament that he should be confined at so critical a conjuncture; upon which, Ligarius, raising himself on his arm, and taking Brutus by the hand, "Oh my friend," said he, "if you are meditating any enterprise worthy of yourself, I am well." *Plut. in vit. Brut.*

present more serene and favourable aspect fill your heart with cheerfulness. As for myself, I shall continue to act with as much assiduity in your cause, as if there were still many obstacles to surmount. To this end, I shall very zealously persevere in my applications, not only to Cæsar, but to all those who are most in his favour; every one of whom I have experienced to be much my friend. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proconsul.

I TOOK occasion, when we were walking in your gardens, to recommend to you, with all possible earnestness, the Asiatic affairs of my friend Cerellia². And, agreeably to your usual disposition, and to those many great and good offices I have perpetually received at your hands, you very generously assured me of your utmost assistance.

² This lady was not only a particular friend of Cicero, but a great reader and admirer of his moral writings. But neither her philosophy nor her age, though she was ten years older than Cicero, could secure her character from censure; and slander has said, that her intercourse with our author did not always turn upon matters of speculation. But, if the reader has the curiosity to see this charge entirely overthrown, he will find a very satisfactory confutation of it in Monsieur Mongault's fourth remark on the 51st letter of the 12th book to Atticus.

assistance. This circumstance, I persuade myself, you have not forgotten; I am sure, at least, it is not customary with you to be unmindful of my requests. However, the agents of this lady inform her, in their letters, that the numerous occupations in which so extensive a province engages you, render it necessary that you should be reminded, from time to time, of your promise. I entreat you, therefore, to recollect that you gave me full assurances of employing your good offices in favour of Cerellia, so far as should be consistent with your honour; and I think your powers for this purpose are very extensive. For, if I mistake not, the decree of the senate, which passed in relation to the heirs of Vannonius, is expressed in such terms as to admit of an interpretation extremely advantageous to Cerellia's interest. But this must be submitted entirely to your own judgment; which, I doubt not, will construe this decree in the sense in which it was intended by the senate, as I know the respect you always bear for the resolutions of that assembly. I will only add, therefore, that I desire you would believe, that every instance in which you shall favour Cerellia, will be a singular obligation conferred upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CÆCINA¹.

I WAS informed, by your zealous friend Largus, that the time limited for your continuance in Sicily, expires on the first of January next. Having, therefore, upon all occasions, observed that Cæsar ratifies whatever Balbus and Oppius act in his absence², I very strenuously solicited them that you might be permitted to remain in that island as long as you should think proper. In all my applications of this kind, they have either instantly complied with my desire, if it happened not to be particularly disagreeable to them, or have assigned their reasons for refusing: but, in the present instance, they did

¹ Aulus Cæcina was a person of great and amiable virtues in private life: and he was distinguished, likewise, in public for his genius, his eloquence, and his erudition. He seems to have particularly excelled in the science of divination: upon which subject he wrote a treatise, which is often cited by Seneca. In the civil wars, he not only drew his sword, but his pen against Cæsar: having published an invective upon that general, which appears to have extremely offended him. Cæcina was accordingly banished: and the present and following letters to him, were written during his exile in Sicily. *Cic. Orat. pro Cæcin.* 35, 36. *Senec. Natural. Quæst. ii. passim.*

² Cæsar was, at this time, in Spain, pursuing the war against the sons of Pompey: whilst Oppius and Balbus were acting as his vicegerents at Rome.

did not give me an immediate answer. However, they called upon me again the very same day, in order to acquaint me, that, in consequence of my request, you were at liberty to continue in Sicily during your own inclination: and they would be answerable, they said, that Cæsar would not be displeased. Thus you see how far your licence extends: and I need not tell you what use it would be most adviseable for you to make of it.

After I had written thus far, your letter was given into my hands, wherein you desire my opinion, whether you should remain in Sicily, or go into Asia in order to settle your affairs in that province. I do not well know how to reconcile this question to the account which I mentioned above to have received from Largus. For he talked to me as if you were not at liberty to reside any longer in Sicily: whereas, your query seems to imply the contrary. Be this as it may, my sentiments are, that you should, by all means, continue in that island. The nearness of its situation renders it extremely convenient for the more expeditiously receiving and returning letters and expresses during the negociation of your pardon: as you will be so much the earlier, likewise, amongst us, if you should, as I hope, obtain leave to re-

turn to Rome, or at least, into Italy. For these reasons, therefore, I am altogether against your removing from your present quarters.

I shall not fail to recommend you, in the strongest terms, to Furfanius Posthumus and his lieutenants, when they arrive here: but, at present, they are all at Mutina. They are every one of them my friends: and not only persons of singular merit, but great admirers of men of your character. You may, without any particular application to me, depend upon my best assistance in every other article, wherein I imagine my services can avail you. And should there be any of which I may be ignorant, if you will point them out to me, you will find that you could not have employed any other of your friends who would have acted in your affairs with so warm a zeal.

Though I shall speak so effectually to Furfanius, that there will be no necessity for your delivering a letter to him on my part; yet, as some of your family were desirous you should have one, I could not refuse their request: and I have added, at the bottom of this, a copy of my letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 707.]

To TITUS FURFANIUS³, Proconsul.

IT is impossible to be more intimately united with any man, than I have ever been with Aulus Cæcina. I lived in great familiarity with his illustrious father: and the early presages I observed in the son, of the most exalted probity and eloquence, won my affections to him from his youth. We were attached to each other, not only by the mutual exchange of many friendly offices, but by the same common tastes and studies: insomuch, that there is no man for whom I ever entertained a more tender regard. After this, I need only add, that I am under the strongest obligations, as you see, to protect both his person and his fortunes, to the utmost of my power. As I know, by many instances, the sentiments you entertain both of the calamities of the republic, and of those who suffer for its sake, I am sure your own inclinations will lead you to assist Cæcina. I will only entreat you, therefore, to suffer my recommendation to increase that favourable disposition,

³ He was appointed by Cæsar præconsul of Sicily for the following year: in which post he is said to have conducted himself with great clemency and moderation. *Quartier.*

in proportion to the esteem which I am sensible you bear me. And be well persuaded, that you cannot give me a more sensible proof of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 707.]

AULUS CÆCINA to CICERO.

I HOPE you will not only pardon the fears, but pity the misfortunes, which prevented your receiving my performance so soon as I intended: but my son was apprehensive, I hear, that the publication of this piece might prove to my prejudice. And, indeed, as the effect of compositions of this kind depends more upon the temper in which they are read, than on that in which they are written, his fears were by no means irrational: especially as I am still a sufferer for the liberties of my pen. In this respect, my fate, surely, is somewhat singular. For the errors of an author are generally either reformed by a blot, or punished by the loss of his fame: whereas banishment, on the contrary, has been thought the more proper method of correcting mine. And yet the whole of my crime amounts only to this; that I poured forth my invectives against the man with whom I was openly at war. Now, there was not a single person, I suppose, in the same party with

B b 3 myself,

myself, who was not in effect, guilty of the same offence: as there was not one who did not send up his vows for success to our cause, or that offered a sacrifice, though upon an occasion ever so foreign to public affairs, without imploring the Gods that Cæsar might soon be defeated. If he imagines otherwise, he is extremely happy in his ignorance. But if he knows this to be fact, why am I marked out as the particular object of his wrath, for having written something which he did not approve; whilst he forgives every one of those, who were perpetually invoking Heaven for his perdition!

But I was going to acquaint you with the reason of those fears, which I mentioned in the beginning of my letter. In the first place then, I have taken notice of you in the piece in question: though, at the same time, I have touched upon your conduct with great caution and reserve. Not that I have, by any means, changed my sentiments concerning it; but, as being afraid to say all that they dictated to me. Now, it is well known, that in compositions of the panegyric kind, an author should not only deliver his applauses with a full and unlimited freedom, but heighten them, likewise, with a suitable strength and warmth of expression. In satire, indeed, though great liberties are generally thought allowable, yet, a writer must always be
upon

upon his guard, lest he degenerates into petulance and scurrility. An author is still more restrained in speaking advantageously of himself: as without much care and circumspection he will appear arrogant and conceited. Of all subjects, therefore, of a *personal* nature, it is panegyric alone, wherein a writer may expatiate uncontrolled: as he cannot be sparing in the encomiums he bestows upon another, without incurring the imputation of envy or inability. But, in the present instance, you will think yourself, perhaps, obliged to me. For as I was not at liberty to represent your actions in the manner they deserve, the next favour to being totally silent concerning them, was to mention them as little as possible. But difficult as it was to contain myself upon so copious a subject, I however forbore: and, as there were various parts of your conduct I did not venture even to touch upon; so, in the revisal of my work, I not only found it necessary to strike out several circumstances I had inserted, but to place many of those which I suffered to remain in a less advantageous point of view. But should an architect, in raising a flight of steps, omit some, cut away part of those he had fixed, and leave many of the rest loose and ill joined together, might he not more properly be said to erect a ruin, than an easy and regular ascent? In the
noqu B b 4 same

same manner, where an author is constrained by a thousand unhappy circumstances, to break the just coherence of his piece, and destroy its proper gradation, how can he hope to produce any thing that shall merit the applause of a refined and judicious ear? But I was still more embarrassed, where my subject led me to speak of Cæsar: and I will own that I trembled whenever I had occasion to mention his name. My fears, however, did not arise from any apprehension that what I wrote might draw upon me his farther chastisement; but lest it should not be agreeable to his particular sentiments, with which, indeed, I am by no means well acquainted. But with what spirit can a man compose when he is obliged to ask himself, at every sentence, "Will Cæsar approve of this?" "May not this expression appear of suspicious import? Or will he not think it still worse 'if I change it thus?'" But, besides these difficulties, I was perplexed, likewise, in regard to the applauses and censures which I dealt out to others: as I was afraid I might apply them where they would not, perhaps, be very agreeable to Cæsar, though they might not actually give him offence. I reflected, that if his vengeance pursued me for what I wrote, whilst I had my sword in my hand; what might be the consequence, should I displease him now that

that I am a disarmed exile? These fears increased upon me, when I considered the cautious manner in which you thought it necessary to deliver your sentiments in your treatise entitled the *Orator*: where you modestly apologise for venturing to publish your notions upon the subject, by ascribing it to the request of Brutus. But if you, whose eloquence has rendered you the general patron of every Roman, deemed it expedient to be thus artfully guarded, how much more requisite is it for your old client, who is now reduced to implore that protection from every citizen in general, which he once received from yourself in particular? An author, who writes under the constraint of so many doubts and fears, though fears, perhaps, that are altogether groundless; who is forced to adjust almost every sentence, not to his own judgment, but to the impression it may, probably, make upon others; will find it extremely difficult to execute any composition with success. And though this is a difficulty which you have never, it is possible, experienced; as your exalted genius is equal to every undertaking; yet I am sure I experienced it very sensibly myself. Nevertheless, I ordered my son to read my performance to you; but not to leave it in your hands, unless you would promise to correct it; and as I perceived I should, I thought that

that is, unless you would new model it in all its parts.

As to my Asiatic expedition: notwithstanding my affairs require my presence in that province; yet, in obedience to your advice, I have laid aside my intended voyage. And now, as you are sensible that my fate must necessarily, one way or other, be soon determined; I need not, I am persuaded, particularly exhort you to assist me with your good offices. Let me only entreat you, my dear Cicero, not to defer them in expectation of my son's arrival. For his youth, his tenderness, and his fears, render him ill able to think of every measure which may be proper to be taken for my advantage. The whole management, therefore, of my cause, must rest entirely upon you, as it is upon you, in truth, that all my hopes depend. Your judicious observation has enabled you to penetrate into the recesses of Cæsar's heart; and you are acquainted with all the most probable methods of prevailing with him: so that each successful step that shall be made in this affair, from its commencement to its conclusion, must proceed altogether from you. I am sensible, likewise, that you have great interest with Cæsar, and still greater with all his favourites. I doubt not, then, of your effecting my restoration, if you will exert yourself for that purpose

pose, not only in such instances wherein I shall particularly request your assistance, (though that, indeed, would be a very considerable obligation) but by taking the whole conduct of this matter into your own hands. Perhaps my judgment is blinded by my misfortunes, or I expect more from your friendship than in modesty I ought, when I venture thus to impose upon you so heavy a burthen. But whichever may be the case, your general conduct towards your friends will furnish me with an excuse: for the zeal which you exert, upon all occasions, where their interest is concerned, has taught them, not only to expect, but even to claim your services.

With regard to the book which my son will deliver to you; I entreat you either not to suffer it to be published, or to correct it in such a manner, that it may not appear to my disadvantage. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proconsul.

I NEED not inform you, that Curtius Mithres is the favourite freedman of my very intimate friend Postumus: but let me assure you, that he distinguishes me with the same marks of respect

respect which he pays to his patron himself. Whenever I was at Ephesus, I made use of his house as my own: and many incidents concurred, which afforded me full proofs both of his fidelity and his affection. For this reason, as often as either my friends or myself have any affairs to transact in Asia, I always apply to Mithres: and I command not only his services, but his purse and his house, with the same freedom that I should dispose of my own. I particularise these circumstances the more minutely, that you may see it is not upon common motives, or to gratify the purposes of any ambitious views, that I now apply to you: but on the contrary, that it is in favour of one with whom I am united by the strongest connexions. I entreat you then to do me the honour of assisting him with your good offices, not only in the law-suit wherein he is engaged with a certain citizen of Colophon¹, but in every other instance also, as far as shall be consistent with your own character and convenience. But though I make this exception, yet I am sure he has too much modesty to ask any thing improper of you. Indeed, it is his utmost wish, that his own merit, in conjunction with my recommendation, may procure him your esteem. I very earnestly, therefore, conjure you, not

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¹ A city of Ionia, in Asia Minor: and one of those which claimed the honour of being the birth-place of Homer.

only to favour him with your protection, but to receive him into the number of your friends. In return, you may depend upon my most zealous services upon all occasions wherein I shall imagine either your interest or your inclination may require them. Farewel.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CECINA.

As often as I see your son (and I see him almost every day) I never fail to assure him of my zealous assistance, without any exception of time, of labour, or of business: and I promise him likewise my credit and interest, with this single limitation, that he may rely upon them as far as the small share I possess of either can possibly extend.

I have read your performance², and still continue to read it, with much attention: as I shall preserve it with the greatest fidelity. Your affairs, indeed, of every kind, are my principal concern: and I have the pleasure to see them every day appear with a more and more favourable aspect. You have many friends who contribute their good offices for this purpose: of whose zeal your son, I am assured, has already

acquainted

² See the 30th letter of this book.

acquainted you, as well as of his own hopes that their endeavours will prove effectual. In regard to what may be collected from appearances, I do not pretend to discern more, than, I am persuaded, you see yourself: but as you may reflect upon them, perhaps, with greater discomposure of mind, I think it proper to give you my sentiments concerning them. Believe me then, it is impossible, from the nature and circumstances of public affairs, that either you, or your companions in adversity, should long remain under your present misfortunes: yes, my friend, it is impossible that so severe an injury should continue to oppress the honest advocates of so good a cause. But my hopes are particularly strong with respect to yourself: not merely in consideration of your rank and virtues, (for these you possess in common with many others) but particularly from your singular learning and genius. The man in whose power we all of us are, holds these shining qualities in much esteem: and I am well persuaded, you would not have remained, even a single moment, in your present situation, if he had not imagined himself wounded³ by those talents he admires. His resentment, however, seems daily cooling: and it has been intimated to me by some of his most particular friends, that

³ See rem. 3. on let. 28. of this book.

that you will undoubtedly find advantage in the high opinion he has conceived of your abilities. Let me conjure you then, in the first place, to preserve a firm and unshaken fortitude of mind, as what you owe to your birth, to your education, to your learning, and to that character you have universally obtained; and, in the next place, that, for the reasons I have already assigned, you would entertain the strongest and most favourable hopes. Be well persuaded, likewise, that I shall always most readily contribute my warmest services both to you and to your family. You have, indeed, a full right to expect them, from that affection which has so long subsisted between us; from the conduct I ever observe towards all my friends, and from the numberless good offices I have received at your hands. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, Proconsul.

As the share you allow me in your friendship is by no means a secret to the world, it occasions great numbers to apply to me for recommendations. My letters to you, therefore, of this kind are sometimes, I confess, no other than the tributes of common compliment. They are much more frequently, however, the dictates of a real affection: as is the case, be assured, in the present instance, when I recommend to you Ampius Menander, the freedman of my friend Ampius Balbus. He is a very worthy, modest man, and highly in the esteem both of his patron and myself. You will much oblige me then by assisting him with your good offices, in every instance that shall not be inconvenient to you: and, believe me, it is with great earnestness that I make this request. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CÆCINA.

I AM afraid you will think that I am a more negligent correspondent than I ought, considering the union between us as partisans of the same cause, as being joined in the same studies, and, as having mutually conferred upon each other, many obliging good offices. The sincere truth, however, is, that I should much sooner and much oftener have written to you, if I had not been in daily expectation of seeing your affairs in a better train: and I rather chose, instead of confirming you in the spirit with which you bear your misfortunes, to have sent you my congratulations on their being ended. I still hope to have that pleasure very shortly. In the mean time, I think it incumbent upon me to endeavour, if not with all the authority of a philosopher, at least with all the influence of a friend, to confirm and strengthen you in that manly spirit with which I hear, and believe, you are animated. For this purpose, I shall not address you as one whose misfortunes are without hope; but as a person of whose restoration I have conceived the same well-grounded confidence

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fidence which you formerly, I remember, entertained of mine. For when I was driven from my country, by a set of men, who were convinced they could never effect their destructive purposes so long as I continued in the commonwealth, I was informed by many of my friends who visited me from Asia, where you then resided, that you strongly assured them of my speedy and honourable recal. Now, if the principles of the Etruscan science⁴, in which you were instructed by your illustrious and excellent father, did not deceive you with respect to me, neither will my presages be less infallible with regard to you. They are derived, indeed, not only from the maxims and records of the most distinguished sages, whose writings, you well know, I have studied with great application; but, from a long experience in public affairs, and from having passed through various scenes both of prosperity and adversity. I have the stronger rea-

son

⁴ The Romans derived their doctrine and rites of divination, and probably, indeed, many other of their religious and civil institutions, from the Etruscans, a very ancient, learned, and powerful nation, who were once masters of almost all Italy, and who inhabited that part which is now called Tuscany. Cæcina, who was a native of this province, and well skilled in that pretended prophetic art, for which his countrymen were particularly famous, foretold, it seems, that Cicero's banishment would soon end, (as in fact it did) in a glorious restoration. *Val. Max. i. 1. Liv. v. 33. Pigh. Annul. i. p. 430. See rem. 3. p. 369. of this vol.*

son to confide in this method of divination, as it has never once deceived me during all these dark and distracted times: insomuch, that were I to mention my predictions, I am afraid you would suspect that I framed them after the events I pretend to have foretold⁵. However, there are many who can bear me witness, that I forewarned Pompey against entering into any association with Cæsar⁶; and that I afterwards as strongly endeavoured to dissuade him from breaking that union. I clearly saw, indeed, that their conjunction would considerably impair the strength of the senate; and that their separation would as inevitably kindle the flames of a civil war. I lived at that time in great familiarity with Cæsar, as well as entertained the highest regard to Pompey; and, accordingly, the faithful advice I gave to the latter, was equally to the benefit of both. I forbear to instance several other articles, in which my prophetic admonitions have been verified.

For

⁵ Cicero's wonderful reach of judgment in penetrating far into the consequences of events, is by no means exaggerated in the present passage. On the contrary, it is confirmed by the testimony of an historian who knew him well; and who assures us, that Cicero pointed out, with a prophetic discernment, several circumstances that were fulfilled not only in his own life-time, but after his death. *Corn. Nepos. in vitæ Attic. 17.*

⁶ The motives which induced Pompey to enter into this union with Cæsar, have been already explained in rem. 8. p. 114. vol. i.

For, as I have received great obligations from Cæsar, I am unwilling he should know, that had Pompey followed my counsels, though Cæsar would still have been the first and most distinguished person in the republic, he would not have been in possession of that extensive power he now enjoys. I will confess, however, that I always gave it as my opinion, that Pompey should go to his government in Spain: with which, if he had happily complied, we should never have been involved in this fatal civil war⁷. I contended, likewise, not so much that Cæsar should be received as a candidate for the consulship during his absence⁸; as that the law

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⁷ Pompey, instead of going to his government of Spain, continued in Italy, with the command of two legions which were quartered near Rome. This gave umbrage to Cæsar, who suspected, as the truth was, that these troops were designed to act against him. In order, therefore, to remove his apprehensions of this kind, it was proposed by Cicero, and some others of the more moderate party, that Pompey should retire to his government. But this motion was over-ruled by the consul Lentulus: who prevailed with the senate to pass a decree, whereby Cæsar, who had already crossed the Rubicon, was commanded to withdraw his forces out of Italy by a certain day therein named: and in case of disobedience, that he should be considered as a public enemy. *Hist. de Bel. Gal. viii. 55. Cas. Bel. Civil. i. 2.*

⁸ Pompey, when he was consul the third time, in the year 701, procured a law empowering Cæsar to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship, without appearing personally at Rome for that purpose. This was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Roman constitution, and proved, in the event, the occasion of its being utterly destroyed: as it furnished Cæsar with the only specious pretence for turning

which the people enacted for that purpose, and enacted too at the earnest solicitation of Pompey in his consulate, should be religiously observed⁹. It was the rejecting of this advice, that gave occasion to the civil war: which I still laboured to extinguish by every method of remonstrance in my power, and by warmly representing, that in contests of this kind, though ever so justly founded, even the most disadvantageous terms of accommodation were preferable to having recourse to arms. But my sentiments

his arms against the republic. Cicero affirms, in one of his Philippics, that he endeavoured to dissuade Pompey from suffering this law to pass: *Duo—tempora inciderunt*, says he, *quibus aliquid contra Cæsarem Pompeio suaserim—Unum, ne, &c. alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis ejus ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miseras nunquam incidissemus. Philip. ii. 10.* But if what Cicero here asserts be true, he acted a most extraordinary part indeed. For, at the same time, that he laboured to dissuade Pompey from suffering this law to pass, he persuaded Cælius, who was one of the tribunes of the people, to promote it, or at least not to oppose it: agreeably to a promise which he had given to Cæsar for that purpose. This appears by a passage in one of his letters to Atticus, where, speaking of Cæsar's claim to sue for the consulate, without personally attending at Rome, he tells Atticus, *Ut illi hoc liceret, adjuvi: rogatus ab ipso Ravennæ de Cælio tribuno plebis. Ad Att. vii. 1.*

⁹ Whether this law should, or should not, be superseded, was a question upon which Cicero found the republic divided at his return from Cilicia, just before the civil war broke out. And although he certainly acted an unjustifiable part in promoting this law; yet, after it had once passed, it seems to have been right policy in him to advise that it should be observed; as it was the only probable means of preserving the public tranquillity.

timents were over-ruled : not so much by Pompey himself, (upon whom they seemed to make some impression) as by those who, depending upon his victory, thought it would afford them a very favourable opportunity of extricating themselves from the difficulties of their private affairs, and of gratifying their immoderate ambition. The war, therefore, commenced without my participation : and I still continued in Italy as long as I possibly could, even after Pompey was driven out of it¹⁰. My honour, however, at length prevailed over my fears : and I could not support the thoughts of deserting Pompey in *his* distress, who had not abandoned me in *mine*. Partly, therefore, upon a principle of duty ; partly in tenderness to my reputation with the patriots ; and partly as being ashamed to forsake my friend, I went, as is fabled of Amphiaraus¹¹, to that ruin which I clearly foresaw. And, indeed, there was not a single misfortune attended us during that whole campaign, which I did not point out before it arrived. You see, therefore, that I have the same right of being credited, which augurs and astrologers

¹⁰ See rem. 4. p. 141. of this vol.

¹¹ Amphiaraus was a Grecian prophet, as the poets feign, who, foreknowing that he should be killed, if he went to the Theban war, concealed himself, in order to avoid that expedition. But his wife being bribed to disclose the place of his concealment, he was forced to the war, and his death confirmed the truth of his prediction. *Manutius*.

astrologers are wont to urge : and may claim your belief of my present predictions, in consequence of the veracity of my former. But I do not found these my prophecies in your favour on those intimations of futurity, which are taught by our augural science. I derive them from observations of a different sort ; which, though not more certain in themselves, are less obscure, however, and consequently less liable to be misinterpreted. The signs, then, from whence I draw my presages, are of two kinds : the one taken from Cæsar himself, the other from the nature and circumstances of public affairs. With respect to the former, they result, in the first place, from that general clemency of Cæsar's disposition, which you have celebrated in that ingenious performance entitled your *Complaints*¹² : and, in the next place, from that extraordinary regard he discovers for men of your distinguished genius and abilities. To this I must add, that he will certainly yield to those numberless solicitations in your favour, which proceed, not from any interested motives, but from a real and just esteem : among which the unanimous application of Etruria¹³ will, undoubtedly, have great weight with him. If you ask,

¹² This seems to be the performance, concerning which Cæcina writes to Cicero in the 30th letter of this book.

¹³ Cæcina was a native of Etruria, and a person of great consideration in that part of Italy.

ask, whence it has happened that these considerations have hitherto proved ineffectual? I answer, that Cæsar thinks if he should immediately grant a pardon to you, against whom he may seem to have a more reasonable ground of complaint, he could not refuse it to others, whom he is less inclined to forgive. But you will say, perhaps, "If Cæsar is thus incensed, what have I to hope?" Undoubtedly, my friend, you have much; as he is sensible he must derive the brightest splendour of his fame, from the hand which once somewhat sullied its lustre. In fine, Cæsar is endowed with a most acute and penetrating judgment: and, as he perfectly well knows, not only the high rank you bear in a very considerable district of Italy¹⁴, but that there is no man in the commonwealth, of your age, who is superior to you in reputation, abilities, or popularity; he cannot but be convinced, that it will be impossible for him to render your exile of any long duration. He is too politic, therefore, to lose the merit of voluntarily conferring upon you at present, what will otherwise most unquestionably be extorted from him hereafter.

Having thus marked out the favourable prognostics which I collect from circumstances respecting Cæsar, I will now acquaint you with those which I gather from the temper and complexion

¹⁴ Etruria.

plexion of the times. There is no man, then, so averse to that cause which Pompey espoused with more spirit, indeed, than preparation, as to venture to arraign the principles or the patriotism of those who joined in his party. And I cannot but observe to you, that I have often occasion to admire the justice and judgment of Cæsar, who never speaks of Pompey but in terms of the highest honour. Should it be said, that whatever regard he may shew to his memory, he treated his person, upon many occasions, with great asperity: let it be remembered that these instances cannot reasonably be imputed to Cæsar, but were the natural consequences of war. But how favourably has he received many of us, and myself in particular, who were engaged in the same party? Has he not appointed Cassius to be his lieutenant? has he not given the government of Gaul to Brutus? and that of Greece to Sulpicius? In a word, highly incensed as he was against Marcellus, has he not, in the most honourable manner, restored him to his friends and to his country? What I would infer, therefore, from the whole, is this, that whatever system of government may prevail, good policy will never permit, in the first place, that a difference should be made among those who were equally involved in the same cause; and in the next, that
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a set of honest and worthy citizens, who are free from all imputation on their moral characters, should be banished from their country, at the same time that such numbers of those who have been exiled for the most infamous crimes, are suffered to return.

These are the presages of your friend : and they are presages, of which, if I had the least doubt, I would by no means have laid them before you. On the contrary, I should, in that case, rather have employed such consolatory arguments, as would, unquestionably, have proved effectual for the support of a great and generous mind. I should have told you, that if you were induced to take up arms in defence of the republic (as you then imagined) merely from a confidence of success, small, indeed, would be your merit : and that if, under a full conviction of the very precarious event of war, you thought it possible that we might be defeated, it would be strange that you should have so much depended upon victory, as to be utterly unprepared for the reverse. I should have reasoned with you on the consolation you ought to receive, from reflecting on the integrity of your conduct : and reminded you of the satisfaction which the liberal arts will afford in the adverse seasons of life. I should have produced examples, not only from history, but
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in the persons of our leaders and associates in this unhappy war, of those who have suffered the most severe calamities : and should have also cited several illustrious instances of the same sort from foreign story. For to reflect on the misfortunes to which mankind in general are exposed, greatly contributes to alleviate the weight of those, which we ourselves endure. In short, I should have described the confusion of that turbulent scene, in which we are here engaged : as, undoubtedly, the being driven from a commonwealth in ruins, is much less to be regretted than from one in a flourishing and a happy situation. But these are arguments which I have by no means any occasion to urge : as I hope, or rather, indeed, as I clearly foresee, that we shall soon welcome your return amongst us. In the mean while, agreeably to the assurances I have often given you, I shall continue to exert my most active offices in the service of yourself, and your excellent son : who, I must observe with pleasure, is the very express resemblance of his father, both in person and genius. I shall now, indeed, be enabled to employ my zeal more effectually than heretofore, as I make great and daily advances in Cæsar's friendship ; not to mention my interest also with his favourites, who distinguish me with the first rank in their affection. Be
assured

assured I shall devote the whole of my influence both with Cæsar and with his friends, entirely to your service. In the mean time, let the pleasing hopes you have so much reason to entertain, together with your own philosophical fortitude, support you with cheerfulness under your present situation. Farewel.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 707.]

To P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS¹, Proprætor.

I PERFECTLY well know the general compassion of your heart for the unfortunate, and the inviolable fidelity you observe towards those who have any particular claim to your protection. As Cæcina, therefore, is a family-client of yours, I should not recommend him to your favour, if the regard I pay to the memory of his father, with whom I lived in the strictest intimacy, and the unhappy fate which attends himself, with whom I am united by every tie of friendship and gratitude, did not affect me in the manner it ought. I am sensible that your own natural disposition, without any solicitations, would incline you to assist a man of Cæcina's

¹ It appears by this letter, which is a recommendation of Cæcina to the governor of Asia, that he had resumed the design of going into that province: which, in the 30th epistle of this book, he tells Cicero he had laid aside in pursuance of his advice.

cina's merit, in distress: but I earnestly entreat you that this letter may render you still more zealous to confer upon him every good office in your power. I am persuaded, if you had been in Rome, you would effectually have employed it also in procuring his pardon; which in confidence of your colleague's² clemency, we still strongly hope to obtain³. In the mean time, Cæcina has retreated into your province, not only as thinking it will afford him the securest refuge, but in pursuit, likewise, of that justice which he expects from the equity of your administration. I most warmly request you, therefore, to assist him in recovering those debts which remain due to him upon his former negotiations⁴: and in every other article to favour him with your patronage and protection: than which you cannot confer upon me, be assured, a more acceptable obligation. Farewel.

LETTER

² Servilius was colleague with Cæsar in his second consulate, A. U. 705.

³ Accordingly Cæcina, some time afterwards, received his pardon from Cæsar: which Suetonius mentions as an instance, amongst others, of that conqueror's singular clemency. *Suet. in vit. Jul. 75.*

⁴ Cæcina had, probably, been concerned in farming some branch of the Asiatic revenue.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PUBLIUS SULPICIUS¹.

NOTWITHSTANDING it is very seldom, in the present situation of public affairs, that I attend the senate; yet, after having received your letter, I thought it would not be acting agreeably to our long friendship, and to those many good offices that have passed between us, if I did not contribute all in my power to the advancement of your honours. It was with much pleasure, therefore, I went to the house, and voted for your public thanksgiving: which has been decreed accordingly. You will always find me equally zealous in whatever concerns your interest or your glory; and I should be glad you would, in your letters to your family, assure them of this my disposition towards you; that they

¹ It is altogether uncertain who this Sulpicius was: perhaps the same who commanded a squadron of Cæsar's fleet off the island of Sicily, which engaged with and defeated the fleet under the command of Cassius, about the time that Cæsar gained the battle of Pharsalia. But whoever he was, he appears, from the present letter, to have been governor of Illyricum, and to have lately had the honour of a public thanksgiving decreed for some successes which his arms had obtained in that province. Some of the commentators are of opinion, that the superscription of this letter is a false reading; and that instead of *Sulpicius*, it should be *Vatinius*: but those who are inclined to see this notion very solidly confuted, are referred to the observations of Manutius upon this epistle. *Cæs. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 101. *Pigh Annal.* ii. 449.

they may not scruple to claim my best services, if, in any future instance, you should have occasion for them.

I very strongly recommend to you my old friend Bolanus, as a man of great spirit and probity; and adorned, likewise, with every amiable accomplishment. As you will extremely oblige me by letting him see that my recommendation proved of singular advantage to him, so you may depend upon finding him of a most grateful disposition, and one from whose friendship you will receive much satisfaction.

I have another favour likewise to ask: which, in confidence of our friendship, and of that disposition which you have ever shewn to serve me, I very earnestly request. My library-keeper, Dionysius, having stolen several books from that valuable collection which I entrusted to his care, has withdrawn himself into your province: as I am informed by my friend Bolanus, as well as by several others, who saw him at Narona². But as they credited the account he gave them of my having granted him his freedom, they had no suspicion of the true reason that carried him thither. I shall think myself inexpressibly indebted to you, therefore, if you will deliver him into my hands:

² In Liburnia, now called Croatia; which formed part of the province of Illyricum.

hands : for although the loss I have sustained is not very great, yet his dishonesty gives me much vexation. Bolanus will inform you in what part of your province he is now concealed, and what measures will be proper in order to secure him. In the mean time let me repeat it again, that I shall look upon myself as highly indebted to you,* if I should recover this fellow by your assistance. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO QUINTUS GALLIUS†.

I FIND by your letter, as well as by one which I have received from Oppius, that you did not forget my recommendation^b; which, indeed, is nothing more than what I expected from your great affection towards me, and from the connexion that subsists between us. Nevertheless, I will again repeat my solicitations in favour of Oppius, who still continues in your province : and of Egnatius, who remains at Rome : and entreat you to take their joint affairs under your protection. My friendship with Egnatius is so great, that, were my own personal interest concerned in the present case, I could not be more anxious.

I must

* See rem. a. p. 313. of this vol.

† See let. 9. of this book.

I most earnestly request you, therefore, to shew him, by your good offices, that I am not mistaken in the share which I persuade myself I enjoy in your affection ; and be assured you cannot oblige me in a more acceptable manner. Farewel.

VOL. II.

D d

LETTERS

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK X.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS¹.

ALTHOUGH every one is apt, in these times of universal confusion, to regret his particular lot as singularly unfortunate, and to prefer any situation to his own, yet undoubtedly a man of patriot-sentiments can no where, in the present conjuncture, be so unhappily placed as
in

¹ Cicero mentions him in other parts of his writings, as a man of singular merit; and one to whose generous offices he had been greatly indebted during the persecution he suffered from Clodius. In the year 701, Torquatus was advanced to the
D d 2 prætorship;

in Rome. 'Tis true, into whatever part of the world he might be cast, he must still retain the same bitter sensibility of that ruin in which both himself and his country are involved. Nevertheless, there is something in being a spectator of those miseries with which others are only acquainted by report, that extremely enhances one's grief; as it is impossible to divert our thoughts from misfortunes, which are perpetually obtruding themselves in view. Among the many other losses, therefore, which must necessarily sit heavy upon your heart, let it not be your principal concern, (as I am informed it is) that you are driven from Rome. For, notwithstanding that you are thus exceedingly uneasy at being separated from your family and fortunes, yet they still continue in their usual situations; which, as they could by no means be improved by your presence, so neither are they exposed to any particular danger. Whenever, therefore, your family are the subject of your thoughts, you should neither lament

prætorship; after which, nothing material occurs concerning him, till the present letter; by which, it appears, he was at this time in banishment at Athens, for having taken part with Pompey in the civil wars. He was of a very ancient and illustrious family; being descended from the brave Titus Manlius, who, in the year 394, obtained the name of *Torquatus*, from the *Torquis*, or collar, which he took from the neck of a gigantic Gaul, whom he slew in single combat. *Ad Att. v. 1. Cic. de Finib. ii. 22. Pigh. Anual. ii. p. 411. Liv. vii. 10.*

lament them as suffering any calamities peculiar to themselves, or consider it as a hardship that they are not exempted from those which are common to us all.

As to what concerns your own person, you ought not, my dear Torquatus, to indulge those gloomy reflections which either fear, or despair, may suggest. It is certain that He², from whom you have hitherto received a treatment unworthy of your illustrious character, has lately given very considerable marks of a more favourable disposition. It is equally certain, that while we are looking up to Cæsar for our preservation, he is far from being clear by what methods he may best secure his own. The event of every war is always precarious; but, with regard to the present³, as I well know that you yourself never imagined you had any thing to fear if the victory should turn on one side; so I am persuaded, should it fall on the other, you can only suffer in the general ruin. The single circumstance, then, that can give you much disquietude, is that which in some sort I look upon as a kind of consolation; I mean, that the danger to which you are exposed, is no other than what threatens the whole community. And this, it must be acknowledged,

² Cæsar.

³ The war in Spain between Cæsar and the sons of Pompey.

knowledge, is so extremely great, that whatever philosophers may pretend, I question whether any thing can effectually support us under it, except one consideration alone; a consideration which is always more or less efficacious, in proportion to the strength and firmness of a man's own mind. But, if to mean honestly, and to act rightly, be all that is necessary to constitute human happiness, it should seem a sort of impiety to call that man miserable who is conscious of having always regulated his conduct by the best intentions. It was not, I am persuaded, any private advantage which we promised ourselves from the success of our arms, that induced us lately to abandon our fortunes, our families, and our country^{*}; it was the just sense of that sacred regard we owed both to the commonwealth and to our own characters. Nor when we acted thus, were we so absurdly sanguine as to flatter ourselves with the prospect of certain victory. If the event, then, has proved agreeable to what, upon our first entrance into the war, we were well aware it possibly might; we ought, by no means, surely, to be as much dispirited, as if the reverse of all that we expected had befallen us. Let us then, my friend, cherish those sentiments which true philosophy

^{*} Upon the first breaking out of the civil war, when Cicero and Torquatus left Italy, in order to join the army of Pompey in Greece.

philosophy prescribes, by esteeming it our only concern in this life to preserve our integrity; and so long as we are void of all just reproach, let us bear the various revolutions of human affairs with calmness and moderation. The sum of what I would say, in short, is this; that virtue seems sufficient for her own support, though all things else were utterly lost. Still, however, if any hopes should yet remain to the republic, you should by no means despair, whatever its future situation may be, of holding the rank in it you deserve.

And here, my friend, it occurs to me, that there was a time when you, likewise, used to condemn my despondency; and when I was full of apprehensions, and altogether undetermined how to act, you inspired me by your advice and example with more spirited and vigorous resolutions. At that season, it was not our cause, but our measures, I disapproved. I thought it much too late to oppose those victorious arms which we ourselves had long been contributing to strengthen; and I lamented that we should refer the decision of our political disputes, not to the weight of our counsels, but to the force of our swords. I do not pretend to have been inspired with a spirit of divination, when I foretold what has since happened, I only saw the possibility and destructive consequences of such an

event. And it was this that alarmed my fears; especially, as it was a contingency, of all others, the most likely to take effect. For the strength of our party, I well knew, was of a kind that would little avail us in the field; as our troops were far inferior both in force and experience, to those of our adversaries. The same spirit and resolution, then, which you recommended to me at that juncture, let me now exhort you, in my turn, to assume in the present.

I was induced to write to you upon this subject, by a conversation I lately had with your freedman, Philargyrus. In answer to the very particular inquiries I made concerning your welfare, he informed me (and I had no reason to suspect his veracity) that you were at some seasons exceedingly dejected. This is a state of mind you should by no means encourage. For if the republic should in any degree subsist, you have no reason to doubt of recovering the rank you deserve; and should it be destroyed, your particular condition will be no worse, at least, than that of every Roman in general. As to the important affair now depending, and for the event of which we are all of us in so much anxiety; this is a circumstance which you ought to bear with the greater tranquillity, as you are in a city where philosophy, that supreme guide and governess of human life, not only received her birth,

⁵ The war in Spain.

birth, but her best and noblest improvements⁶. But, besides this advantage, you enjoy the company likewise of Sulpicius⁷, that wise and favourite friend, from whose kind and prudent offices you must undoubtedly receive great consolation. And, had we all of us lately been so politic as to have followed his advice, we should have chosen rather to have submitted to the civil, than to the military power of Cæsar⁸.

But I have dwelt longer, perhaps, upon this subject than was necessary: I will dispatch, therefore, what is more material in fewer words. How much I owed to some of those friends, whom the fate of this cruel war has snatched from me, you perfectly well know; but I have now none remaining from whom I have received greater obligations than from yourself. I am sensible, at the same time, how little my power

⁶ The Athenians (among whom Torquatus, as has been observed above, at this time resided) were supposed to have been the first who instructed mankind, not only in the refinements of poetry, oratory, and philosophy, but in manufactures, agriculture, and civil government. Athens, in short, was esteemed by the ancients to be the source, as it was unquestionably the seat, of all those useful or polite arts which most contribute to the ease and ornament of human life. *Justin.* ii. 6. *Lucret.* vi. 1. &c.

⁷ Sulpicius was at Athens, as governor of Greece. See rem. 1. p. 283. of this vol.

⁸ This alludes to the opposition which Sulpicius made to the proposal of recalling Cæsar from his government in Gaul, just before the commencement of the civil war. See rem. 2. p. 120. of this vol.

power can at present avail: but as no man can be so totally fallen, as not to be capable of effecting somewhat at least by his earnest endeavours, be assured that both you and yours have an unquestionable right to the best and most zealous of mine. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

MANIUS CURIUS⁹, a merchant of Patræ, is a person whom I have many and great reasons to value. The friendship between us has long continued: so long, indeed, as from his first appearance in the forum. He has formerly, at different junctures, and lately, during this unhappy civil war, offered me an asylum at Patræ; and I should have used his house with the same freedom as my own, if I had found occasion. But my strongest connexion with him results from a motive of a more sacred kind, as it arises from his intimacy with my friend Atticus, for whom he entertains a very singular affection and esteem. If Curius is known to you, I imagine I am paying him the tribute of my good offices somewhat too late; for I dare say his polite and

⁹ This is the same person to whom the 25th letter of the preceding book is addressed. See rem. 6. p. 361. of this vol.

and elegant manners have already recommended him to your regard. However, should this prove to be the case, I very earnestly entreat you to suffer this letter to confirm and increase the favourable disposition you have conceived towards him. But if his modesty has concealed him from your notice, or you have only a slight acquaintance with him, or, for any other reason, a farther recommendation may be necessary, I most warmly and most deservedly give him mine. I will be answerable, too, (as every one ought, indeed, whose offices of this kind are sincere and disinterested) that you will experience so much politeness and probity in Curius, as to convince you that he is worthy both of my recommendation and of your friendship. In the mean time, be assured you will very sensibly oblige me, if I should find that this letter shall have had all the influence with you which I confidently expect. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

IT was more in compliance with the affection of my heart, than as thinking it in the least necessary that I detained you so long in my last¹.

Your

¹ The first letter of the present book.

Your fortitude wants not to be animated by any exhortations of mine; and, indeed, I am in every respect too much distressed myself, to be capable of encouraging another. But, whatever reason there might or might not have been for the length of my former letter, I am sure it may well excuse me from extending my present, nothing new having since occurred. For as to the various and contradictory reports, which are every day propagated amongst us, concerning affairs in Spain, I imagine they are spread likewise into your part of the world. They will all terminate, however, in the same fatal catastrophe; a catastrophe, which I no less clearly discern (and I am well assured it is equally visible to yourself) than if it were now actually before my view. 'Tis true no one can determine what will be the event of the approaching battle; but as to that of the war in general, I have no manner of doubt; at least, none with respect to its consequences: for one side or the other must certainly be victorious: and I am well convinced of the use that either party will make of their success. Such an use, indeed, that I had rather suffer what is generally esteemed the most terrible of all evils, than live to be a spectator of so dreadful a scene. Yes, my friend, life, upon the terms on which we must then endure it, would be the completion of human misery;

sery; whereas death was never considered by any wise man as an evil, even to the happy themselves. But you are in a city where the very walls will inspire you with these and other reflections of the same tendency, in a far more efficacious manner than I can suggest them. I will only, therefore, assure you (unsubstantial as the consolation is which arises from the misfortunes of others) that you are at present in no greater danger than any of those of the same party, who have either totally renounced the war, or who are still in arms, as they are both under equal apprehensions from the victor. But there is another and far higher consolation, which I hope is *your* support, as it certainly is mine. For so long as I shall preserve my innocence, I will never whilst I exist be anxiously disturbed at any event that may happen: and if I should cease to exist, all sensibility must cease with me. But I am again returning to my unnecessary reflections, and, in the language of the old proverb, am "sending owls to Athens." To put an end to them, be assured that the welfare of yourself and family, together with the success of all your concerns, is my great and principal care, and shall continue to be so to the end of my days. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ See rem. 6. p. 409. of this vol.

² See rem. 6. p. 232. of this vol.

³ See rem. 8. p. 236. of this vol.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

YOUR very polite and obliging letter to Atticus, afforded him great satisfaction; but not more than I received from it myself. It was, indeed, equally agreeable to us both. But, although we neither of us doubted that you would readily comply with any request he should make, yet your having voluntarily and unexpectedly offered him your services, was a circumstance, I must acknowledge, that raised Atticus's admiration less than mine. As you have given him the most ample assurances, therefore, of your good offices, it is unnecessary that I should desire you to add any thing to them from your regard to me. It would be no less impertinent, likewise, to send you my acknowledgments upon this occasion, as your offer was entirely the spontaneous result of your particular friendship to Atticus. This, however, I will say, that as such an uncommon proof of your esteem for a man whom I singularly love and value, could not but be highly agreeable to me, so it is an obligation I must necessarily place to my own account. And, indeed, as I may take the liberty from the intimacy between us, to transgress

the strict rules of propriety, I shall venture to do the two things which I just now declared were both improper and unnecessary. Accordingly, let me request, in the first place, that you would add as much as possible to those services, for my sake, with which you have shewn yourself willing to favour Atticus for his own: and, in the next place, desire your acceptance of my acknowledgments for those which you have already so generously promised him. And be assured, whatever good offices you shall render to Atticus in regard to his affairs in Epirus[†], or upon any other occasion, will be so many obligations conferred upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER

[†] Epirus was contiguous to Greece, and annexed to the government of that province. It is now called *Janna*, and is under the dominion of the Turks. A considerable part of Atticus's estate lay in this country. *Nepos. in vit. Att. 14.*

LETTER V.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

I HAVE long been united with Lyso, a citizen of Patræ, by ties which I deem of sacred obligation; the ties, I mean, of hospitality¹. This is a sort of connexion, 'tis true, in which I am engaged, also, with many others; but I never contracted with any of my hosts so strict an intimacy. The many good offices I received from Lyso, together with the habitudes of a daily intercourse, improved our acquaintance into the highest degree of friendship; and, indeed, during the whole year, he resided here, we were scarce ever separated. We neither of us doubted that my former letter would have the effect I find it has, and induce you to take his affairs under your protection in his absence. Nevertheless, as he had appeared in arms in favour of our party, we were under perpetual apprehensions of *his* resentment, in whom all power is now centered. But Lyso's illustrious rank, together with the zealous applications of myself and the rest of those who have shared in his generous hospitality, have at length obtained

¹ See rem. 3. p. 113. of this vol.

obtained all that we could wish; as you will perceive by the letter which Cæsar himself has written to you. I am so far, however, from thinking him in circumstances that will allow me to release you from any part of my former solicitation; that I now more strongly request you to receive him into your patronage and friendship. Whilst his fate was yet in suspense, I was less forward in claiming your good offices; being cautious of giving you a trouble which possibly might prove to no purpose. But as his pardon is absolutely confirmed, I most ardently entreat your best services in his behalf. Not to enumerate particulars, I recommend to you his whole family in general, but more especially his son. My old client Memmius Gemellus², having been presented with the freedom of the city of Patræ during his unhappy banishment, adopted this young man according to the forms prescribed by the laws of that community: and I beseech you to support him in his right of succeeding to the estate of his adoptive father. But, above all, as I have thoroughly experienced the merit and grateful disposition of Lyso, let me conjure you to admit him into a share of your friendship. I am persuaded

² Probably the same person to whom the 27th let. of the 3d book is addressed. See rem. 5. p. 281. vol. i.

persuaded, if you should do so, you will hereafter look upon him with the same affection, and recommend him with as much zeal as I have expressed in the present instance. There is nothing, indeed, I more earnestly wish, than to raise in you this disposition towards him : as I fear if you should not confer upon him your best services, he will suspect, not that you are unmindful of my recommendations, but that I did not sufficiently enforce them. For he must be perfectly sensible, not only from what he has frequently heard me declare, but from your own obliging letters to me, of the singular share I enjoy in your friendship and esteem. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

ASCLAPO, a physician of Patræ, is my very particular friend : to whose company, as well as skill in his profession, I have been much indebted. I had occasion to experience the latter, in my own family : and had great reason to be satisfied with his knowledge, his integrity and his tenderness. I recommend him, therefore, to your favour : and entreat you to let him see, by the effects of this letter, that I did

did so in the strongest manner. Your compliance with this request will oblige me exceedingly. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

MARCUS ÆMILIUS AVIANUS has distinguished me, from his earliest youth, with peculiar marks of affection and esteem. He is a man not only of great politeness, but probity ; and, indeed, in every view of his character, is extremely amiable. If I imagined he were at Sicyon⁷, I should think it utterly unnecessary to add any thing farther in his behalf ; being well persuaded that the elegance and integrity of his manners would be sufficient of themselves to recommend him to the same degree of *your* affection, which he possesses, not only of mine, but of every one of his friends in general. But as I hear he still continues at Cybira, where I left him some time ago⁸ ; I most strongly recommend his affairs and family at Sicyon, to your favour and protection. Among these, I

⁷ A city in the Peloponnesus, now called *Batilica*.

⁸ Cybira was a city of Lycaonia, annexed to the government of Cilicia: Cicero alludes to the time when he was proconsul of that province.

must particularly single out his freedman Hammonius, as one who has a claim to my recommendation upon his own account. He has gained my good opinion, not only by his uncommon zeal and fidelity towards his patron, but by the very important services, likewise, which he has conferred upon myself. Indeed, had it been to me that he had been indebted for the privilege of his freedom, he could not have acted with a more faithful and affectionate assiduity than I experienced from him in my troubles. In the first place, then, I entreat your protection of Hammonius, as agent in the affairs of his patron: and, in the next, I recommend him upon his own account, as worthy to be received into the number of your friends. Believe me, you will find him of a modest, obliging temper, and well deserving a place in your affection. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

I HAVE a very great regard for Titus Manlius, a merchant of Thespiæ; not only as one from whom I have always received singular marks of consideration and esteem, but as he is an admirer also of our favourite studies. To this I must

⁹ During his persecution by Clodius.

must add, that my friend Varro Murena very warmly espouses his interest. And though Murena has full confidence in the effect of that letter which he has himself written to you in favour of Manlius, yet he is persuaded that my recommendation, likewise, may somewhat increase your disposition to assist him. In compliance, therefore, with my desire of serving both Murena and Manlius, I recommend the latter to you in the strongest terms: and you will greatly oblige me by promoting the interest and honours of Manlius, in every instance consistent with your own character and dignity. I will venture to assure you, likewise, from the knowledge I have of his polite and humanized disposition, that your good offices towards him will be attended with all the satisfaction you can promise yourself from the gratitude of a worthy man. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

My friend and tribe-fellow¹, Lucius Cossinius, is one with whom I have long lived in great intimacy:

¹ The collective body of the Roman people was divided into 35 tribes: and every citizen, of whatever rank, was necessarily enrolled under one or other of these several classes. They were each distinguished by a particular name, as the

intimacy: and which his connexions with Atticus has contributed still farther to improve. I enjoy the affection of his whole family, but particularly of his freedman Anchialus; who is highly in the esteem, not only of his patron, but of all his patron's friends; in which number I have already mentioned myself. I recommend Anchialus, therefore, to your favour, with as much warmth as if he stood in the same relation to me that he does to Cossinius. You will oblige me, indeed, in a very sensible manner, by receiving him into your friendship, and giving him any assistance he may require: as far, I mean, as your own convenience will admit. And you will hereafter, I am persuaded, receive much satisfaction from your compliance with this request: as you will find Anchialus to be a man of the greatest politeness and probity. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

THE pleasure I took in the reflection of having written to you in behalf of my friend and host

Tribus Popilia, Tribus Velina, &c. which name was derived either from the place which the tribe principally inhabited, or from some distinguished family it contained. *Rosin. Antiq. Rom.*

host Lyso, was much increased when I read his letter: and I particularly rejoiced in having so strongly recommended him to your esteem, when I found he had before been a sufferer in your good opinion. For my recommendation, he tells me, was of singular advantage in removing the groundless suspicion you had entertained of him, from a report that he had frequently, whilst he was at Rome, treated your character in a disrespectful manner. Let me, in the first place then, return you those thanks which I so justly owe you, for suffering my letter to efface every remaining impression of this injurious calumny. And, in the next place, although Lyso assures me that, agreeably to your well-natured and generous disposition, he has entirely satisfied you of his innocence, yet I entreat you to believe me when I protest, not only in justice to my friend, but to the world in general, that I never heard any man mention you without the highest applause. As to Lyso, in particular, in all the daily conversations we had together, whilst he continued here, you were the perpetual subject of his encomiums; both as he imagined that I heard them with pleasure, and as it was a topic extremely agreeable, likewise, to himself. But though he is fully satisfied with the effects of my former

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letter,

letter, and I am sensible that the generous manner in which you treat him, renders all farther application perfectly unnecessary; yet I cannot forbear renewing my earnest solicitations that you would continue your favours towards him. I would again also represent to you how well he deserves them, if I did not imagine you were, by this time, sufficiently acquainted with his merit. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

HAGESARETUS of Larissa³ having received considerable honours from me during my consulate, has ever since distinguished me with singular marks of gratitude and respect. I strongly recommend him, therefore, to you as my host and friend; as a man of an honest and grateful heart; as a person of principal rank in his native city; and, in short, as one who is altogether worthy of being admitted into your friendship. And I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for letting

³ There were two cities of this name in Thessaly: a country contiguous to Greece, and which formerly made part of the kingdom of Macedonia. One of these cities was situated upon the river Peneas, and is now called Larisa: the other was a maritime town. Geographers suppose the latter to be the present *Armino*: a considerable sea port belonging to the Turks.

letting him see, that you pay regard to this my recommendation. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

THE connexion between Lucius Mescinius and myself, results from no less powerful a tie than that of his having been formerly my quæstor⁴. But, though I always considered a relation of this kind in the high regard it was viewed by our ancestors, yet the refined and elegant virtues of Mescinius⁵ rendered it still more justly sacred. Accordingly, there is no man with whom I live in a higher degree of intimacy, or from whose friendship I derive greater satisfaction. He doubts not of your disposition to serve him upon every occasion that shall comport with your honour: however, he is persuaded that a letter from my hand will considerably strengthen your inclinations for that purpose. This he collects not only from his own observation, but from those frequent declarations he has heard me make, of the very pleasing and intimate friendship in which you

⁴ See rem. 1. p. 91 of this vol.

⁵ The reader will find, by the remark referred to in the last note, how little there was of truth and sincerity in the character which Cicero here bestows upon his friend.

you and I are so strictly joined. I am to inform you, then, that his late brother, who was a merchant in Elis⁶, has left him his estate: and I entreat you, with all the warmth which you are sensible ought to animate me in the concerns of a friend to whom I am so strongly and closely attached, that you would assist him with your power, your influence, and your advice in settling these his affairs in your province. In view to this, we have sent directions to his agent, that if any disputes should arise concerning the estate or effects of the testator, that they shall be guided by your sentiments, and (if it be not troubling you too much) determined by your arbitration: an office which I earnestly entreat you to undertake, and the acceptance of which I shall esteem as an honour done to myself. But if any of the claimants should be so obstinate as to refuse your award, I shall receive it as a singular obligation if you will refer their pretensions (provided you shall not think it a derogation from your dignity) to be determined in the courts at Rome: as the matter in contest is with a Roman senator. That you may the less scruple to comply with this request, I have procured a sort of recommendatory letter to you from the consul

⁶ A city in the Peloponnesus.

consul Lepidus⁷. I say a *recommendatory* one; for to have desired him to write in a more authoritative style, would not, I thought, be treating your high station with the deference which is so justly due to it. I would add, that your obliging Mescinius in this instance, will be laying out your favours to much advantage; if I were not, on the one hand, well persuaded that this is a circumstance of which you are already apprised; and on the other, were I not soliciting you as for an affair of my own. For be assured, I take an equal concern with Mescinius in every article wherein he is interested. As I am very desirous, therefore, that he may obtain his right with as little trouble as possible, so I am solicitous, likewise, that he should have reason to think, that my recommendation has greatly contributed to this end. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

THE regard you pay to my recommendations, has given me, and will hereafter give me, I dare say, frequent occasions of repeating my acknowledgments. However, I will attempt, if

⁷ He was this year appointed by Cæsar to be his colleague in the consular office. *Plut. in vit. Anton.*

if possible, to convey my thanks to you in a style as various as the several instances that demand them: and, in imitation of you lawyers⁸, express the same thing in different words.

I have received a letter from Hammonius, full of the strongest expressions of gratitude for the services you have rendered both to him and Avianus, in consequence of my recommendation⁹: and he assures me that nothing can be more generous than the personal civilities you have shewn to himself, as well as the attention you have given to the affairs of his patron. This would afford me a very sensible pleasure, were I to consider it only as a benefit to those to whom I have the strongest attachments: as indeed Avianus has distinguished himself above all my friends by his superior sensibility of the many and great obligations I have conferred upon him. But my satisfaction still increases, when I view it as an instance of my standing so high in your esteem, as to incline you to serve my friends more efficaciously than I myself should, perhaps, were I present for that purpose. Possibly the reason of your having this advantage over me, may be, that I should not yield altogether so easily to their requests, as you comply with mine. But what-

⁸ Sulpicius was one of the most considerable lawyers of the age. See rem. 6. p. 287. of this vol.

⁹ See the 7th let. of this book.

ever doubt I may have as to that point, I have none of your being persuaded that I entertain the sentiments of your favours they deserve: and I entreat you to believe (what I will be answerable is the truth) that both Avianus and Hammonius have received them with the same grateful disposition. I beseech you then, if it be not engaging you in too much trouble, that you would endeavour that their affairs may be settled before you leave the province.

I live in a most agreeable intimacy with your son, whose genius and uncommon application, but, above all, his probity and virtue, afford me a very sensible pleasure. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

To the same.

IT is always with much pleasure that I apply to you in behalf of my friends: but I find a still greater in expressing my gratitude for those favours you yield to my solicitations. This, indeed, is a pleasure, with which you never fail of supplying me: and it is incredible what acknowledgments I receive, even from persons whom I have but slightly mentioned to you. I think myself greatly indebted for these instances

stances of your friendship: but particularly for those good offices you have conferred upon Mescinius. He informs me that immediately upon the receipt of my letter¹, you gave his agents full assurance of your services; and have since performed even more than you promised. Believe me, (and I cannot too often repeat it) you have, by these means, laid an obligation upon me of the most acceptable kind: and it affords me so much the higher satisfaction, as I am persuaded Mescinius will give you abundant reason to rejoice in it yourself. Virtue and probity, in truth, are the prevailing qualities of his heart; as an obliging and friendly officiousness is his distinguishing characteristic. To this I must add, that he is particularly devoted to our favourite speculations: those philosophical speculations, my friend, which were always the delight, as they are now also the support and consolation of my life. Let me entreat you then to give him fresh instances of your generosity upon every occasion, wherein it shall not be inconsistent with your dignity to interpose. But there are two articles in which I will particularly request it. The first is, that if those who are indebted to the estate of his testator, should insist upon being indemnified in their payments to Mescinius, that

my

¹ The 12th letter of this book.

my security may be accepted; and the next is, that as the greatest part of the testator's effects are secreted by his wife, that you would assist in concerting measures for sending her to Rome. Should she be once persuaded that this method will be taken with her, we doubt not of her settling every thing to the satisfaction of Mescinius: and that it may be so, I most strongly again request the interposition of your good offices. In the mean time, I will be answerable for what I just now assured you, that the gratitude and other amiable qualities of Mescinius, will give you reason to think your favours were not ill bestowed, which I mention as a motive on his own account, to be added to those which induced you to serve him upon mine.

I am persuaded that the Lacedæmonians doubt not of being sufficiently recommended to your justice and patronage, by their own and their ancestors' virtues, and I know you too well to question your being perfectly acquainted with the national rights and merit of every people who are connected with the republic. Accordingly, notwithstanding the great obligations I have received from the citizens of Lacedæmon, yet, when Philippus requested me to recommend them to your protection, my answer was, that the Lacedæmonians could not possibly

possibly stand in need of an advocate with Sulpicius. The truth is, I look upon it as a circumstance of singular advantage to all the cities of Achaia², in general, that you preside over them in these turbulent times; and I am persuaded that you, who are so peculiarly conversant, not only in the Roman but Grecian annals, cannot but be a friend to the Lacedæmonians, for the sake of their heroic descent. I will only, therefore, entreat you, that when you are acting towards them in consequence of what your justice and honour requires, you would, at the same time, intimate, that you receive an additional pleasure from indulging your own inclinations of that sort, by knowing them to be agreeable likewise to mine. As I think myself obliged to shew this city that their concerns are part of my care, it is with much earnestness I make this request. Farewel.

LETTER

² Greece.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO LEPTA³.

THE moment I received your letter from the hands of Seleucus, I dispatched a note to Balbus, to enquire the purport of the law you mention⁴. His answer was, that such persons as at present exercise the office of præco⁵, are expressly excluded from being decurii⁶: but this prohibition extended not to those who had formerly been engaged in that employment. Let not our friends, then, be discouraged. It would, indeed, have been intolerable,

³ Cicero mentions a person of this name in a former letter, who appears to have been his *Præfectus Fabrum*, or what might be called, perhaps, in modern language, the commander of his train of artillery; when he was governor of Cilicia. It is probable, therefore, as Manutius conjectures, that he is the same person to whom this letter is addressed. *Vid. Epist. Fam. iii. 7.*

⁴ Manutius very justly observes, that this could not be a law which Cæsar had actually passed, but one which he intended, perhaps, to enact, when he should return from Spain; for if it had been actually promulgated, Cicero could have had no occasion to apply to Balbus for his intelligence.

⁵ The office of *præco* seems to have been much in the nature of a crier in our courts of justice; but not altogether so low in repute.

⁶ A *decurio* was, in a corporate city, the same as a senator of Rome; that is, a member of the public council of the community.

able, that a parcel of paltry fortune-tellers should be thought worthy of being admitted into the senate of Rome⁷, at the same time that having formerly acted as a præco should disqualify a man for being member of the council of a country corporation.

We have no news from Spain: all that we know with certainty is, that young Pompey has drawn together a very considerable army. This we learn from a letter of Paciaecus⁸ to Cæsar, a copy whereof Cæsar himself has transmitted to us; in which it is affirmed that Pompey is at the head of eleven legions⁹. Messala, in a letter he lately wrote to Quintus Salassus, informs him that his brother, Publius Curtius, has been executed, by the command of Pompey, in the presence of his whole army. This man had entered, it seems, into a conspiracy with some Spaniards, by which it was agreed, in case Pompey should march into a certain village for

⁷ This is a sneer upon Cæsar, who had introduced persons of the lowest rank and character into the Roman senate. See rem. 9. p. 134. of this vol.

⁸ He was a native of Spain, and a person of great note in that province. Cæsar entrusted him with a very considerable command in the expedition against the sons of Pompey. *Hirt. de Bell. Hisp.* 3.

⁹ The number of horse and foot in a Roman legion varied in different periods of the republic. In its lowest computation it appears to have amounted to 3000 foot and 200 horse; and, in its highest, to have risen to 6000 of the former, and 400 of the latter. *Rosin. Antiq. Rom.* 964.

for provisions, to seize upon his person, and deliver him into the hands of Cæsar.

In relation to the security in which you stand engaged for Pompey, you may depend upon it, as soon as Galba, who is jointly bound with you, returns hither, I shall not fail to consult with him about measures for settling that affair. He seemed, I remember, to imagine that it might be adjusted; and you know he is a man who spares no pains where his money is concerned.

It gives me much pleasure to find that you so highly approve of my¹⁰ *Orator*. Whatever skill I have in the art, I have displayed it all in that treatise; and if the commendations you bestow upon it are not too partial, I cannot but set some value upon my judgment. To speak truth, I am willing to rest all my reputation of this kind upon the merit of that performance. I hope my little favourite, your son, already discovers some relish for writings of this sort: and although he is yet too young to enter far into these studies, yet it will be no disadvantage to him to begin thus early to form his taste by compositions of this nature.

I have

¹⁰ This elegant and judicious piece is inscribed to Brutus, and was written in answer to a question he had often proposed to Cicero, concerning the noblest and most perfect species of eloquence.

I have been detained at Rome, on account of my daughter Tullia's lying-in. But though she is now, I hope, out of all danger, yet I still wait here in expectation of my first payment from the agents of Dolabella¹¹; and, to tell you the truth, I am not so fond of changing the scene as formerly. The amusement I found in my country houses, together with the sweets of retirement, were wont heretofore to draw me frequently out of Rome. But the situation of my present house is altogether as pleasant as that of any of my villas. I am, indeed, as much retired here, as if I lived in the most unfrequented desert, and carry on my studies without the least interruption. I believe, therefore, that I have a better chance of a visit from you in Rome, than you have of seeing me in the country.

I would recommend Hesiod to the agreeable little Lepta, as an author which he ought to retain by heart; and particularly let him always have in his mouth those noble lines,

High on a rugged rock, &c.¹²

Farewel.

LETTER

¹¹ This seems to intimate that there had been a divorce between Dolabella and Tullia: as it was usual, in cases of that kind, for the husband to return the portion he had received from his wife, at three annual payments. See rem. 2. p. 4. and rem. 4. p. 7. of vol. iii.

¹² The passage in Hesiod, at which Cicero hints, is to the following purpose:

*High on a rugged rock the gods ordain,
Majestic Virtue shall her throne maintain:*

And

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

THERE is no news to send you; and, indeed, if there were any, yet all accounts of that kind, I know, are usually transmitted to you by your own family. As to what may hereafter happen, though it is always difficult to determine concerning future events, yet, when they are not placed at too great a distance, one may sometimes form a tolerable guess. At present, however, all I can conjecture is, that the war is not likely to be drawn out into any great length; though I must acknowledge there are some who think differently. I am even inclined to believe that there has already been an engagement: but I do not give you this as a fact; I mention it only as extremely probable. The event of war is always precarious; but, in the present instance, the number of forces is so considerable on each side, and there is such a general spirit, it is said, in both armies, of coming to action, that it will not be matter of surprise whichever side should obtain the victory.

*And many a thorny path her sons must press,
Ere the glad summit shall their labours bless.
There joys serene to arduous toils succeed,
And peace eternal is the victor's meed.*

F f 3

tory¹. In the mean time, the world is every day more and more persuaded, that although there may be some little difference in the cause of the contending parties, there will be scarce any in the consequence of their success. As to one of them, we have already, in some sort, experienced their disposition²: and, as to the other, we are all of us sufficiently sensible how much is to be dreaded from an incensed conqueror³.

If, by what I have here said, I may seem to increase that grief which I should endeavour to alleviate; I must confess, that I know but one reflection capable of supporting us under these public misfortunes. It is a reflection, however, of sovereign efficacy, where it can be applied in its full force; and, of which, I every day more and more experience the singular advantage. It is, indeed, the greatest consolation under adversity, to be conscious of having always meant well,

¹ This letter was probably written very early in the present year; as it was on the 17th of March that the two armies came to a general engagement. This decisive battle was fought under the walls of Munda, a city which still subsists in the province of Granada. Cæsar obtained a complete victory; but it was disputed by the Pompeians with so much courage and obstinacy, that it was long doubtful on which side the advantage would turn, or, as Florus most elegantly expresses it, *ut plane videretur nescio quid deliberare Fortuna*. *Hirt. de Bel. Hisp.* 31. *Flor.* iv. 2.

² The Cæsarean party.

³ Young Pompey, who, if he had succeeded, would undoubtedly have acted with great severity towards Cicero, and the rest of those who had deserted the cause of his father.

well, and to be persuaded that nothing but guilt deserves to be considered as a severe evil. But as you and I are so far from having any thing to reproach ourselves with, that we have the satisfaction to reflect that we have ever acted upon the most patriot principles; as it is not our measures, but the ill success of those measures, which the world regrets; in a word, as we have faithfully discharged that duty we owed to our country, let us bear the event with calmness and moderation. But I pretend not to teach you how to support these our common calamities. It is a lesson which requires much greater abilities than mine to inculcate, as well as the most singular fortitude of soul to practise. There is one point, however, in which any man is qualified to be your instructor, as it is easy to shew that you have no reason to be particularly afflicted. For with respect to Cæsar, though he has appeared somewhat more slow in granting your pardon than was generally imagined, yet I have not the least doubt of his consenting to your restoration; and as to the other party⁵, you perfectly well know how your interest stands with them, without my telling you. Your only remaining disquietude, then, must arise from being thus long separated from your family: and it is a circumstance, I confess,

⁵ The Pompeians.

confess, that justly merits your concern, especially as you are by this mean deprived of the company of those most amiable youths, your sons. But, as I observed in a former⁶ letter, it is natural for every man, in these unhappy times, to look upon his own condition as, of all others, the most miserable, and to deem that place the least eligible in which it is his fortune to be situated. For my own part, indeed, I think that we who live at Rome are most to be lamented; not only as, in misfortunes of every kind, a spectator must be more sensibly affected than he who is acquainted with them merely by report; but as we are more exposed to the danger of sudden violences, than those who are placed at a greater distance.

Yet, after all my endeavours to reason you out of *your* disquietudes, I cannot but acknowledge, that I am more obliged to time, than to that philosophy which I have ever cultivated, for the mitigation of my own; and how great they once were, you perfectly well know. But, in the first place, I have the consolation to reflect, that when I was so desirous of peace, as to think even a bad one preferable to a civil war, I saw farther into consequences than some of my countrymen. And although I do not pretend to a spirit of divination, and it was chance alone that verified my predictions,

⁶ The first letter of this book.

tions, yet I will own that I take great satisfaction in the empty honour of my fruitless penetration. In the next place, I have the consolation, in common with yourself, that should I now be called upon to lay down my life, I shall not be cut off from a commonwealth, which I can by any means regret to leave; especially as the same blow that deprives me of my life, will deprive me, likewise, of all sensibility⁷. Besides, I am already arrived at a fullness of years⁸; and, as I can look back with entire satisfaction, on the course I have completed, so I have nothing to fear from any violence which may be offered to me, since nature herself has now well-nigh conducted my days to their final period. In a word, when I reflect upon that great man⁹, or rather, indeed, upon those many illustrious personages who perished in this war; it would seem a want of modesty to regret submitting to the same fate, whenever I shall find it necessary. The truth is, I represent to myself all that can possibly happen to me; as, indeed, there is no calamity so severe which I do not look upon as actually impending. However, since to live in perpetual fear is a greater evil than any we can dread,

I check

⁷ See rem. 6. p. 232. of this vol.

⁸ Cicero was at this time in his 61st year.

⁹ Pompey.

I check myself in these reflections, especially as I am approaching to that state, which is not only unattended with any pain in itself, but which will put an end to all painful sensations for ever. But I have dwelt longer upon this subject, perhaps, than was necessary. However, if I run out my letters to an unreasonable extent, you must not impute it to impertinence, but affection.

I am sorry to hear that Sulpicius has left Athens¹⁰; as I am persuaded, that the daily company and conversation of so wise and valuable a friend, afforded you great relief under your afflictions. But I hope you will continue to bear them as becomes you, and support yourself with your usual fortitude. In the mean time, be assured, I shall promote, with the utmost zeal and care, whatever I shall think agreeable to the interest or inclination either of you or yours. And, in this, I can only imitate you in your disposition to serve me, without being able to return your generous offices in the same efficacious manner. Farewel.

LETTER

¹⁰ In order, probably, to return to Rome upon the expiration of his government.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

I SHOULD not send you so short a letter, if your courier had not called for it just as he was setting out. But I have still another reason; for I have nothing to write to you in the way of pleasantry, and serious affairs are topics in which it is not altogether safe to engage. You will, therefore, wonder, perhaps, that I should be in any humour to be jocose; and, indeed, it is no very easy matter. However, it is the only expedient left to divert our uneasy thoughts. But where then, you will probably ask, is our philosophy? Why yours, my friend, is in the kitchen, I suppose; and, as to mine, it is much too troublesome a guest to gain admittance. The fact is, I am heartily ashamed of being a slave; and, therefore, that I may not hear the severe reproaches of Plato, I endeavour to turn my attention another way.

We have hitherto received no certain intelligence from Spain. I rejoice, upon your account, that you are absent from this unpleasing scene; though I greatly regret it upon my own. But

your

¹ This is a raillery upon the tenets of Cassius, who held the doctrines of the Epicurean sect.

your courier presses me to dispatch, so that I can only bid you adieu, and entreat the continuance of that friendship you have ever shewn me from your earliest youth.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA¹.

I WOULD not venture to omit writing to you by our friend Salvius; though I have nothing more to say than what you perfectly well know already, that I infinitely love you². I have more reason, indeed, to expect a letter from you, than you can have to receive one from me, as I imagine there is nothing going forward in Rome, which you will think of importance enough to raise your curiosity; unless, perhaps, that I am to sit in judgment between two learned grammarians; our friend Nicias, and his antagonist Vidius. The latter, you must know, has produced a certain *manuscript*, relating to an account between them; to which

Nicias,

¹ He was, at this time, with Cæsar, in Spain.

² Whatever disagreement there was between Dolabella and Tullia, it did not, in appearance at least, occasion any coolness between him and his father-in-law; a circumstance, which, considering the tenderness of Cicero for his daughter, can only be accounted for by Dolabella's great credit with Cæsar.

Nicias, like a second Aristarchus⁴, very peremptorily insists that some of the *lines* are altogether *spurious*. Now I, like a venerable ancient critic, am to determine whether these suspected *interpolations* are *genuine* or not. But you will question, perhaps, whether I have sufficiently forgotten the delicious mushrooms and those noble prawns⁵ with which I have been so often regaled by Nicias and his gentle spouse, to be qualified for an impartial judge in this important cause. Let me ask you, in return, whether you imagine I have so entirely thrown off all my former severity, as to retain nothing of my old solemnity of brow, even when I am sitting in grave tribunal? You may be sure, however, that my honest host shall be no great sufferer. Though, let me tell you, if I should pass sentence of banishment upon him, I shall by no means allow you to reverse it, lest Bursa should be supplied with a pedagogue to teach him his letters⁶. But I am running on in this ludicrous style, without reflecting that you,

who

⁴ A celebrated Greek critic. See rem. 7. p. 29. of this vol.

⁵ In the original it is *Culinarum*, which conveys no sense, or, at least, a very forced one. The reading, therefore, proposed by Gronovius, is adopted in the translation, who imagines the true word was *Squillarum*. For prawns was a fish in great repute amongst the Roman epicures.

⁶ Bursa was a particular enemy of Cicero, and had been banished for his riotous attempts to revenge the murder of Clodius, from which banishment he was lately recalled. See rem. 5. p. 263. vol. 1.

who are in the midst of a campaign, may, perhaps, be too seriously engaged to relish these humorous sallies. When I shall be certain, therefore, that you are in a disposition to laugh, you shall hear farther from me. I cannot, however, forbear adding, that the people were extremely solicitous concerning the fate of Sulla⁷, till the news of his death was confirmed; but now that they are assured of the fact, they are no longer inquisitive how it happened, well contented with their intelligence that he is undoubtedly defunct. As for myself, I bear this *deplorable* accident like a philosopher; my only concern is, lest it should damp the spirit of Cæsar's auctions⁸. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ This man had rendered himself extremely and generally odious by the purchases he had made of the confiscated estates, during the proscriptions both of Sylla and Cæsar. *Cic. de Offic. ii. 8.*

⁸ In which the confiscated estates were put up to sale. One of the methods that Cæsar took to reward his partisans, was by suffering them to purchase these estates at an under-value; and it was the hopes of being a sharer in these iniquitous spoils, that furnished one of the principal incentives to the civil war. *Cic. ubi sup.*

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

I HOPE you will not imagine that you have been out of my thoughts, by my having lately been a more remiss correspondent than usual. The true occasion of my silence has partly arisen from an ill state of health, which, however, is now somewhat mended, and partly has been owing to my absence from Rome, which prevented me from being informed when any courier was dispatched to you. Be assured, that I constantly and most affectionately preserve you in my remembrance, and that your affairs, of every kind, are as much my concern as if they were my own.

Believe me, you have no reason, considering the unhappy situation of public affairs, to be uneasy that yours still remain in a more dubious and unsettled posture than was generally hoped and imagined. For one of these three events must necessarily take place; either we shall never see an end of our civil wars, or they will one day subside, and give the republic an opportunity of recovering its vigour, or they will terminate in its utter extinction. If the sword is never to be sheathed, you can have nothing to

to fear either from the party which you formerly assisted, or from that by which you have lately been received⁹. But should the republic again revive, either by the contending factions mutually agreeing to a cessation of arms; or by their laying them down in mere lassitude; or by one side being vanquished; you will undoubtedly be again restored both to your rank and to your fortunes. And should our constitution be totally destroyed, agreeably to what the wise Marcus Antonius¹ long since apprehended, when he imagined that the present calamities were even then approaching, you will have the consolation, at least, to reflect, that a misfortune which is common to

all,

⁹ Torquatus was now in Italy, having obtained the permission of returning, by means of Dolabella, with whom Cicero had employed his good offices for that purpose; as appears by several passages which Manutius has produced from the letters to Atticus. But whether Torquatus, afterwards, procured a full pardon from Cæsar, and was restored to his estates and honours, is uncertain; all that is farther known of him, is, that he was in the army of Brutus and Cassius, at the battle of Philippi, and in the number of those whom Antonius generously assisted in their distress after the event of that unfortunate action. *Ad Att. xiii. 9. 20. 21. Corn. Nep. in vit. Att. ii.*

¹ This eloquent and illustrious patriot, the grandfather of Mark Antony, was consul in the year 653; and, about 12 years afterwards, was put to death by the command of Marius, whose party he had strenuously opposed. Marius was at dinner when the executioner of his cruel orders brought him the head of Antonius, which that sanguinary Roman received into his hands, with all the insolent and horrid exultation of the most savage barbarian. *Plut. in Vit. Anton. Appian. Bel. Civil. i. 344. Val. Max. ix. 2.*

all, cannot be lamented as peculiar to any: and miserable as this consolation must prove to a man of your patriot virtues, 'tis a consolation however, to which we must necessarily have recourse.

If you well consider the full force of these few hints, (and I do not think it prudent to be more explicit in a letter) you must be convinced, without my telling you, that you have something to hope, and nothing to fear, so long as the republic shall subsist, either in its present, or any other form. But should it be entirely subverted, as I am sure you would not, if you were permitted, survive its ruin; so I am persuaded you will patiently submit to your fate, in the conscious satisfaction of having in no sort deserved it. But I forbear to enter farther into this subject, and will only add my request, that you would inform me how it is with you, and where you purpose to fix your quarters; that I may know where a letter or a visit will find you. Farewel.

VOL. II.

G g

LETTER

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

SURELY, my friend, your couriers are a set of most unconscionable fellows. Not that they have given me any particular offence: but as they never bring me a letter when they arrive here, is it fair they should always press me for one when they return? It would be more convenient, however, if they would give me earlier notice, and not make their demands in the very instant they are setting out. You must excuse me, therefore, (if an excuse I can want, who am so much more punctual a correspondent than yourself) should this letter prove no longer than my last; as you may be assured of receiving an ample detail of every thing in my next. But that my present epistle may not be wholly barren of news, I must inform you that Publius Sulla¹, the father, is dead. The occasion of this accident is variously reported: some say he was a martyr to his palate; and others, that he was murdered by highwaymen. The people, however, are perfectly indifferent as to the manner, since they are quite clear as to the fact: for certain it is, that the flames of his

¹ See rem. 7. on let. 18. of this book.

his funeral pile have consumed him to ashes. And what though liberty herself, alas! perished with this paragon of patriots, you will bear the loss of him, I guess, with much philosophy. But Cæsar, 'tis thought, will be a real mourner, in the apprehension that his auctions will not now proceed so currently as usual. On the other hand, this event affords high satisfaction to Mindius Marcellus, and the essenced Attius, who rejoice exceedingly in having thus gotten quit of a formidable antagonist.

We are in great expectation of the news from Spain, having, as yet, received no certain intelligence from that quarter. Some flying reports, indeed, have been spread, that things do not go well there: but they are reports without authority.

Our friend Pansa set out for his government on the 30th of December. The circumstances that attended his departure afforded a very strong proof that "virtue is eligible upon its own account:" a truth which you have lately, it seems, begun to doubt. The singular humanity with which he has relieved such numbers in these times of public distress, drew after

² Of Gaul: in which he succeeded Marcus Brutus.
³ As having lately embraced the Epicurean principles. See the following letter.

after him, in a very distinguished manner, the general good wishes of every honest man.

I am extremely glad to find that you are still at Brundisium: and I much approve of your continuing there. You cannot be governed by a more judicious maxim, than to sit loose to the vain ambition of the world: and it will be a great satisfaction to all your friends to hear that you persevere in this prudent inactivity. In the mean time, I hope you will not forget me, when you send any letters to your family: as, on my own part, whenever I hear of any person that is going to you, I shall not fail to take the opportunity of writing. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 708.]

To the same.

Will you not blush when I remind you that this is the third letter I have written without having received a single line in return? However, I do not press you to be more expeditious: as I hope, and indeed insist, that you will make me amends for this delay, by the length of your next epistle. As for myself, if I had the opportunity of conveying my letters as frequently as I wish, I should write to you, I believe, every hour: for as often as I employ

1

my

my pen in this manner, you seem, as it were, actually present to my view. This effect is by no means produced, let me tell you, by those subtle images which your new⁵ friends talk so much of: who suppose that even the ideas of imagination are excited by what the late Catius, with wondrous elegancy, has styled *spectres*. For by this curious word⁶, you must know, he has expressed what Epicurus, who borrowed the notion from Democritus⁷, has called *images*. But granting that these same *spectres* are capable of affecting the organ of vision, yet I cannot guess which way they can contrive to make their entrance into the mind. But you will

⁵ The Epicureans: to whose system of philosophy Cassius had lately become a convert. Accordingly Cicero rallies him in this and the following passages, on their absurd doctrine concerning ideas: which they maintained were excited by certain thin forms, or images, perpetually floating in the air. These images were supposed to be constantly emitted from all objects, and to be of so delicate and subtle a texture, as easily to penetrate through the pores of the body, and by that means render themselves visible to the mind. *Lucret.* iv. 726, &c.

⁶ It is probable that Catius either coined this word himself, or employed it in a new and improper manner. For it is observable, that both Lucretius and Cicero, whenever they have occasion to express, in their own language, what the Greek Epicureans called εἰδωλα, always render it by the word *simulachra* or *imagines*.

⁷ He was a native of Abdera, a city in Thrace, and flourished about 400 years before the Christian æra. Epicurus, who was born about forty years afterwards, borrowed much of his doctrine from the writings of this philosopher. *Cic. de Fin.* i. 6.

will solve this difficulty when we meet, and tell me by what means, whenever I shall be disposed to think of you, I may be able to call up your *spectre*: and not only yours, whose image, indeed, is already so deeply stamped upon my heart, but even that of the whole British island, for instance, if I should be inclined to make it the subject of my meditations.—But more of this another time. In the mean while, I send this as an experiment to try with what temper you can bear my railleries. Should they seem to touch you, I shall renew my attack with so much the more vigour, and will apply for a writ of *restitution* to reinstate you in your old tenets: “of which you, the “said Cassius, have by force and arms^g been “dispossessed.” Length of possession, in this case, will be no plea in bar: for whether the time be more or less since you have been driven by the allurements of pleasure from the mansions of virtue, my action will be still maintainable.

^g These were the formal words of the prætor's edict, commanding the restoration of a person to an estate, of which he had been forcibly dispossessed. Cicero, perhaps, besides the humour of their general application, meant likewise archly to intimate, that Cassius had been driven out of his more rigid principles by his military companions: as, in a letter written to Trebatius, when he was making a campaign with Cæsar in Gaul, where our author is rallying him upon a similar occasion, he insinuates that he had acquired his Epicurism in the camp. *Indicavit mihi Pansa, says he, Epicureum te esse factum. O castra præclara! Epist. Fam. vii. 12.*

tainable. But let me not forget whom it is that I am thus bantering: Is it not that illustrious friend, whose every step, from his first entrance into the world, has been conducted by the highest honour and virtue? If it be true, then, that you have embraced the Epicurean principles, I doubt they have more strength and solidity in them than I once imagined. ^{benile} And now, will you not be inclined to ask how I could possibly think of amusing you in this idle manner? The truth of it is, I am not furnished with a more important subject, as I have nothing to write to you concerning public affairs; nor, indeed, do I chuse to trust my sentiments of them in a letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 708.]

CASSIUS to CICERO.

Nothing affords me a greater pleasure in my travels, than to converse with my friend. It brings you, indeed, so strongly to my mind, that I fancy myself indulging a vein of pleasantry with you in person. This lively impression, however, is by no means produced by those *Catian spectres* you mention^g: and for which piece of raillery I intend to draw up in my

^g In the preceding letter. See rem. 5 and 6. thereon.

G g 4

my next such a list of inelegant Stoics, as will force you to acknowledge that Catus, in comparison with these, may well pass for a native of the refined Athens.

It gives me much satisfaction, not only upon our friend Pansa's account, but for the sake of every one of us, that he received such marks of public esteem when he set out for his government. I hope this circumstance will be thought a convincing proof how amiable a spirit of probity and benevolence, and how odious the contrary disposition, renders its possessor: and that the world will learn from hence, that these popular honours, which are so passionately courted by bad citizens, are the sure attendants on those whose characters are the reverse. To persuade mankind that virtue is its own reward, is a task, I fear, of too much difficulty: but that real and undisturbed pleasures necessarily flow from probity, justice, and whatever else is fair and beautiful in moral actions, is a truth, surely, of most easy admission. Epicurus himself, from whom the Catii, and the Amafinii, together with the rest of those injurious interpreters of his meaning, pretend to derive their tenets, expressly declares, that "a pleasurable life can alone be procured by the

"practice

¹ See rem. 3 on letter 20. of this book.

"practice of virtue." Accordingly Pansa, who pursues pleasure agreeably to this just notion of it, still perseveres, you see, in a virtuous conduct. The truth is, those whom your sect has stigmatized by the name of *voluptuaries*, are warm admirers of moral beauty; and consequently cultivate and practise the whole train of social duties. But commend me to the judicious Sulla: who, observing that the philosophers were divided in their opinions concerning the supreme good, left them to settle the question among themselves, whilst he turned his views to a less controverted acquisition, by purchasing every good thing that was put up to sale. I received the news of his death with much fortitude: and, indeed, Cæsar will take care that we shall not long have occasion to regret his loss; as there are numbers of equal merit whom he can *restore* to us in his place. Nor will Cæsar himself, I suppose, much lament this excellent customer of his, when he shall see what a worthy son he has left to succeed him.

But to turn to public affairs; let me know what is doing in Spain. It is a point, indeed,

² See rem. 7. on let. 18. of this book.

³ This alludes to the great number of those whom Cæsar, as soon as he got the power into his hands, had permitted to return from the banishment to which they had for various crimes been condemned.

upon which I am extremely solicitous: as I had much rather submit to an old master, whose clemency I have experienced, than run the hazard of being exposed to the cruelty of a new one. You know the weakness of young Pompey's intellects; that he looks upon cruelty as heroism; and that he is sensible how much he has ever been the object of our ridicule. I fear, therefore, he would be apt to treat us somewhat roughly, and return our jokes with the point of his sword. If you have any value for me, then, you will not fail to let me know whatever shall happen. Ah, my friend, how do I wish I were apprised whether you read this with an easy or an anxious mind! for, by that single circumstance, I should be determined what measures are proper for me to pursue. But not to detain you any longer, I will only entreat you to continue your friendship to me, and then bid you Farewel.

P. S. I am, my friend, ever your affectionate friend.

If Cæsar should prove victorious, you may expect to see me very soon.

LETTER

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA.

Caius Suberinus, a native of⁴ Calenum, is one with whom I am particularly united; and he is extremely so, likewise, with our very intimate friend Lepta. This person, in order to avoid being engaged in our intestine commotions, attended Marcus Varro into Spain⁵, before the civil war broke out: imagining, as, indeed, every body else did, that after the defeat of Afranius⁶, there would be no farther disturbances in that province. However, he was by that very measure, involved in those misfortunes he had taken so much pains to escape. For the sudden insurrection which was formed by Scapula, and afterwards raised to so formidable an height by young Pompey, forced him unwillingly to take a part in that unhappy enterprize. The case of Marcus Planius likewise, who is also in the number of Lepta's particular friends, is much the same with that of Suberinus.

⁴ A city of Campania, in the kingdom of Naples.

⁵ See rem. 6. p. 213. of this vol.

⁶ He was one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, in the year 704, in conjunction with Varro and Petreius. Cæsar's victory over these generals has already been occasionally mentioned in the preceding remarks.

nus. In compliance with my friendship, therefore, for these two persons, and in compassion to their misfortunes, I recommend them with all possible warmth and earnestness to your favour. But I have still another motive which engages me in their cause: Lepta interests himself no less ardently in their welfare, than if his own were at stake; and I cannot but feel the next, I might have said an equal, degree of solicitude, where my friend is so anxiously concerned. Accordingly, though I have often had occasion to experience your affection; yet, believe me, I shall principally judge of its strength by your compliance with my present request. I desire, therefore, or, if you will suffer me to employ so humble a phrase, I even beseech you, to afford your protection to these unhappy men, whose distress arises rather from unavoidable fortune, than from any thing blame-worthy in their own conduct. I hope, that by your good offices in this affair, you will give me an opportunity of obliging, not only these my friends, but the corporation of Calenum likewise, with which I have great connexions: but, above all, that you will, by these means, put it in my power to render a grateful service also to Lepta. What I am going to add, is not extremely material, I believe, to the cause

cause I am pleading: however, it certainly can do it no prejudice. Let me assure you then, that one of these unfortunate persons is in very low circumstances, and the other has scarcely sufficient to entitle him to be admitted into the equestrian order⁷. As Cæsar, therefore, has generously spared their lives, and they have little else to lose, I entreat you, by all your affection towards me, to procure them the liberty of returning into Italy. The journey, indeed, is long: however, they are willing to undergo it, for the sake of living and dying among their friends and countrymen. I most earnestly request, therefore, your zealous endeavours for this purpose: or rather, indeed, (since I am persuaded it is entirely in your power) I warmly entreat you to obtain for them this desirable privilege. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ The estate necessary to qualify a man for being received into the equestrian order was four hundred thousand sesterces: equivalent to about 3000l. sterling. Cicero artfully mentions the slender fortunes of his friends, as an intimation to Dolabella not to expect any *douceurs* for his good offices towards them.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CÆSAR.

I VERY particularly recommend to your favour the son of our worthy and common friend Præcilius, a youth whose modest and polite behaviour, together with his singular attachment to myself, have exceedingly endeared him to me. His father, likewise, as experience has now fully convinced me, was always my most sincere well-wisher. For, to confess the truth, he was the first and most zealous of those who used both to rally and reproach me for not joining in your cause, especially after you had invited me by so many honourable overtures. But,

*All unavailing prov'd his every art,
To shake the purpose of my stedfast heart⁸.*

For whilst the gallant chiefs of our party were on the other side perpetually exclaiming to me,

*"Rise thou, distinguish'd 'midst the sons of fame,
"And fair transmit to times unborn thy name⁹,"
Too easy dupe of Flattery's specious voice,
Darkling I stray'd from Wisdom's better choice¹⁰.*

And

⁸ Hom. Odyss. vii. 258.⁹ Hom. Odyss. i. 302.¹⁰ Hom. Odyss. xxiv. 314.

And fain would they still raise my spirits, while they endeavour, insensible as I now am to the charms of glory, to re-kindle that passion in my heart. With this view they are ever repeating,

*O let me not inglorious sink in death,
And yield like vulgar souls my parting breath:
In some brave effort give me to expire,
That distant ages may the deed admire!*

But I am immoveable, as you see, by all their persuasions. Renouncing, therefore, the pompous heroics of Homer, I turn to the just maxims of Euripides, and say with that poet,

*Curse on the sage, who, impotently wise,
O'erlooks the paths where humbler Prudence lies.*

My old friend Præcilius is a great admirer of the sentiment in these lines: insisting that a patriot may preserve a prudential regard to his own safety, and yet,

Above his peers the first in honour shine¹

But to return from this digression: you will greatly oblige me by extending to this young man that uncommon generosity which so peculiarly marks your character, and by suffering my recommendation to increase the number of those favours which I am persuaded you are disposed

¹ Hom. II. xxii.² Hom. II. vi. 208.

disposed to confer upon him for the sake of his family.

I have not addressed you in the usual style of recommendatory letters, that you might see I did not intend this as an application of common form. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 708.]

To the same.

AMONGST all our young nobility, Publius Crassus¹ was one for whom I entertained the highest regard, and, indeed, he amply justified, in his more mature years, the favourable opinion I had conceived of him from his infancy. It was during his life that his freedman Apollonius first recommended himself to my esteem. For he was zealously attached to the interest of his patron, and perfectly well qualified to assist him in those noble studies to which he was devoted. Accordingly, Crassus was extremely fond of him. But Apollonius, after the death of his patron, proved himself still more worthy of my protection and friendship, as he distinguished with peculiar marks of respect, all who loved Crassus, or had been beloved by him. It was this that induced Apollonius to follow me into Cilicia:

¹ See rem. 3. p. 132. vol. i.

Cilicia, where, upon many occasions, I received singular advantage from his faithful and judicious services. If I mistake not, his most sincere and zealous offices were not wanting to you likewise in the Alexandrine war, and it is in the hope of your thinking so, that he has resolved, in concurrence with my sentiments, but chiefly, indeed, from his own, to wait upon you in Spain. I would not promise, however, to recommend him to your favour. Not that I suspected my applications would be void of weight, but I thought they would be unnecessary in behalf of a man who had served in the army under you, and whom, from your regard to the memory of Crassus, you would undoubtedly consider as a friend of your own. Besides, I knew he could easily procure letters of this kind from many other hands. But, as he greatly values my good opinion, and as I am sensible it has some influence upon yours, I very willingly give him my testimonial. Let me assure you, then, that I know him to be a man of literature, and one who has applied himself to the polite arts from his earliest youth. For when he was a boy, he frequently visited at my house with Diodotus, the Stoic: a philosopher, in my judgment, of consummate erudition. Apollonius, inflamed with zeal for the

Vol. II. H h glory

glory of your actions, is greatly desirous of recording them in Greek, and I think him very capable of the undertaking. He has an excellent genius, and has been particularly conversant in studies of the historical kind, as he is wonderfully ambitious, likewise, of doing justice to your immortal fame. These are my sincere sentiments of the man; but how far he deserves them, your own superior judgment will best determine. But though I told Apollonius that I should not particularly recommend him to your favour, yet I cannot forbear assuring you, that every instance of your generosity towards him will extremely oblige me. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 708.]

QUINTUS CICERO, to MARCUS CICERO⁴.

I PROTEST to you, my dear brother, you have performed an act extremely agreeable to me, in giving Tiro his freedom; as a state of servitude was a situation far unworthy of his merit.--- Believe me, I felt the highest complacency, when I found, by his letter and yours, that you rather chose we should look upon him in the number of our friends, than in that of our slaves; and I both congratulate and thank you for

⁴ The date of this letter is altogether uncertain.

for this instance of your generosity towards him. If I receive so much satisfaction from the services of my freedman, Statius, how much more valuable must the same good qualities appear in Tiro, as they have the additional advantages of his learning, his wit, and his politeness to recommend them? I have many powerful motives for the affection I bear you; and this mark of your beneficence to Tiro, together with your giving me part (as, indeed, you had reason) in the family joy upon this occasion, still increases the number. In a word, I saw and admired all the amiable qualities of your heart, in the letter you wrote to me on this subject.

I have promised my best services to the slaves of Sabinus; and it is a promise I will most assuredly make good. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 708.]

To REX⁵.

LICINIUS ARISTOTELES, a native of Melita⁶, is not only my old host, but my very particular friend. These are circumstances, I doubt not, that will sufficiently recommend him to your

⁵ He was at this time proprætor of Sicily. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 459.

⁶ The island of Malta.

your favour; as, in truth, I have experienced, by many instances, that my applications of this sort have always much weight with you. Cæsar, in compliance with my solicitations, has granted him a pardon; for I should have told you, that he was deeply engaged in the same cause with myself. He persevered in it, indeed, much longer; which, I am persuaded, will recommend him so much the more to your esteem. Let me entreat you, then, to shew him by your good offices, that this letter proved greatly to his advantage. Farewel.

AN

AN

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THE
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OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

WITH REMARKS

BY
WILLIAM MELMOTH, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. Hor.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XI.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 708.]

To TIRO.

YOUR letter encourages me to hope that you find yourself better: I am sure, at least, I most sincerely wish that you may. I entreat you, therefore, to consecrate all your cares to that end; and by no means indulge so mistaken a suspicion as that I am displeased you are not with me. With me you are, in the best sense of that expression, if you are taking care of your health; which I had much rather you should attend, than on myself. For though I

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always both see and hear you with pleasure, that pleasure will be greatly increased, when I shall have the satisfaction, at the same time, to be assured that you are perfectly well.

My work is at present suspended¹, as I cannot make use of my own hand: however, I employ myself a good deal in reading. If your transcribers should be puzzled with my manuscript, I beg you would give them your assistance; as, indeed, there is an interlineation relating to a circumstance in Cato's behaviour, when he was only four years of age², that I could

scarce

¹ The work to which Cicero alludes was probably a panegyric upon Cato, which he wrote and published about this time.

² Plutarch mentions several instances in the life of Cato, wherein that consummate patriot had given very early indications of his resolute and inflexible spirit. But the most remarkable, and probably the same which Cicero had celebrated in the passage he is here speaking of, was one that happened when Cato was in the house of his uncle, Livius Drusus, who had taken upon himself the care of his education. At that time the several states of Italy, in alliance with the republic, were strenuously soliciting the privileges of Roman citizens; and Pompeius Silo, a person of great note, who came to Rome, in order to prosecute this affair, was the guest of Drusus. As Pompeius was one day amusing himself with the children of the family, "Well, young gentlemen," said he, addressing himself particularly to the little Cato and his brother, "I hope you will use your interest with your uncle, to give his vote in our favour." The latter very readily answered in the affirmative, while Cato signified his refusal, by fixing his eyes sternly upon Pompeius, without saying a single word in reply. Pompeius, snatching him up in his arms, ran with him to the window, and, in a pretended rage, threatened to throw him out, if he

scarce decypher myself. You will continue your care, likewise, that the dining-room be in proper order for the reception of our guests; in which number, I dare say, I may reckon Tertia, provided Publius be not invited.

That strange fellow, Demetrius, was always, I know, the very reverse of his name-sake, of Phaleris¹: but I find he is now grown more insufferable than ever, and is degenerated into an arrant Bilienus². I resign the management of him, therefore, entirely into your hands, and you will pay your court to him accordingly. But, *however---d'ye see---and as to that---* (to present you with a few of his own elegant expletives) if you should have any conversation with him, let me know, that it may furnish me with the subject of a letter, and at the same

time

did not immediately yield to his request. But in vain: nature had not formed the *atrocem animum Catonis* of a texture to be menaced out of its purposes. Accordingly Pompeius was so struck with that early symptom of an undaunted spirit, that he could not forbear saying to some of his friends who were present, "How happy will it be for Italy, if this boy should live! For my part," continued he, "I am well persuaded, if he were now a man, we should not be able to procure a single suffrage throughout all Rome." *Plut. in vit. Caton. Uticen.*

¹ Demetrius, surnamed Phalerius, from Phaleris, a seaport town in Greece; was a celebrated orator, who flourished about three centuries before the birth of Christ.

² Who this person and Demetrius were is utterly unknown: but it is probable that the ridiculous part of their characters, to which Cicero here alludes, was that of being very dull and inelegant orators.

time afford me the pleasure of reading so much longer an one from yourself. In the mean while take care of your health, my dear Tiro, I conjure you, and be well persuaded that you cannot render me a more pleasing service. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA¹.

OH ! that the silence you so kindly regret had been occasioned by my own death, rather than by the severe loss² I have suffered: a loss I should be better able to support, if I had you with

¹ He was at this time with Cæsar in Spain.

² The death of his daughter Tullia. It appears, by a former letter, that she had lately lain-in at Rome, from whence she was probably removed, for the benefit of the air, to her father's Tusculan villa, where she seems to have died. This letter furnishes a presumptive argument against the opinion of those who imagine that Dolabella and Tullia were never actually divorced. For, in the first place, notwithstanding it appears that there was some distance of time between the accident of her death and the present epistle, yet it seems to have been the first letter which Cicero had written to Dolabella upon the occasion. Now it is altogether improbable, if the marriage had subsisted, that Cicero should not have given him immediate notice of an event in which, if not from affection, at least from interest, he would have been greatly concerned. In the next place, it is equally improbable, supposing there had been no divorce, that Cicero should speak of this misfortune only in general and distant terms, as he does throughout this whole letter, without so much as mentioning the name of Tullia, or intimating even the remotest hint of any connexion between her and Dolabella. But the following letter will supply a farther and more positive argument against the opinion above-mentioned. See rem. 4. on the next letter. *Ad Att.* xii. 45. 46.

with me: for your judicious counsels, and singular affection towards me, would greatly contribute to alleviate its weight. This good office, indeed, I may yet, perhaps, receive; for, as I imagine we shall soon see you here, you will find me still so deeply affected, as to have an opportunity of affording me great assistance: not that this affliction has so broken my spirit, as to render me unmindful that I am a man, or apprehensive that I must totally sink under its pressure. But all that cheerfulness and vivacity of temper, which you once so particularly admired, has now, alas! entirely forsaken me. My fortitude and resolution, nevertheless, (if these virtues were ever mine) I still retain; and retain them too, in the same vigour as when you left me.

As to those battles which, you tell me, you have sustained upon my account, I am far less solicitous that you should confute my detractors³, than that the world should know (as it unquestionably does) that I enjoy a place in your

³ The person to whom Cicero alludes, was, in all probability, his own nephew, who was at this time in the army with Cæsar. This young man had taken great liberties with his uncle's character, aspersing it upon all occasions, and in all companies: in particular, (and what gave Cicero the greatest uneasiness) he attempted to infuse a suspicion among the principal officers of the army, that Cicero was a man of dangerous designs, and one against whom Cæsar ought to be particularly upon his guard. *Ad Att.* xii. 88. xiii. 37.

your affection; and may you still continue to render that truth conspicuous. To this request I will add another, and entreat you to excuse me for not sending you a longer letter. I shorten it, not only as imagining we shall soon meet, but because my mind is at present by no means sufficiently composed for writing. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 708.]

SERVIUS SULPICIUS TO CICERO.

I RECEIVED the news of your daughter's death, with all the concern it so justly deserves; and, indeed, I cannot but consider it as a misfortune in which I bear an equal share with yourself. If I had been near you when this fatal accident happened, I should not only have mingled my tears with yours, but assisted you with all the consolation in my power. I am sensible, at the same time, that offices of this kind afford, at best, but a wretched relief: for as none are qualified to perform them, but those who stand near to us, by the ties either of blood or affection, such persons are generally too much afflicted themselves, to be capable of administering comfort to others. Nevertheless, I thought proper to suggest a few reflections which occurred to me upon this occasion: not

as imagining they would be new to you, but believing that, in your present discomposure of mind, they might possibly have escaped your attention. Tell me, then, my friend, wherefore do you indulge this excess of sorrow? Reflect, I entreat you, in what manner fortune has dealt with every one of us; that she has deprived us of what ought to be no less dear than our children, and overwhelmed, in one general ruin, our honours, our liberties, and our country. And, after these losses, is it possible that any other should increase our tears? Is it possible that a mind long exercised in calamities so truly severe should not become totally callous and indifferent to every event? But you will tell me, perhaps, that your grief arises not so much on your own account, as on that of Tullia. Yet, surely, you must often, as well as myself, have had occasion, in these wretched times, to reflect, that their condition by no means deserves to be regretted, whom death has gently removed from this unhappy scene. What is there, let me ask, in the present circumstances of our country, that could have rendered life greatly desirable to your daughter? What pleasing hopes, what agreeable views, what rational satisfaction could she possibly have proposed to herself, from a more extended period? Was it in the prospect of conjugal happiness, in the society of some distinguish-

ed youth? as if, indeed, you could have found a son-in-law, amongst our present set of young men, worthy of being entrusted with the care of your daughter! Or was it in the expectation of being the joyful mother of a flourishing race, who might possess their patrimony with independence, who might gradually rise through the several dignities of the state, and exert the liberty to which they were born in the service and defence of their friends and country? But is there one amongst all these desirable privileges, of which we were not deprived, before she was in a capacity of transmitting them to her descendants? Yet, after all, you may still alledge, perhaps, that the loss of our children is a severe affliction; and unquestionably it would be so, if it were not a much greater to see them live to endure those indignities which their parents suffer.

I lately
This passage seems strongly to intimate, that the marriage between Dolabella and Tullia was actually dissolved before her death. It must be acknowledged, however, that a very learned and accurate critic is of opinion, that the affirmative side of this question can no more be proved from these words of Sulpicius, than it can be inferred from those which he immediately adds, *an ut ea liberos ex sese pareret*, that Tullia died without issue; which it is well known she did not. But there seems to be this difference between the two instances; that, with respect to the latter, Sulpicius might very properly put the question he there does, notwithstanding Tullia's having left a son; for although she had one, she might reasonably indulge the expectation of having more: whereas, with regard to the former, would it not have been highly injurious to her character, if Sulpicius had argued from a supposition which implied that Tullia entertained thoughts of another husband, whilst her marriage with Dolabella was still subsisting? *Vid. epist. Tunstal. ad vir. erud. Con. Middleton. p. 186.*

I lately fell into a reflection, which, as it afforded great relief to the disquietude of my own heart, it may possibly contribute, likewise, to assuage the anguish of yours. In my return out of Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I amused myself with contemplating the circumjacent countries. Behind me lay Ægina, before me Megara; on my right I saw Piræus⁶, and on my left Corinth⁷. These cities, once so flourishing and magnificent, now presented nothing to my view but a sad spectacle of desolation. "Alas, (I said to myself) shall such a short-lived creature as man complain, when one of his species falls either by the hand of violence, or by the common course of nature; whilst in this narrow compass, so many great and glorious cities, formed for a much longer duration, thus lie extended in ruins? Remember, then, oh my heart! the general lot to which man is born, and let that thought suppress thy unreasonable murmurs." Believe me, I found my mind greatly refreshed and comforted by these reflections. Let me advise you, in the same manner, to represent to yourself, what numbers

⁶ Ægina, now called Engia, is an island situated in the gulf that runs between the Peloponnesus and Attica, to which it gives its name. Megara was a city near the isthmus of Corinth.

⁷ A celebrated sea-port at a small distance from Athens, now called Port-Lion.

⁸ A city in the Peloponnesus.

numbers of our illustrious countrymen have lately been cut off at once, how much the strength of the Roman republic is impaired, and what dreadful devastation has gone forth throughout all its provinces! And can you, with the impression of these greater calamities upon your mind, be so immoderately afflicted for the loss of a single individual, a poor, little, tender, woman? who, if she had not died at this time, must, in a few fleeting years more, have inevitably undergone that common fate to which she was born^a.

Reasonable, however, as these reflections are, I would call you from them awhile, in order to lead

^a In the civil wars.

^b One of the finest and most elegant of all writers, either ancient or modern, has given us some reflections which arose in his mind, in walking amongst the repositories of the dead in Westminster-Abbey; which, as they are not altogether foreign to the subject of this letter, the reader, perhaps, will indulge me in the pleasure of producing, as a sort of corollaries to the sentiments of Sulpicius. "When I look upon the tombs of the great," (says the incomparable Addison) "every emotion of envy dies within me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents, upon a tomb-stone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents, themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings lying by those who deposed them; when I consider rival wits, placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together." *Spect. Vol. 1. Numb. 26.*

lead your thoughts to others more peculiarly suitable to your circumstances and character. Remember, then, that your daughter lived as long as life was worth possessing, that is, till liberty was no more; that she lived to see you in the illustrious offices of prætor, consul, and augur; to be married to some of the noblest youths in Rome^c; to be blessed with almost every valuable enjoyment; and, at length, to expire with the republic itself. Tell me, now, what is there in this view of her fate, that could give either her or yourself just reason to complain? In fine, do not forget that you are Cicero; the wise, the philosophical Cicero, who were wont to give advice to others, nor resemble those unskilful empirics, who, at the same time that they pretend to be furnished with remedies for other men's disorders, are altogether incapable of finding a cure for their own. On the contrary, apply to your private use those judicious precepts you have administered to the public. Time necessarily weakens the strongest impressions of sorrow; but it would be a reproach to your character not to anticipate this its certain effect, by the force of your own good sense and judgment. If the dead retain any consciousness of what is here transacted, your daughter's affection, I am

sure,

^c To Piso, Crassipes, and Dolabella; of each of whom an account has been occasionally given in the preceding observations.

sure, was such, both to you and to all her relations, that she can by no means desire you should abandon yourself to this excess of grief. Restrain it then, I conjure you, for her sake, and for the sake of the rest of your family and friends, who lament to see you thus afflicted. Restrain it, too, I beseech you, for the sake of your country; that whenever the opportunity shall serve, it may reap the benefit of your counsels and assistance. In short, since such is our fortune, that we must necessarily submit to the present system of public affairs, suffer it not to be suspected, that it is not so much the death of your daughter, as the fate of the republic, and the success of our victors, that you deplore.

But it would be ill-manners to dwell any longer upon this subject, as I should seem to question the efficacy of your own good sense. I will only add, therefore, that as we have often seen you bear prosperity in the noblest manner, and with the highest applause, shew us, likewise, that you are not too sensible of adversity, but know how to support it with the same advantage to your character. In a word, let it not be said, that fortitude is the single virtue to which my friend is a stranger¹⁰.

As

¹⁰ Sulpicius has drawn together, in this admired letter, whatever human philosophy has of force to compose the perturbations of a mind under the disquietude of severe afflictions.

As for what concerns myself, I will send you an account of the state of this province, and of what is transacting in this part of the world, as soon as I shall hear that you are sufficiently composed to receive the information. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

I JOIN with you, my dear Sulpicius, in wishing that you had been in Rome when this most severe calamity befel me. I am sensible of the advantage I should have received from your presence, and I had almost said your equal participation of my grief, by having found myself somewhat more composed after I had read your letter. It furnished me, indeed, with arguments extremely proper to sooth the anguish of affliction, and evidently flowed from a heart that sympathized with the sorrows it endeavoured to assuage. But, although I could not enjoy the benefit of your own good offices in person, I had the advantage, however, of your son's, who gave me a proof, by every tender assistance

tions. But, it is evident, that all arguments of the sort here produced, tend rather to silence the clamours of sorrow, than to soften and subdue its anguish. It is a much more exalted philosophy, indeed, that must supply the effectual remedies for this purpose; to which, no other but that of christianity alone, will be found, on the trial, to be in any rational degree sufficient.

sistance that could be contributed upon so melancholy an occasion, how much he imagined that he was acting agreeably to your sentiments, when he thus discovered the affection of his own. More pleasing instances of his friendship, I have frequently received, but never any that were more obliging. As to those for which I am indebted to yourself, it is not only the force of your reasonings, and the very considerable share you take in my afflictions, that have contributed to compose my mind; it is the deference, likewise, which I always pay to the authority of your sentiments. For, knowing, as I perfectly do, the superior wisdom with which you are enlightened, I should be ashamed not to support my distresses in the manner you think I ought, I will acknowledge, nevertheless, that they sometimes almost entirely overcome me; and I am scarce able to resist the force of my grief when I reflect, that I am destitute of those consolations which attended others, whose examples I propose to my imitation. Thus Quintus Maximus¹ lost a son of consular rank, and distinguished by many brave

¹ Quintus Fabius Maximus, so well known for his brave and judicious conduct in opposing the progress of Hannibal's arms in Italy, was five times advanced to the consular office; the last of which was in the year of Rome 545. At the expiration of his fourth consulate, he was succeeded in that office by his son, Marcus Fabius, who, likewise, distinguished himself

brave and illustrious actions; Lucius Paulus² was deprived of two sons in the space of a single week, and your relation Gallus³, together with Marcus Cato⁴, had both of them the unhappiness to survive their respective sons, who were endowed with the highest abilities and virtues.

himself by his military achievements. It does not appear when, or by what accident, Marcus died; but his illustrious father was so much master of his grief upon that occasion, as to pronounce a funeral eulogy in honour of his son, before a general assembly of the people. *Liv. xxiv. 43. Plut. in vit. Fab.*

² A very few days before Paulus Æmilius made his public entry into Rome, in the year 585, on occasion of his victory over Perseus, he had the misfortune to lose one of his sons; and this calamity was succeeded by another of the same kind, which befel him about as many days after his triumph. *Liv. xlv. 41.*

³ Manutius conjectures, that the person here mentioned, is Caius Sulpicius Gallus, who was consul in the year 586.

⁴ The censor. His son was prætor in the year of Rome 638, and died whilst he was in the administration of that office. I cannot forbear transcribing upon this occasion a noble passage from Cicero's treatise concerning old age, as I find it extremely well translated to my hand, by a late ingenious writer (Mr. Hughes, if I mistake not) in the Spectator. Our author represents Cato as breaking out into the following rapture at the thoughts of his approaching dissolution: "O happy day," (says this amiable moralist) "when I shall escape from this crowd, this heap of pollution, and be admitted to that divine assembly of exalted spirits! when I shall go—to my Cato, my son; than whom a better man was never born, and whose funeral rites I myself performed; whereas, he ought rather to have attended mine. Yet has not his soul deserted me; but seeming to cast a look on me, is gone before to those habitations to which it was sensible I should follow him. And though I might appear to have borne my loss with courage, I was not unaffected with it; but I comforted myself in the assurance, that it would not be long before we should meet again, and be divorced no more." *Pigh. Annal. ii. 99. Plut. in vit. Caton. Cic. de Senect. 23. Spect. Vol. 7. Numb. 537.*

virtues. Yet these unfortunate parents lived in times when the honours they derived from the republic might, in some measure, alleviate the weight of their domestic misfortunes. But as for myself, after having been stripped of those dignities you mention, and which I had acquired by the most laborious exertion of my abilities, I had one only consolation remaining; and of that I am now bereaved! I could no longer divert the disquietude of my thoughts, by employing myself in the causes of my friends, or the business of the state; for I could no longer, with any satisfaction, appear either in the forum, or the senate. In short, I justly considered myself as cut off from the benefit of all those alleviating occupations in which fortune and industry had qualified me to engage. But I considered, too, that this was a deprivation which I suffered in common with yourself, and some others; and, whilst I was endeavouring to reconcile my mind to a patient endurance of those ills, there was one to whose tender offices I could have recourse; and, in the sweetness of whose conversation I could discharge all the cares and anxiety of my heart. But this last fatal stab to my peace, has torn open those wounds which seemed in some measure to have been tolerably healed. For I can now no longer lose my private sorrows in the prosperity of the commonwealth,

as I was wont to dispel the uneasiness I suffered upon the public account, in the happiness I received at home. Accordingly, I have equally banished myself from my house³, and from the public; as finding no relief in either, from the calamities I lament in both. It is this, therefore, that heightens my desire of seeing you here; as nothing can afford me a more effectual consolation than the renewal of our friendly intercourse: a happiness which I hope, and am informed, indeed, that I shall shortly enjoy. Among the many reasons I have for impatiently wishing your arrival, one is, that we may previously concert together our scheme of conduct in the present conjuncture; which, however, must now be entirely accommodated to another's will. This person⁴, it is true, is a man of great abilities and generosity; and one, if I mistake not, who is by no means my enemy; as I am sure he is extremely your friend. Nevertheless, it requires much consideration, I do not say in what manner we shall act with respect to public affairs, but by what methods we may best obtain his permission to retire from them. Farewel.

LETTER

³ Cicero, upon the death of his daughter, retired from his own house, to one belonging to Atticus, near Rome: from which, perhaps, this letter was written.

⁴ Cæsar.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 708.]

TO LUCIUS LUCCEIUS⁶.

ALL the letters I have received from you, upon the subject of my late misfortune, were extremely acceptable to me, as instances of the highest affection and good sense. But the great advantage I have derived from them, principally results from that animating contempt with which you look down upon human affairs, and that exemplary fortitude which arms you against all the various assaults of fortune. I esteem it the most glorious privilege of philosophy, to be thus superior to external accidents, and to depend for happiness on ourselves alone: a sentiment, which, although it was too deeply planted in my heart to be totally eradicated, has been somewhat weakened, I confess, by the violence of those repeated storms to which I have been lately exposed. But you have endeavoured, and with great success indeed, to restore it to all its usual strength and vigour. I cannot, therefore, either too often, or too strongly, assure you, that nothing could give me an higher satisfaction than your letter. But, powerful

⁶ The same to whom the 20th letter of the first book is written. See an account of him in rem. 1. on that epistle.

erful as the various arguments of consolation are which you have collected for my use, and elegantly as you have enforced them, I must acknowledge, that nothing proved more effectual than that firmness of mind which I remarked in your letters, and which I should esteem as the utmost reproach not to imitate. But if I imitate, I must necessarily excel my guide and instructor in this lesson of fortitude; for I am altogether unsupported by the same hopes which I find you entertain, that public affairs will improve. Those illustrations, indeed, which you draw from the gladiatorial combats⁷, together with the whole tendency of your reasoning in general, all concur in forbidding me to despair of the commonwealth. It would be nothing extraordinary, therefore, if you should be more composed than myself, whilst you are in possession of these pleasing hopes: the only wonder is, how you can possibly entertain any. For say, my friend, what is there of our constitution that is not utterly subverted? Look round the republic and tell me, (you who so well understand

⁷ Manutius supposes, with great probability, that Lucceius, in the letter to which this is an answer, had endeavoured to persuade Cicero not to despair of better times, by reminding him of what sometimes happened at the gladiatorial shews, where it was not unusual to see a combatant that seemed almost entirely vanquished, unexpectedly recover his ground, and gain the day from his antagonist.

stand the nature of our government) what part of it remains unbroken or unimpaired? Most unquestionably there is not one; as I would prove in detail, if I imagined my own discernment was superior to yours, or were capable (notwithstanding all your powerful admonitions and precepts) to dwell upon so melancholy a subject without being extremely affected. But I will bear my domestic misfortunes in the manner you assure me that I ought; and as to those of the public, I shall support them, perhaps, with greater equanimity than even my friend. For (to repeat it again) you are not, it seems, without some sort of hopes; whereas, for myself, I have absolutely none: and shall, therefore, in pursuance of your advice, preserve my spirits even in the midst of despair. The pleasing recollection of those actions you recal to my remembrance, and which, indeed, I performed chiefly by your encouragement and recommendation, will greatly contribute to this end. To say the truth, I have done every thing for the service of my country that I ought, and more than could have been expected from the courage and counsels of any man. You will pardon me, I hope, for speaking in this advantageous manner of my own conduct, but, as you advise me to alleviate my present uneasiness by

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a retrospect of my past actions, I will confess, that, in thus commemorating them, I find great consolation.

I shall punctually observe your admonitions, by calling off my mind as much as possible from every thing that may disturb its peace, and fixing it on those speculations which are at once an ornament to prosperity, and the support of adversity. For this purpose, I shall endeavour to spend as much of my time with you as our health and years will mutually permit: and if we cannot meet so often as I am sure we both wish, we shall always at least seem present to each other by a sympathy of hearts, and an union in the same philosophical contemplations. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 708.]

LUCCEIUS TO CICERO.

I SHALL rejoice to hear that you are well. As to my own health, it is much as usual; or rather, I think, somewhat worse.

I have frequently called at your door, and am much surprised to find that you have not been in Rome since Cæsar left it. What is it that so strongly draws you from hence? If any of your usual engagements of the literary kind renders you thus enamoured of solitude, I am so far

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from

from condemning your retirement, that I think of it with pleasure. There is no sort of life, indeed, that can be more agreeable, not only in times so disturbed as the present, but even in those of the most desirable calm and serenity: especially to a mind like yours, which may have occasion for repose from its public labours, and which is always capable of producing something that will afford both pleasure to others and honour to yourself. But if you have withdrawn from the world, in order to give a free vent to those tears which you so immoderately indulged when you were here, I shall lament, indeed, your grief: but (if you will allow me to speak the truth) I never can excuse it. For tell me, my friend, is it possible that a man of your uncommon discernment should not perceive what is obvious to all mankind? Is it possible you can be ignorant that your perpetual complaints can profit nothing, and only serve to increase those disquietudes which your good sense requires you to subdue? But if arguments cannot prevail, entreaties perhaps may. Let me conjure you, then, by all the regard you bear me, to dispel this gloom that hangs upon your heart; to return to that society and to those occupations which were either common to us both, or peculiar to yourself. But though I would

would fain dissuade you from continuing your present way of life, yet I would by no means suffer my zeal to be troublesome. In the difficulty, therefore, of steering between these two inclinations, I will only add my request that you would either comply with my advice, or excuse me for offering it. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO LUCIUS LUCCEIUS.

EVERY part of your last letter glowed with that warmth of friendship, which, though it was by no means new to me, I could not but observe with peculiar satisfaction; I would say *pleasure*, if that were not a word to which I have now for ever bidden adieu. Not merely, however, for the cause you suspect, and for which, under the gentlest and most affectionate terms, you, in fact, very severely reproach me; but because all that ought in reason to assuage the anguish of so deep a wound is absolutely no more. For whither shall I fly for consolation? Is it to the bosom of my friends? But tell me (for we have generally shared the same common amities together) how few of that number are remaining? how few that have not perished by the sword, or that are not become

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strangely

strangely insensible? You will say, perhaps, that I might seek my relief in your society; and there, indeed, I would willingly seek it. The same habitudes and studies, a long intercourse of friendship—in short, is there any sort of bond, any single circumstance of connexion wanting to unite us together! Why then are we such strangers to one another? For my own part, I know not: but this I know, that we have hitherto seldom met, I do not say in Rome, where the Forum usually brings everybody together*, but when we were near neighbours at Tusculum and Puteolæ.

I know not by what ill fate it has happened, that, at an age when I might expect to flourish in the greatest credit and dignity, I should find myself in so wretched a situation as to be ashamed that I am still in being. Despoiled, indeed, of every honour and every comfort that adorned my public life, or solaced my private, what is it that can now afford me any refuge? My books, I imagine you will tell me: and to these, indeed, I very assiduously apply. For, to what else can I possibly have recourse? Yet even these seem to exclude me from that peaceful port

* The forum was a place of general resort for the whole city. It was here that the lawyers pleaded their causes, that the poets recited their works, and that funeral orations were spoken in honour of the dead. It was here, in short, every thing was going forward, that could engage the active, or amuse the idle. *Vid. Hor. lib. 1. sat. 4. 74. sat. 6. 42.*

which I fain would reach, and reproach me, as it were, for prolonging that life which only increases my sorrows with my years. Can you wonder then that I absent myself from Rome, where there is nothing under my own roof to afford me any satisfaction, and where I abhor both public men and public measures, both the forum and the senate? For this reason it is that I wear away my days in a total application to literary pursuits: not, indeed, as entertaining so vain a hope, that I may find in them a complete cure for my misfortunes, but in order to obtain, at least, some little respite from their bitter remembrance.

If those dangers with which we were daily menaced, had not formerly prevented both you and myself from reflecting with that coolness we ought, we should never have been thus separated. Had that proved to have been the case, we should both of us have spared ourselves much uneasiness: as I should not have indulged so many groundless fears for your health, nor you for the consequences of my grief. Let us repair then this unlucky mistake as well as we may: and as nothing can be more suitable to both of us, than the company of each other, I purpose to be with you in a few days. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS.

NOTWITHSTANDING that I have nothing new to communicate to you, and am in expectation of a letter from you very shortly, or rather, indeed, of seeing you in person; yet I would not suffer Theophilus to go away, without sending you a line or two by his hands. Let me entreat you then to return amongst us, as soon as possible; and, be assured, you are impatiently expected, not only by myself, and the rest of your friends, but by all Rome in general. I am sometimes, however, inclined to fear, that you will not be extremely forward to hasten your journey: and, indeed, if you were possessed of no other sense but that of seeing, I could easily excuse you if there are some persons whom you would chuse to avoid. But as the difference is very inconsiderable between hearing and being a spectator of what one disapproves; and as I am persuaded it is of great consequence, both in respect to your private affairs, as well as upon every other consideration, that you should expedite your return, I thought it incumbent upon me to tell you so. And now, having acquainted you with
my

* See let. 19. vol. ii. p. 343.

my sentiments, the rest must be left to your own determination: but I should be glad to know, however, when we may expect you. Farewel,

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO TIRO.

BELIEVE me, my dear Tiro, I am greatly anxious for your health: however, if you persevere in the same cautious regimen which you have hitherto observed, you will soon, I trust, be well. As to my library, I beg you would put the books in order, and take a catalogue of them, when your physician shall give you his consent: for it is by his directions you must now be governed. With respect to the gardener, I leave you to adjust matters as you shall judge proper.

I think you might come to Rome on the first of next month, in order to see the gladiatorial combats, and return the following day: but let this be entirely as is most agreeable to your own inclinations. In the mean time, if you have any affection for me, take care of your health. Farewel,

LETTER

LETTER X.

[A. U. 708.]

SERVIUS SULPICIUS TO CICERO.

THE news I am going to acquaint you with, will, I am sure, prove extremely unwelcome: yet, as you cannot but, in some measure, be prepared for it, by being sensible that every man's life is subject to casualties, as well as to the general laws of nature, I thought proper to send you a circumstantial account of the unhappy accident that has lately happened.

I arrived at Piræus, from Epidaurus¹, on the 23d instant; where I continued all that day, merely to enjoy the company of my colleague, Marcellus². The next day I took my leave of him, with an intention of going from Athens into Bœotia³, in order to finish the remainder of my circuit⁴: and I left him in the resolution, as he told me, of sailing to Italy by the way of Malea⁵. The day following, as I

was

¹ A city in the Peloponnesus, now called *Piræda*, situated upon the bay of *Engia*.

² It has already been noted, that Marcellus and Sulpicius were colleagues in the consular office, A. U. 702.

³ A district of Greece, under the jurisdiction of Sulpicius, governor of that province.

⁴ The Roman governors were obliged to visit the principal cities of their province, in order to administer justice, and settle other affairs relating to their function.

⁵ A promontory in the south-east point of the Peloponnesus, now called cape *Malis*.

was preparing to set out from Athens, his friend Posthumius came to me, about four in the morning, and informed me Marcellus had been stabbed the night before by Magius Cilo, whilst they were sitting together after supper⁶: that he had received two wounds from a dagger, one of which was in his breast, and the other under his ear; but that neither of them, he hoped, was mortal. He added, that Magius, after having committed this barbarous action, immediately killed himself; and that Marcellus had dispatched him in order to give me this account, and likewise to desire that I would direct my physicians⁷ to attend him. This I instantly did: and followed them myself as soon as it was light. But when I had almost reached Piræus, I met a servant of Acidanus, with a note to acquaint me that our friend expired a little before day-break. Thus did the noble Marcellus unworthily fall by the hand of a villainous assassin: and he whose life his very enemies had spared in reverence to his illustrious virtues,

⁶ The reason which induced Cilo to murder his friend, is not certainly known. It was suspected by some, at Rome, that it was at the secret instigation of Cæsar: but the circumstance of Cilo immediately afterwards killing himself, renders that suspicion altogether improbable, and seems to determine the motive to some personal, and perhaps sudden resentment. *Vid. ad Att. xiii. 10.*

⁷ The ancient physicians practised surgery as well as medicine.

virtues, met with an executioner, at last, in his own friend! However, I proceeded to his pavillion, where I found only two of his freedmen and a few slaves; the rest, I was told, having fled in apprehension of the consequences in which they might be involved by this murder of their master^a. I was obliged to place the body of Marcellus in the same sedan that brought me, and to make my chairmen carry it into Athens; where I paid him all the funeral honours that city could supply; which, indeed, were not inconsiderable. But I could not prevail with the Athenians to suffer him to be buried within their walls; a privilege, they assured me, which their religious ordinances would by no means admit. They granted me, however, what was the next honour, and which they had never permitted to any stranger before: they allowed me to deposit his ashes in any of the Gymnasia I should think proper. Accordingly, I fixed upon a spot belonging to the Academy^b; one of the noblest colleges in the whole world.

^a Manutius remarks, that, by the Roman law, where a man was murdered in his own house, his slaves were punishable with death. *Vid. Tacit. Annal. xiv. 42.*

^b "This celebrated place took its name from one Academicus, an ancient hero, who possessed it in the time of the Tyndaridæ. But, famous as it was, it was purchased afterwards for about 100*l.* and dedicated to the public for the convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of Athens, and was gradually improved by the rich, who had received

world. In this place I caused a funeral pile to be erected: and afterwards persuaded the Athenians to raise a marble monument to his memory, at the public expence. Thus have I paid to my relation and colleague, both during his life and after his death, every friendly office he had a right to expect from me. Farewel.

Athens, May 31.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO TIRO.

I IMPATIENTLY expect a letter from you, upon affairs of many and various kinds: but it is with much greater impatience, however, that I expect yourself. In the mean time, endeavour to gain Demetrius over to my interest, and to obtain whatever other advantage you shall be able. I know your care is not wanting to recover the money which is owing to me from Aufidius: but I beg you would be as expeditious in that matter as possible. If it is upon that account you delay your return, I admit it to be a good reason: if not, fly hither, I charge

"received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of groves, stately porticos, and commodious apartments, for the professors of the academic school." *Middleton's life of Cic. iii. 325.*

charge you, with the utmost speed. To repeat it once more : I expect a letter from you with great impatience. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 708.]

VATINIUS' to CICERO.

IF you have not renounced your usual custom of defending the cause of your friends, an old client of yours desires to engage you as his advocate : and, as you formerly protected him in his humiliation¹, I dare say you will not now abandon him in his glory. Whose aid, indeed, can I so properly invoke upon the occasion of my victories, as that generous friend's, who first taught me how to *vanquish*²? Can I doubt, that he who had the courage to withstand a combination of

¹ I have already had occasion to give an account of the character of Vatinius, in rem. 5. p. 160. vol. 1. He was at this time, by the appointment of Caesar, governor of Illyricum; which comprehended part of Austria, Hungary, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia. He was sent thither with a considerable army, to reduce the people of that province to obedience; and having obtained some success, he wrote the present letter to Cicero, in order to engage him to support his pretensions to the honour of a public thanksgiving. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 454.

² When Cicero, much to his dishonour, defended Vatinius against the impeachment of Licinius Calvus. See vol. i. p. 189.

³ Alluding to his having, by the assistance of Cicero's eloquence, vanquished his adversaries in the prosecution mentioned in the preceding note.

of the most powerful men in Rome, who had conspired my ruin, will not be able to beat down the envious and malignant efforts of a little contemptible party, that may endeavour to oppose my honours? If I still, then, retain the share I once enjoyed of your friendship, take me, I entreat you, wholly under your protection, as one whose dignities it is incumbent upon you both to support and advance. You are sensible that I have many enemies, whose malevolence I have in no sort deserved; but what avails innocence against so unaccountable a fate? If these, therefore, should any of them attempt to obstruct the honours I am soliciting, I conjure you to exert your generous offices, as usual, in defence of your absent friend. In the mean time, you will find, at the bottom of this letter, a copy of the dispatches I send by this express to the senate, concerning the success of my arms.

Being informed that the slave whom you employ as your reader had eloped from you into the country of the Vardæi⁴, I have caused diligent search to be made after him, although I did not receive your commands for that purpose. I doubt not of recovering him, unless he should take refuge in Dalmatia⁵; and even in that

⁴ A people contiguous to Dalmatia.

⁵ Dalmatia made part of the province of Illyricum; but it was not, at this time, entirely subdued to the Roman government.

that case, I do not entirely despair. Farewel, and continue to love me.

From the camp at Naronæ⁶, July the 11th.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO TIRO.

YOU are not mistaken in supposing me desirous of your company; but, indeed, I am extremely apprehensive of your venturing upon so long a journey. The abstinence you have been obliged to observe, the evacuations you have undergone, together with the violence of your distemper itself, have too much impaired your strength for so great a fatigue; and any negligence after disorders so severe as yours, is generally attended with consequences of the most dangerous kind. You cannot reach Cuma in less than two days, and it will cost you five more to complete your expedition. But I purpose to be with you at Formia, towards the end of this month; and, I hope, my dear Tiro, it will not be your fault if I should not have the satisfaction of finding you perfectly recovered.

My studies languish for want of your assistance; however, the letter you sent by Acastus

has

⁶ In Liburnia, now called Croatia, and which formed part of Vatinius's government.

has somewhat enlivened them. Pompeius is now here, and presses me much to read to him some of my compositions; but I jocosely, though at the same time truly assure him, that all my Muses are silent in your absence. I hope, therefore, you will prepare to attend them with your usual good offices. You may depend upon mine in the article, and at the time I promised; for, as I taught you the etymology of the word *fides*, be assured I shall act up to its full import. Take care, I charge you, to re-establish your health; mine is perfectly well. Adieu.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO VARRO.

TO importune the execution of a promise, is a sort of ill-manners, of which the populace themselves, unless they are particularly instigated for that purpose, are seldom guilty⁷. I cannot, however, forbear, I will not say to demand, but to remind you of a favour, which you long since gave me reason to expect. To this

⁷ This alludes to those promises of public shews, which were frequently made to the people by the magistrates, and others who affected popularity; some particular instances of which have been occasionally produced in the course of the preceding remarks.

this end, I have sent you four admonitors⁸; but admonitors, perhaps, whom you will not look upon as extremely modest. They are certain philosophers, whom I have chosen from among the disciples of the later academy⁹; and confidence, you know, is the characteristic of this sect¹. I am apprehensive, therefore, that you may consider them as so many importunate duns, when my meaning only is, that they should present themselves before you as modest petitioners. But to drop my metaphor, I have long denied myself the satisfaction of addressing to you some of my works, in expectation of receiving a compliment of the same kind from yourself. I waited, therefore, in order to make you a return, as nearly as possible, of the same nature. But, as I am willing to impute your delaying this favour to the desire of rendering it so much the more perfect, I could no longer refrain from telling the world, in the best

⁸ These were dialogues entitled *Academica*, which appear from hence to have originally consisted of four books, though there is only part of one now remaining.

⁹ The followers of the Academic philosophy were divided into two sects, called the *old* and the *new*. The founder of the former was Plato; of the latter, Arcesilas. The principal dispute between them, seems to have related to the degree of evidence upon which human knowledge is founded; the earlier Academics maintaining that some propositions were certain; the latter, that none were more than probable. *Vid. Academ. 1. passim.*

¹ Alluding to their practice of questioning all opinions, and assenting to none.

best manner I was able, that we are united both in our affections and in our studies. With this view, I have drawn up a dialogue which I suppose to have passed between you and myself, in conjunction with Atticus, and have laid the scene in your Cuman villa. The part I have assigned to you, is to defend, (what, if I mistake not, you approve) the sentiments of Antiochus², as I have chosen myself to maintain the principles of Philo³. You will wonder to find, perhaps, in the perusal of this piece, that I have represented a conversation, which, in truth, we never had; but you must remember the privilege which dialogue writers have always assumed.

And now, my dear Varro, let me hope that we shall hereafter enjoy together many of these philosophical conversations. If we have too long neglected them, the public occupations in which we were engaged, must be our apology; but the time is now arrived when we have no such excuse

² A philosopher at Athens, whose lectures Varro had formerly attended. He maintained the doctrines of the *old Academy*. *Cic. Academ. 1. 3.*

³ A Greek philosopher, who professed the sceptical principles of the *new Academy*. Antiochus, mentioned in the preceding note, had been bred up under him, though he afterwards became a convert to the opposite sect. Cicero took the sceptical part in this dialogue, not as being agreeable to his own sentiments, but in order to pay Varro the greater compliment of maintaining the more rational opinion. *Academ. ubi sup. ad Att. xiii. 19.*

cuse to plead. May we, then, exercise these speculations together, under a fixed and peaceable government, at least, if not under one of the most eligible kind! Though, indeed, if that were to prove the case, far other employments would engage our honourable labours. But, as affairs are at present situated, what is there else that can render life desirable? For my own part, it is with difficulty I endure it, even with all the advantages of their powerful assistance; but, without them, it would be utterly insupportable. But we shall talk farther and frequently upon this subject when we meet; in the mean time, I give you joy of the new habitation you have purchased, and highly approve of your removal. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 708.]

To TIRO.

Why should you not direct your letters to me with the familiar superscription which one friend generally uses to another? However, if you are unwilling to hazard the envy which this privilege may draw upon you, be it as you think proper; though, for my own part, it is a maxim which I have generally pursued with respect

respect to myself, to treat envy with the utmost disregard.

I rejoice that you found so much benefit by your sudorific; and should the air of Tusculum be attended with the same happy effect, how infinitely will it increase my fondness for that favourite scene! If you love me, then, (and if you do not, you are undoubtedly the most successful of all dissemblers) consecrate your whole time to the care of your health; which, hitherto, indeed, your assiduous attendance upon myself, has but too much prevented. You well know the rules which it is necessary you should observe for this purpose, and I need not tell you that your diet should be light, and your exercises moderate; that you should keep your body open, and your mind amused. Be it your care, in short, to return to me perfectly recovered, and I shall ever afterwards not only love you, but Tusculum so much the more ardently.

I wish you could prevail with your neighbour to take my garden, as it will be the most effectual means of vexing that rascal Helico. This fellow, although he paid a thousand sesterces^s for the rent of a piece of cold barren ground, that had not so much as a wall or a shed upon it,

^s About 8l. of our money.

it, or was supplied with a single drop of water, has yet the assurance to laugh at the price I require for mine, notwithstanding all the money I have laid out upon improvements. But let it be your business to spirit the man into our terms, as it shall be mine to make the same artful attack upon Otho.

Let me know what you have done with respect to the fountain; though, possibly, this wet season may now have over-supplied it with water. If the weather should prove fair, I will send the dial, together with the books you desire. But how happened it that you took none with you? Was it that you were employed in some poetical composition upon the model of your admired Sophocles? If so, I hope you will soon oblige the world with your performance.

Ligurius, Cæsar's great favourite, is dead. He was a very worthy man, and much my friend. Let me know when I may expect you; in the mean time be careful of your health. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA?

I HAVE the strongest attachment to the citizens of Volaterræ¹, as a body of men, who, having received great obligations from me, have abundantly returned them. Their good offices, indeed, have never been wanting in any season of my life, whether of adversity or prosperity. But were I entirely void of all personal connexions with this community, I should, nevertheless, merely from my great affection towards yourself, and in return to that which I am sensible you equally bear for me, most earnestly recommend them to your protection; especially as they have, in some sort, a more than common claim to your justice. For, in the first place, the gods themselves seem to have interposed in their behalf, when they so wonderfully escaped from the persecutions of Sylla;

¹ He was prætor in the year of Rome 697, and at the expiration of his office obtained the government of Africa.— Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he took possession of Sardinia, in the name of Cæsar, by whom he was at this time appointed one of the commissioners for dividing those estates, with which he proposed, upon his return from Spain, to reward the valour and fidelity of his soldiers. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 384.*

² A city in Tuscany.

Sylla²: and, in the next, the whole body of the Roman people expressed the warmest concern for their interest, when I stood forth as their advocate in my consulship. For, when the tribunes were endeavouring to carry a most iniquitous law for the distribution of the lands belonging to this city, I found it extremely easy to persuade the republic to favour the rights of a community which fortune had so remarkably protected. And as Cæsar, in the Agrarian law, which he procured during his first consulate³, shewed his approbation of the services I had thus performed for them, by expressly exempting their lands from all future impositions, I cannot suppose that he, who is perpetually displaying new instances of his generosity, should intend to resume those which his former bounty has bestowed. As you have followed, then, his party and his power with so much honour to yourself, it should seem agreeable to your usual prudence, to follow him likewise in this instance of his generosity, or certainly, at least, to leave this matter entirely to his own decision. One thing I am sure you can

² They held out a siege of two years against the troops of Sylla, who in vain endeavoured to compel them to submit to his edict for the confiscation of their lands. *Quartier*.

³ The law alluded to seems to have been a branch of that proposed by Rullus; an account of which has been given in these remarks. See rem. 13. p. 165. vol. I.

can by no means doubt; and that is, whether you should wish to fix so worthy and so illustrious a corporation in your interest, who are distinguished for their inviolable adherence to their friends. Thus far I have endeavoured to persuade you to take these people under your protection, for your own sake; but, that you may not imagine I have no other plea to urge in their favour, I will now request it also for mine. You cannot, in truth, confer upon me a more acceptable service, than by proving yourself the friend and guardian of their interests. I recommend, therefore, to your justice and humanity the possessions of a city which have been hitherto preserved by the peculiar providence of the gods, as well as by the particular favour of the most distinguished personages in the whole Roman commonwealth. If it were in my power as effectually to serve those who place themselves under my patronage, as it once was, there is no good office I would not exert, there is no opposition I would not encounter, in order to assist the Volaterranians. But I flatter myself I have still the same interest with you, that I formerly enjoyed with the world in general. Let me entreat you, then, by all the powerful ties of our friendship, to give these citizens reason to look upon it as a providential circumstance,

circumstance, that the person who is appointed to execute this commission, happens to be one with whom their constant patron has the greatest influence. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO LEPTA.

I AM glad that Macula has acted agreeably to the good offices I have a right to expect from him, by offering me the use of his house. I always thought the man's Falernian⁶ was well enough for road-wine, and only doubted whether he had sufficient room to receive my retinue: besides, there is something in the situation of his villa that does not displease me.--- However, I do not give up my design upon Petrinum⁷. But it has too many charms to be used only as an occasional lodging; its beauties deserve a much longer stay.

Balbus is confined with a very severe fit of the gout, and does not admit any visitors; so that I have not been able to see him since you left Rome. However, I have talked with Oppius concerning your request to be appointed one of the

⁶ This was a favourite wine among the Romans, which took its name from Falernus, a little hill in Campania, where the grape was produced.

⁷ A town in Campania, where Lepta had a villa.

the managers of Cæsar's games⁸. But, in my opinion, it would be most advisable not to undertake this trouble; as you will by no means find it subservient to the point you have in view: for Cæsar is surrounded with such a multitude of pretenders to his friendship, that he is more likely to lessen, than increase, the number; especially where a man has no higher service to recommend him, than what arises from little offices of this kind; a circumstance, too, which Cæsar, possibly, may never be acquainted with. But if he should, he would look upon himself rather as having conferred, than received, a favour. Nevertheless, I will try if this affair can be managed in such a manner as to give you any reasonable hope that it will answer your purpose; otherwise, I think, you should be so far from desiring the employment, that you ought by all means to avoid it.

I believe I shall stay some time at Astura⁹, as I purpose to wait there the arrival of Cæsar¹. Farewel.

LETTER

⁸ These were games which Cæsar proposed to exhibit in the several quarters of Rome, upon his return from Spain, in honour of his victory over the sons of Pompey. *Suet. in vit. Jul.*

⁹ A town in the *Campagna di Roma*, situated near the sea-coast, between Civita Vecchia, and Monte Circello, where Cicero had a villa. It was about two years after the date of this letter, that Cicero was murdered near this villa, by the order of Antony.

¹ From Spain.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA'.

I AM not displeased to find that the world is apprised of the friendship which subsists between us. But it is not, you may well imagine, from any vain ostentation of this kind, that I interrupt you in the honourable discharge of that troublesome and important commission which Cæsar has entrusted to your care. On the contrary, notwithstanding that the share I enjoy in your affection is so generally known, as to occasion many applications to me, yet I would not be tempted, by any popular motives, to break in upon you in the execution of your office. However, I could not refuse the solicitations of Curtius, as he is one with whom I have been intimately connected from his earliest youth. I took a very considerable part in the misfortunes he suffered from the unjust persecution of Sylla; and when it seemed agreeable to the general sense of the people, that my friend, together with the rest of those who, in conjunction with himself, had been deprived both of their fortunes and their country, should

be

* See rem. 9. on let. 16. of this B.

be restored, at least, to the latter; I assisted him, for that purpose, to the utmost of my power. Upon his return, he invested all that remained to him from this general wreck of his substance, in the purchase of an estate at Volaterræ; of which, if he should be dispossessed, I know not how he will support the senatorial rank to which Cæsar has lately advanced him. It would be an extreme hardship, indeed, if he should sink in wealth, as he rises in honours; and it seems altogether inconsistent, that he should lose his estate in consequence of Cæsar's general order for the distribution of these lands in question; at the same time, that, by his particular favour, he has gained a seat in the senate. But I will not alledge all that I well might, for the equity of my friend's cause, lest, by enlarging on the justice, I should seem to derogate from the favour of your compliance with my request. I most earnestly conjure you, then, to consider this affair of Curtius as my own; to protect his interest as you would mine in the same circumstances; and to be assured, that whatever services you shall thus confer upon my friend, I shall esteem as a personal obligation to myself. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO FABIVS GALEVS¹.

INSTANCES of your friendship are perpetually meeting me wherever I turn; and I have lately, in particular, had occasion to experience them in regard to my affair with Tigellius². I perceive by your letter, that it has occasioned you much concern, and I am greatly obliged by this proof of your affection. But let me give you a short history how the case stands. It was Cippius, I think, that formerly said "*I am not asleep for every man*³;" neither am I, my dear Gallus, so meanly complaisant as to be the humble servant of every minion. The truth of it is, I am the humble servant of none, and am so far from being under the necessity of submitting to any servile compliances, in order to preserve my friendship with

¹ This is the same person to whom the 11th letter of the first book is addressed.

² Tigellius was an extravagant debauchee, who, by his pleasantry, his skill in music, his agreeable voice, together with his other soft and fashionable qualifications, had extremely ingratiated himself with Cæsar.

³ Cippius was a complaisant husband, who, upon some occasions, would affect to nod, whilst his wife was awake and more agreeably employed. But a slave coming into the room when he was in one of these obliging slumbers, and attempting to carry off a flaggon that stood upon the table, "Sirrah," says he, "*non omnibus dormio*."

with Cæsar's favourites; that there is not one of them, except this Tigellius, who does not treat me with greater marks of respect than I ever received, even when I was thought to enjoy the highest popularity and power. But I think myself extremely fortunate in being upon ill terms with a man who is more corrupted than his own native air⁴, and whose character is notorious, I suppose, to the whole world, by the poignant verses of the satiric Calvus⁵. But to let you see upon what slight grounds he has taken offence, I had promised, you must know, to plead the cause of his grandfather Phameas, which I undertook, however, merely in friendship to the man himself. Accordingly Phameas called upon me, in order to tell me that the judge had fixed a day for his trial: which happened to be the very same on which I was obliged to attend as advocate for Sextius. I acquainted him, therefore, that I could not possibly give him my assistance at the time he mentioned; but that if any other had been appointed,

⁴ Tigellius was a native of Sardinia: an island noted for its noxious air. See rem. 8. p. 246. vol. ii.

⁵ Fate seems to have decreed that Tigellius should not want a poet to deliver his character down to posterity: for, although the verses of Calvus are lost, those of Horace remain, in which Tigellius is delineated with all those inimitable strokes of ridicule which distinguish the masterly hand of that polite satirist. Vid. Hor. satyr. lib. 1. sat. 2 & 3.

pointed, I most assuredly would not have failed. Phameas, nevertheless, in the conscious pride, no doubt, of having a grandson that could pipe and sing to some purpose, left me with an air that seemed to speak indignation. And now, having thus stated my case, and shewn you the injustice of this songster's complaints, may I not properly say with the old proverb, "*So many Sardinians, so many rival rogues*?"

I beg you would send me your Cato³, which I am extremely desirous of reading. It is, indeed, some reflection upon us both, that I have not yet enjoyed that pleasure. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ The literal interpretation of this proverb is, *you have Sardinians to sell, each a greater rogue than the other*; but a shorter turn has been adopted in the translation, in order to bring it nearer to the conciseness of the proverbial style. This proverb took its rise (as Manutius observes) from the great number of Sardinian slaves with which the markets of Italy were overstocked, upon the reduction of that island by Titus Sempronius Gracchus, in the year of Rome 512.

⁸ The character of Cato was, at this time, the fashionable topic of declamation at Rome: and every man that pretended to genius and eloquence, furnished the public with an invective or panegyric upon that illustrious Roman, as party or patriotism directed his pen. In this respect, as well as in all others, Cato's reputation seems to have been attended with every advantage, that any man who is ambitious of a good name can desire; for the next honour to being applauded by the worthy, is to be abused by the worthless.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CLUVIUS^a.

IN the visit which, agreeably to our friendship and that great respect with which you always treat me, I received from you upon your setting out for Gaul, we had some general discourse relating to those estates in that province which are held of the city of Atella^b: and I then expressed how much I was concerned for the interest of that corporation. But, in confidence of the singular affection you bear me, and in performance of a duty which it is incumbent upon me to discharge, I thought proper to write to you more fully upon this affair, as it is, indeed, of the last importance to a community with which I have the strongest connexions. I am very sensible, at the same time, both of the occasion and extent of your commission, and that Cæsar has not entrusted you, in the execution of it, with any discretionary power. I limit my request, therefore, by what I imagine is no less within the

^a He was one of the commissioners nominated by Cæsar for settling the division of the lands for the purposes mentioned in note 9 on let. 16 of this Book. The department assigned to him was Cisalpine Gaul.

^b A city in Campania, situated between Naples and Capua: it is now called *Santo Arpino*.

the bounds of your authority, than I am persuaded it is not beyond what you would be willing to do for my sake. In the first place, then, I entreat you to believe, what is truly the fact, that the whole revenues of this corporation arise from these lands in question, and that the heavy impositions with which they are at present burthened, have laid them under the greatest difficulties. But although, in this respect, they may seem to be in no worse condition than many other cities in Italy; yet, believe me, their case is unhappily distinguished by several calamitous circumstances peculiar to themselves. I forbear, however, to enumerate them, lest, in lamenting the miseries of my friends, I should be thought to glance at those persons whom it is, by no means, my design to offend. Indeed, if I had not conceived strong hopes that I shall be able to prevail with Cæsar in favour of this city, there would be no occasion for my present very earnest application to you. But as I am well persuaded that Cæsar will have regard to the dignity of this illustrious corporation; to the zeal which they bear for his interest; and, above all, to the equity of their cause; I venture to entreat you to leave the decision of this affair entirely to his own determination^c. If I could produce no precedent

^c Cæsar was not yet returned out of Spain.

precedent of your having already complied with a request of this nature; it is a request which I should have nevertheless have made, but I have so much the stronger hopes that you will not refuse me in the present instance, as I am informed you have granted the same favour to the citizens of Regium^d. It is true, you have some sort of connexion with that city. But, in justice to your affection towards me, I cannot but hope, that what you have yielded to your own clients, you will not deny to mine, especially as it is for these alone that I solicit you, notwithstanding so many others of my friends are in the same situation. I dare say I need not assure you, that it is neither upon any ambitious motives that I apply to you in their behalf, nor without having just reason to be their advocate. The fact is, I have great obligations to them: and there has been no season of my life in which they have not given me signal proofs of their affection. As you are sensible, therefore, that the interest of this corporation, with which I am so strongly connected, is greatly concerned in the success of my present request, I conjure you, by all the powerful ties of our mutual friendship, and by all the sentiments of your humanity,

^d Now called Regio, a maritime city in Calabria.

nity, to comply with these my intercessions in their behalf. If, after having obtained this favour, I should succeed likewise (as I have reason to hope) in my application to Cæsar, I shall consider all the advantages of that success as owing entirely to yourself. Nor shall I be less obliged to you though I should not succeed, as you will have contributed all in your power, at least, that I might. In one word, you will, by these means, not only perform a most acceptable service to myself, but for ever attach to the interest both of you and your family, a most illustrious and grateful city. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO FABIVS GALLVS.

YOU need be in no pain about your letter. So far from having destroyed it, as you imagine, it is perfectly safe, and you may call for it whenever you please.

Your admonitions are extremely obliging, and I hope you will always continue them with the same freedom. You are apprehensive, I perceive, that if I should render this Tigellius my enemy, he may, probably, make me merrier than I like, and teach me the *Sardinian* laugh.

laugh⁹. In return to your proverb, let me present you with another, and advise you to "*throw aside the pencil*!" For our *master*² will be here much sooner than was expected: and I am afraid he should send the man who ventures to paint Cato in such favourable colours, to join the hero of his panegyric in the shades below.

Nothing, my dear Gallus, can be expressed with greater strength and elegance than that part of your letter which begins, "*The rest are fallen, &c.*" But I whisper this applause in
your

⁹ It is said, there was a sea weed frequently found upon the coasts of Sardinia, the poisonous quality whereof occasioned a convulsive motion in the features which had the appearance of laughter; and that hence the *Sardinian laugh* became a proverb usually applied to those who concealed a heavy heart under a gay countenance. Gallus seems to have cited this proverb as a caution to Cicero not to be too free in his railleries upon Tigellius: and there is a peculiar propriety in his application of it, as Tigellius was a Sardinian. I must acknowledge, however, that I have departed from the sentiments of the commentators, in supposing that Tigellius is the person here alluded to: they all imagine, on the contrary, that it is Cæsar. But this letter seems evidently to be upon the same subject as the 19th of this book; and was, probably, an answer to one which Gallus had written in return to that epistle.

¹ This proverb, Victorious supposes, had its rise from the schools of the painters: where the young pupils, who, in the absence of their master were amusing themselves, perhaps, in drawing their pencils over the piece on which he was at work, called upon each other when they saw him returning to lay them aside. Cicero, in the application of this proverb, alludes to the panegyric which Gallus had written upon Cato. See rem. 8. on the 19th letter of this book.

² Cæsar: who was at this time upon his return from Spain.

your ear; and desire it may be a secret, even to your freedman Apella. Nobody, indeed, writes in this manner except ourselves. How far it is to be defended or not, I may consider, perhaps, another time: but this, at least, is indisputable, that it is a style entirely our own. Persevere then in these compositions, as the best and surest method of forming your eloquence. As for myself, I now employ some part even of my nights, in exercises of the same kind. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS RUTILIUS*.

IN the consciousness of that affection I bear you, and from the proofs I have experienced of yours, I do not scruple to ask a favour which a principle of gratitude obliges me to request. To what degree I value Publius Sextius^f, is a circumstance with which my own heart is best acquainted: but how greatly I ought to do so, both you and all the world are perfectly well apprised. As he has been informed by some of his friends, that you are, upon all occasions extremely

* He was employed in a commission of the same kind with that of Orca and Cluvius, to whom the 16th and 20th letters of this book are addressed.

^f See rem. 9. p. 163. vol. 1.

tremely well disposed to oblige me, he has desired I would write to you in the strongest terms in behalf of Caius Albinus, a person of senatorian rank. Publius Sextius married his daughter: and he has a son by her, who is a youth of great merit. I mention these circumstances, to let you see, that Sextius has no less reason to be concerned for the interest of Albinus, than I have for that of Sextius. But to come to the point.

Marcus Laberius purchased, under an edict of Cæsar, the confiscated estate of Plotius, which he afterwards assigned over to Albinus, in satisfaction of a debt. If I were to say, that it is not for the credit of the government to include this estate among those lands which are directed to be divided; I might seem to talk rather in the style of a man who is dictating, than of one who is making a request. But as Cæsar thought it necessary to ratify the sales and mortgages that had been made of those estates which were confiscated during Sylla's administration, in order to render his own purchasers of the same kind so much the more secure; if these forfeited lands, which were put up to auction by his particular order, should be included in the general division he is now making, will it not discourage all future bidders? I only hint this, however, for your own judicious

judicious consideration. In the mean time, I most earnestly entreat you not to dispossess Albinus of the farms which Laberius has thus conveyed to him: and be assured, as nothing can be more equitable than this request, so I make it in all the warmth and sincerity of my heart. It will afford me, indeed, not only much satisfaction, but in some sort, likewise, great honour, if Sextius, to whose friendship I am so deeply indebted, should have an opportunity, through my means, of serving a man to whom he is thus nearly related. Again and again, therefore, I entreat your compliance; and as there is no instance wherein you can more effectually oblige me, so you may depend upon finding me infinitely sensible of the obligation. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO VATINIUS.

I AM by no means surprised to find that you are sensible of my services¹. On the contrary, I perfectly well knew, and have, upon all occasions, declared, that no man ever possessed so grateful

¹ The services here alluded to, are, probably, those which Vatinius solicited in the 12th letter of this book. Cicero's answer to that letter is lost, as well as Vatinius's reply: but the present epistle seems to have been written in return to the latter.

grateful a heart. You have, indeed, not only acknowledged, but abundantly returned my good offices: be assured, therefore, you will always experience, in me, the same friendly zeal in every other article of your concerns. Accordingly, after having received your last letter, wherein you recommend that excellent woman, your wife, to my protection⁴; I immediately desired our friend Sura to acquaint her, that if, in any instance, she had occasion for my services, I hoped she would let me know; and that she might depend upon my executing her requests with the utmost warmth and fidelity. This promise I shall very punctually fulfil: and if it should prove necessary, I will wait upon her myself. In the mean time I beg you would inform her, by your own hand, that I shall not look upon any office as difficult, or below my character, wherein my assistance can avail her: as, indeed, there is no employment in which I could be engaged upon your account, that I should not think both easy and honourable⁵.

I entreat

⁴ If Vatinius was not a more tender husband, than he appears to have been a son, this lady might have had occasion for Cicero's protection, in some instances, which she would not, perhaps, have been very willing to own: for among other enormities that are laid to the charge of Vatinius, it is said, that he had the cruelty, as well as the impiety, to lay violent hands on his mother. *Orat. in Vatin. 7.*

⁵ Who would imagine that this is the same person of whom Cicero has elsewhere said, that "No one could look upon him

I entreat you to settle the affair with Dionysius: and any assurance that you shall think proper to give him, in my name, I will religiously perform. But if he should continue obstinate, you must e'en seize him as a prisoner of war, to grace your triumphal entry.

May a thousand curses fall upon these Dalmatians for giving you so much trouble. However, I join with you in being well persuaded, that you will soon reduce them to obedience: and as they have always been esteemed a warlike people, their submission will greatly contribute to the glory of your arms. Farewel.

LETTER

"him without a sigh, or speak of him without execration: that he was the dread of his neighbours, the disgrace of his kindred, and the utter abhorrence of the public in general." Indeed, when Cicero gave this character of Vatinius, he was acting as an advocate at the bar, and endeavouring to destroy his credit as a witness against his friend and client. But whatever allowances may be made, in general, for rhetorical exaggerations, yet history shews that, in the present instance, Cicero's eloquence did not transgress the limits of truth. For Paterculus has painted the character of Vatinius in the same disadvantageous colours, and represented him as the lowest and most worthless of men. *Orat. in Vat. 16. Vel. Pat. ii. 69.*

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CORNIFICIUS⁶.

IT was with great satisfaction I found, by your letter, that you allow me a place in your thoughts: and it is by no means as doubting the constancy of your friendship, but merely in compliance with a customary form, that I entreat you to preserve me still in your remembrance.

It is reported that some commotions have arisen in Syria: at which I am more alarmed upon your account than our own, as you are placed so much nearer to the consequences. As to affairs at Rome, we are enjoying that sort of repose which I am sure you would be better pleased to hear was interrupted by some vigorous measures for the public welfare. And I hope

⁶ Quintus Cornificius, in the year 705, obtained the proconsulship of Illyricum. In the following year he was removed from thence into some other province, the name of which is unknown: but it appears to have been contiguous to Syria. In this province he resided when the present and twenty-sixth letter of this book were written to him. He was afterwards appointed governor of Africa: as appears by several letters addressed to him in the next book: and which will afford a farther occasion of speaking of him. He had greatly distinguished himself in the art of eloquence: and is supposed to have been the author of those rhetorical pieces which are mentioned by Quintilian, as written by a person of this name. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 446. 454. 466. Quint. iii. 1.*

hope it shortly will : as I find it is Cæsar's intention to concert methods for that purpose.

Your absence has inspired me with the courage of engaging in some compositions, which otherwise I should scarce have ventured to undertake : though there are some among them which even my judicious friend, perhaps, would not disapprove. The last that I have finished is upon a subject, on which I have frequently had occasion to think that your notions were not altogether agreeable to mine : it is an inquiry into the best species of eloquence⁷. Though I must add, that whenever you have differed from me, it was always with the complaisance of a master-artist towards one who is not wholly unskilled in his art. I should be extremely glad that this piece might receive your suffrage : if not for its own sake, at least for its author's. To this end, I shall let your family know, that, if they think proper, they may have it transcribed, in order to send it to you. I imagine, indeed, although you should not approve my sentiments, yet that any thing which comes from my hand, will be acceptable in your present inactive situation.

When you recommend your character and honours to my protection, it is merely, I dare say,

⁷ This is, probably, the same piece, of which an account has been given in rem. 10. on let. 15. Book 10.

say, for the sake of form, and not as thinking it in the least necessary. Be assured, the affection which, I am persuaded, mutually subsists between us, would be sufficient to render me greatly zealous in your service. But abstractedly from all motives of friendship, were I to consider only the noble purposes to which you have applied your exalted talents, and the great probability of your attaining the highest dignity in the commonwealth⁸ : there is no man to whom I should give the preference in my good offices, and few that I should place in the same rank with yourself. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 708.]

CURIUS⁵ to CICERO.

I LOOK upon myself as a sort of property, the possession of which belongs, 'tis true, to Atticus ; but all the advantage that can be derived from it is wholly yours. If Atticus, therefore, were inclined to dispose of his right in me, I am afraid he could only pass me off in a lot with some more profitable commodity : whereas, if you should have the same inclination, how greatly would it enhance my value to be proclaimed

⁸ The consular office.

⁵ See rem. 6. p. 361. vol. ii.

claimed as one entirely formed into what he is, by your care and kindness? I entreat you then to continue to protect the work of your own hands, and to recommend me in the strongest terms to the successor of Sulpicius in this province⁶. This will be the surest means of putting it in my power to obey your commands of returning to you in the spring: as it will facilitate the settling of my affairs in such a manner, that I may be able, by that time, to transport my effects, with safety, into Italy. But I hope, my illustrious friend, you will not communicate this letter to Atticus: for as he imagines I am much too honest a fellow to pay the same compliment to you both; suffer him, I beseech you, to remain in this favourable error. Adieu, my dear patron, and salute Tiro in my name.

Oct. the 29th.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

I SHALL follow the same method in answering your letter, which I have observed that you great orators sometimes practise in your replies, and begin with the last article first. You accuse me

⁶ Greece.

me, then, of being a negligent correspondent; but, believe me, I have never once omitted writing whenever any of your family gave me notice that a courier was setting out to you.

I have so high an opinion of your prudence, that I expected you would act in the manner your very obliging letter assures me you intend, and that you would not determine your measures, till you should know where this paltry Bassus⁷ designed to make an irruption. I entreat you to continue to give me frequent intelligence of all your purposes and motions, as well as of whatever else is going forward in your part of the world.

It was with much regret that I parted with you, when you left Italy; but I comforted myself in the persuasion, that you were not only going into a scene of profound tranquillity, but leaving one that was threatened with great commotions. The reverse, however, has proved to be the fact, and war has broken out in your quarters, at the same time that it is extinguished in ours. But the peace we enjoy is attended, nevertheless, with many disgusting circumstances, and disgusting, too, even to Cæsar himself.

⁷ Cæcilius Bassus was a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, who, after the battle of Pharsalia, fled into Syria; where he was, at this time, raising some very formidable commotions against the authority of Cæsar. *Dio. xlvii. p. 342.*

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self. It is the certain consequence, indeed, of all civil wars, that the vanquished must not only submit to the will of the victor, but to the will of those also who assisted him in his conquest. But I am now become so totally callous, that I saw Bursa², the other day, at the games which Cæsar exhibited, without the least emotion; and was present with equal patience at the farces of Publius and Laberius³. In short, I am sensible of nothing so much as of the want of a judicious friend with whom I may freely laugh at what is thus passing amongst us. And such a friend I shall find in you, if you will hasten your return hither; a circumstance which I look upon to be as much your own interest, as I am sure it is mine. Farewel.

LETTER

² Cicero's inveterate enemy, who had been banished some years before, but had lately been recalled by Cæsar. See rem. 5. p. 268. vol. 1.

³ For an account of Laberius, see rem. 1. p. 228. vol. 1. Publius Syrus had, likewise, distinguished himself upon the Roman stage in those buffoon pieces which they called their *mimes*. But, although these rival poets and actors were both of them excellent in their way; yet, it appears, that their humour was too low and inelegant to suit the just and refined taste of Cicero. *Macrob. Saturn.* ii. 7.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA.

I REJOICE to find that Baïæ² has changed its nature, and is become, on a sudden, so wondrous *salutary*³. But, perhaps, it is only in complaisance to my friend, that it thus suspends its usual effects, and will resume its wonted qualities the moment you depart. I shall not be surprised, should this prove to be the case; nor wonder, indeed, if heaven and earth should alter their general tendencies, for the sake of a man who has so much to recommend him to the favour of both⁴.

I did

² See rem. 7. p. 234. vol. ii.

³ Dolabella had probably informed Cicero, in a letter from Baïæ, of the *salutary* effects he experienced from the waters of that place; in answer to which, Cicero plays upon the ambiguous meaning of the word *salubres*, and applies, in a moral sense, what Dolabella had used in a medicinal.

⁴ If no other memoirs of these times remained than what might be collected from the letters of Cicero, it is certain, they would greatly mislead us in our notions of the principal actors, who now appeared upon the theatre of the Roman republic. Thus, for instance, who would imagine that the person here represented as interesting heaven and earth in his welfare, was, in fact, a monster of lewdness and inhumanity? But how must the reader's astonishment be raised when he is informed, that it is Cicero, himself, who tells us so? *Dolabellæ—a puero pro diliciis crudelitas fuit*, (says our author in one of his Philippic orations) *deinde ea libidinum turpitudine ut in hoc sit semper ipse lætatus, quod ea faceret quæ sibi objici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecundo*. If this was

I did not imagine, that I had preserved, among my papers, the trifling speech which I made in behalf of Deiotarus⁴; however, I have found it, and sent it to you, agreeably to your request. You will read it as a performance, which was, by no means, of consequence enough to deserve much care in the composition; and, to say truth, I was willing to make my old friend and host a present of the same indelicate kind with his own.

May you ever preserve a virtuous and a generous mind! that the moderation and integrity of your conduct, may prove a living reproach to the violence and injustice of some others amongst our contemporaries! Farewel.

LETTER

a true picture of Dolabella, what shall be said in excuse of Cicero, for having disposed of his daughter to him in marriage? Should any too partial advocate of Cicero's moral character endeavour to palliate this unfavourable circumstance, by telling us, that he had never enquired into Dolabella's conduct, might it not justly be suspected, that he meant to banter? Yet, this is the very reason which Cicero himself assigns, in the oration from whence the above passage is cited. *Et hic, dii immortales! aliquando fuit meus! occulta enim erat vitia non INQUIRENTI.* Strange! that a man who loved his daughter even to a degree of extravagance, should be so careless in an article wherein her happiness—But I need not finish the rest; where facts speak for themselves, let me be spared the pain of a comment. *Vid. Philip. xi. 14.*

⁴ See rem. 2. p. 329. vol. i.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

VATINIUS to CICERO.

I HAVE not been able to do any thing to the purpose, with regard to your librarian, Dionysius¹; and, indeed, my endeavours have hitherto proved so much the less effectual, as the severity of the weather, which obliged me to retreat out of Dalmatia, still detains me here. However, I will not desist till I have gotten him into my custody. But surely I am always to find some difficulty or other in executing your commands, why else did you write to me—I know not what, in favour of Catilius²? But avaunt, thou insidious tempter, with thy dangerous intercessions! And our friend Servilius, too, (for *mine* my heart prompts me to call him, as well as *yours*,) is, it seems, a joint petitioner with you in this request. Is it usual, then, I should be glad to know, with you orators, to be the advocates of such clients, and in such causes? Is it usual to plead in
behalf

¹ See let. 12. p. 33. of this vol.

² This man was quæstor in the year 702; and, during the civil war, was entrusted with some naval command; but it appears, by the present letter, that he had turned pirate, and committed great cruelties and depredations upon the coasts of Illyricum. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 421.*

behalf of the most cruel of the human race? in defence of a man who has murdered our fellow-citizens, plundered their houses, ravished their wives, and laid whole regions in desolation? This worthless wretch had the insolence, likewise, to take up arms against myself; and he is now, 'tis true, my prisoner. But tell me, my dear Cicero, in what manner can I act in this affair? I would not willingly refuse any thing to your request; and, as far as my own private resentment is concerned, I will, in compliance with your desires, remit the punishment I intended. But what shall I answer to those unhappy sufferers, who require satisfaction for the loss of their effects, and the destruction of their ships? who call for vengeance on the murderer of their brothers, their children, and their parents? Believe me, if I had succeeded to the impudence as well as to the office of Appius³, I could not have the assurance to withstand their cries for justice. Nevertheless, I will do every thing that lies in my power to gratify your

³ Manutius observes, that this is not the same Appius to whom the letters in the 3d book are addressed; and refers to a passage in Valerius Maximus, to prove, that he perished early in the civil wars. But so he undoubtedly might; and, nevertheless, be the same person here alluded to; for it by no means appears when, or in what post it was, that Vatinius succeeded to this Appius in question. Impudence, it is certain, was in the number of those qualities, which distinguished that Appius to whom the letters above-mentioned are written. *Vid. Ad Att. iv. 18.*

your inclinations. He is to be defended at his trial by Volusius: and, if his prosecutors can be vanquished by eloquence, there is great reason to expect that the force of your disciple's rhetoric will put them to flight.

I depend upon your being my advocate at Rome, if there should be any occasion. Cæsar, indeed, has not yet done me the justice to move for a public thanksgiving, for the success of my arms in Dalmatia: as if, in truth, I were not entitled to more, and might not justly claim the honour of a triumph! But as there are above threescore cities that have entered into an alliance with the Dalmatians, besides the twenty of which that country anciently consisted: if I am not to be honoured with a public thanksgiving, till I shall have taken every one of these considerable towns, I am by no means upon equal terms with the rest of our generals.

Immediately after the senate had appointed the former thanksgivings for my victories⁴, I

marched

⁴ There is some difficulty in reconciling what Vatinius here says of a supplication having been decreed by the senate, with the complaint he makes above against Cæsar, for having delayed to move the house for that purpose. Some of the commentators, therefore, have suspected, that this is the beginning of a distinct letter; and others, that it is a postscript, written a considerable distance of time from the body of the epistle. But Mr. Ross has offered, I think, a much better solution, by supposing that the thanksgiving,

marched into Dalmatia, where I attacked, and made myself master of, six of their towns.--- One of these, which was of very considerable strength, I might fairly say that I took four several times: for it was surrounded by a fortification consisting of four different walls, which were defended by as many forts; through all which I forced my way to the citadel, which I likewise compelled to surrender. But the excessive severity of the cold, together with the deep snows that fell at the same time, obliged me to retreat; so that I had the mortification, my dear Cicero, to find myself under the necessity of abandoning my conquests, just as I was upon the point of finishing the war. I entreat you, then, if occasion should require, to be my advocate with Cæsar, and in every other respect to take my interest under your protection; in the assurance, that no man possesses an higher degree of affection for you than myself.

Narona, Dec. the 15th.

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mentioned in the present paragraph, was one which had been decreed on account of some former successes of Vatinus in his province; and that the thanksgiving, concerning which he complains of Cæsar's neglect, was one that he was now soliciting in honour of those successes in Dalmatia, of which he here gives an account.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XII.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 709.]

To CURIUS¹.

'TIS true, I once both advised and exhorted you to return into Italy; but I am so far from being in the same sentiments at present, that, on the contrary, I wish to escape myself,

To some blest clime remote from Pelop's race².

My

¹ This is an answer to the 25th letter of the foregoing book.

² Alluding to the Cæsarian party. See rem. 7. p. 362. vol. ii.

My heart, indeed, most severely reproaches me, for submitting to be the witness of their unworthy deeds. Undoubtedly, my friend, you long since foresaw our evil days approaching, when you wisely took your flight from these unhappy regions: for though it must needs be painful to hear a relation of what is going forward amongst us, yet far more intolerable it surely is, to be the sad spectator of so wretched a scene. One advantage, at least, you have certainly gained by your absence: it has spared you the mortification of being present at the late general assembly for the election of quæstors. At seven in the morning, the tribunal of Quintus Maximus, the consul, as they called him³, was placed in the field of Mars⁴; when, news being brought of his sudden death, it was immediately removed. But Cæsar, notwithstanding he had taken the auspices⁵ as for an assembly of the tribes, converted it into that of

³ Cæsar (as Manutius observes) abdicated the consulship upon his late return from Spain, and arbitrarily appointed Quintus Maximus, together with Trebonius, consuls for the remaining part of the year. Maximus, therefore, not being legally elected, Cicero speaks of him as one whose title was acknowledged only by the prevailing faction.

⁴ Where the poll for the election of magistrates was usually taken. It was situated on the banks of the Tiber.

⁵ No assembly of the people could be regularly held, nor any public act performed, till the augurs had declared that the omens were favourable for the purpose in agitation.

of the centuries⁶, and, at one in the afternoon, declared Caninius duly elected consul. Be it recorded, then, that, during the consulate of Caninius, no man had time to dine, and yet that there was not a single disturbance of any kind committed: for he was a magistrate, you must know, of such wonderful vigilance, that he never once slept throughout his whole administration. The truth of it is, his administration continued only to the end of the year, and both expired the very next morning. But, ridiculous as these transactions may appear to you, who are placed at so great a distance from them, believe me, you could not refrain from tears, if you were to see them in all their true and odious colours. How would you be affected, then, were I to mention the numberless instances of the same arbitrary kind which daily occur!

⁶ The citizens of Rome were cast into three general divisions; into centuries, into curæ, and into tribes. Some account of the two latter has been already given in rem. 50. p. 202, and rem. 7. p. 474. vol. i. The former was an institution of Servius Tullius, who distributed the people into 193 centuries, according to the value of their respective possessions. These companies had a vote in all questions that came before the people assembled in this manner, and the majority of voices in each determined the suffrage of that particular century. But, as the patricians and the wealthiest citizens of the republic filled up 98 of these 189 classes, the inferior citizens were consequently deprived of all weight in the public deliberations. The prætors, consuls, and censors were elected by the people assembled in centuries; but the quæstors, ædiles, and tribunes, were chosen in an assembly of the tribes. *Dion. Halicarn. iv. 20.*

occur! For my own part, they would be utterly insupportable to me, had I not taken refuge in philosophy, and enjoyed, likewise, that friend⁷ of ours for the companion of my studies, whose *property*, you tell me, you are⁸.— However, since you assure me, at the same time, that all the benefit which can arise from you belongs solely to myself, I am perfectly well contented; for what can property give more?

Acilius, who is sent into Greece, at the head of some legions, as successor to Sulpicius, has great obligations to me; for I successfully defended him in two capital prosecutions, before the commencement of our public troubles. He is a man of a very grateful disposition, and one who, upon all occasions, treats me with much regard. Accordingly, I herewith send you a letter, which I have written to him in your favour, in the strongest terms; and I desire you will let me know what promises he shall give you in consequence of my recommendation. Farewel.

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⁷ Atticus.

⁸ See the beginning of Curius's letter to Cicero, p. 63. of this vol.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 709.]

To Auctus⁹, Proconsul.

IN confidence of that share you allow me in your esteem, and of which you gave me so many convincing proofs, during the times we continued together at Brundisium¹, I claim a sort of right of applying to you upon any occasion wherein I am particularly interested. I take the

⁹ The commentators imagine that this person is the same whom Cicero mentions in the foregoing letter to have succeeded to Sulpicius in the government of Greece; and that, therefore, either instead of Auctus, the true reading is Acilius, or that he was called Acilius Auctus. But, though it is altogether impossible to determine who the person was to whom this letter is addressed, or in what year it was written, yet it seems highly probable that Acilius and Auctus were different men; for Cicero, in the preceding epistle, mentions Acilius as one on whom he had conferred some very important services: whereas, in the present letter, Cicero appears to have been the person obliged. Now it is by no means credible that our author, if he had ever done any good offices to Auctus, should have been totally silent upon a circumstance which would have given him a much higher claim to the favour he was requesting, than any which he produces. And the incredibility grows still stronger, when it is remembered that Cicero never fails to display his services upon all occasions in which he can with any propriety mention them. But on which side soever of this question the truth may lie, it is a point of such very little consequence, that perhaps it will scarce justify even this short remark.

¹ Probably during Cicero's residence in that city, upon his return into Italy, after the battle of Pharsalia; an account of which has been given in the foregoing observations.

the liberty, therefore, of writing to you, in behalf of Marcus Curius, a merchant at Patræ, with whom I am most intimately united. Many are the good offices which have mutually passed between us; and, what indeed is of the greatest weight, they reciprocally flowed from the most perfect affection. If, then, you have reason to promise yourself any advantage from my friendship; if you are inclined to render the obligations you have formerly conferred upon me, if possible, even still more valuable; in a word, if you are persuaded that I hold a place in the esteem of every person in your family, let these considerations induce you to comply with my request in favour of Curius. Receive him, I conjure you, under your protection, and preserve both his person and his property from every injury and every inconvenience to which they may be exposed. In the mean time, I will venture to assure you myself, (what all your family will, I doubt not, confirm) that you may depend upon deriving great satisfaction from my friendship, as well as much advantage from the faithful returns of my gratitude. Farewel.

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LETTER III.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CURIUS.

YOUR letter affords me a very evident proof that I possess the highest share of your esteem, and that you are sensible how much you are endeared to me in return; both which I have ever been desirous should be placed beyond a doubt. Since, then, we are thus firmly assured of each other's affection, let us endeavour to vie in our mutual good offices; a contest in which I am perfectly indifferent on which side the superiority may appear.

I am well pleased that you had no occasion to deliver my letter to Acilius². I find, likewise, that you had not much for the services of Sulpicius; having made so great a progress, it seems, in your affairs, as to have curtailed them (to use your own ludicrous expression) both of *head* and *feet*. I wish, however, you had spared the *latter*, that they might *proceed* a little faster, and give us an opportunity of one day seeing you again in Rome. We want you, indeed, in order to preserve that good old vein of pleasantry which is now, you may perceive, well-nigh

² See the latter end of the first letter in this book.

well-nigh worn out amongst us: insomuch that Atticus may properly enough say, as he often, you know used, "if it were not for two or three of us, my friends, what would become of the ancient glory of Athens!" Indeed, as the honour of being the chief support of Attic elegance devolved upon Pomponius², when you left Italy; so, in his absence, it has now descended upon me. Hasten your return, then, I beseech you, my friend, lest every spark of wit, as well as of liberty, should be irrecoverably extinguished with the republic. Farewel,

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

I HAVE the satisfaction to find, by your very obliging letter, that my last was safely delivered. I doubted not of its affording you pleasure; and, therefore, was so much the more uneasy lest it should lose its way. You inform me, at the same time, that a war is broken out in Syria¹, and that Cæsar has given you the government of this province. I wish you much joy of your command, and hope success will attend

¹ Pomponius Atticus.² See rem. 7. on let. 26. of the preceding book.

attend it: as, in full confidence of your wisdom and vigilance, I am well persuaded it will. Nevertheless, I am truly alarmed at what you mention concerning the invasion, which, it is suspected, the Parthians are meditating. I find by your letter, that the number of your forces is agreeable to what I should have conjectured: I hope, therefore, that these people will not put themselves in motion, till the legions which I hear are ordered to your assistance, shall arrive. But if you should not, even with these supplies, find yourself in a condition to face the enemy; I need not remind you to follow the maxim of your predecessor Marcus Bibulus, who, you know, during the whole time that the Parthians continued in your province, most gallantly shut himself up in a strong garrison⁴. Yet, after all, circumstances will best determine in what manner it will be proper for you to act: in the mean time I shall be extremely anxious, till I receive an account of your operations.

As

⁴ This seems to be intended as a sneer upon the conduct of Bibulus. Cicero was governor of Cilicia when Bibulus commanded in Syria, and they both solicited, at the same time, the honour of a public thanksgiving for the success of their respective arms. Cato gave his suffrage, upon this occasion, in favour of Bibulus; but refused it to Cicero; a preference which extremely exasperated the latter, and which was, probably, the principal cause of that contempt with which he speaks of Bibulus in the present passage. See vol. ii. p. 50. rem. 2.

As I have never omitted any opportunity of writing to you, I hope you will observe the same punctuality with respect to me. But above all, let me desire you to represent me in your letters to your friends and family as one who is entirely yours. Farewel.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 709.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS' to MARCUS BRUTUS
and CAIUS CASSIUS.

YOU will judge by this letter, in what posture our affairs stand. I received a visit yesterday in

⁵ Decimus Brutus, of the same family with Marcus Brutus, served under Cæsar in the wars in Gaul: at the end of which, in the year 703, he returned to Rome, and was chosen one of the city quæstors. It does not appear that he distinguished himself by any thing remarkable, till he engaged with Marcus Brutus and Cassius in the conspiracy against his friend and benefactor. This was executed, as all the world knows, by stabbing Cæsar in the senate, on the ides, or the 15th of March, a few weeks before the present letter was written. When one considers the characters of those who were the principal actors in this memorable tragedy, it is astonishing that they should have looked no farther than merely to the taking away of Cæsar's life: as if they imagined, that the government must necessarily return into its proper channel, as soon as the person who had obstructed its course, was removed. They were altogether, therefore, unprepared for those very probable contingencies which they ought to have had in view, and which accordingly ensued. Whatever then may be determined as to the patriotism of the fact itself, it was, unquestionably, conducted, as Cicero frequently and justly complains, by the weakest and most impolitic counsels. Antony, (who was at this time consul) although

in the evening from Hirtius⁶, who convinced me of Antony's extreme perfidy and ill intentions towards us. He assured Hirtius, it seems, that he could by no means consent I should take possession of the province, to which I have been nominated⁷; and that both the army and the populace were so highly incensed against us, that he imagined we could none of us continue with any safety in Rome. You are sensible, I dare say, that both these assertions are as absolutely false, as that it is undoubtedly true, what Hirtius added, that Antony is apprehensive if we should gain the least increase of power, it will be impossible for him and his party to maintain their ground. I thought, under these difficulties, the most prudent step I could take, for our common interest, would

be

though he thought proper, at first, to carry a fair appearance towards the conspirators, yet secretly raised such a spirit against them, that they found it expedient to withdraw from Rome. Brutus and Cassius retired to Lanuvium, a villa belonging to the former, about fifteen miles from the city: at which place they probably were, when Decimus Brutus, who had not yet left Rome, wrote the following letter.

⁶ Hirtius was warmly attached to Cæsar, and extremely regretted his death: but as he was disgusted with Antony, and perhaps jealous too of his rising power, he seems to have opposed the cause he approved, merely from a spirit of personal pique and envy. *Vid. Ad. Att. xiv. 22: xv. 6.*

⁷ Cæsar, a short time before his death, had nominated Decimus Brutus to the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and Antony to that of Macedonia. But as Gaul lay more conveniently for Antony's present purposes, his design was to procure the administration of it for himself.

be to request that an honorary legation⁸ might be decreed to each of us; in order to give some decent colour to our leaving Rome. Accordingly, Hirtius has promised to obtain this grant in our favour; though I must add, at the same time, such a spirit is raised against us in the senate, that I am by no means clear he will be able to perform his engagement. And should he succeed, yet I am persuaded it will not be long ere they declare us public enemies, or at least sentence us to banishment. It appears to me, therefore, our wisest method, in the present conjuncture, to submit to Fortune, and withdraw to Rhodes, or to some other secure part of the world. We may there adjust our measures to public circumstances, and either return to Rome, or remain in exile, as affairs shall hereafter appear with a more or less inviting aspect: or if the worst should happen, we may have recourse to the last desperate expedient^a. Should it be asked, "why not attempt some-
" thing at present, rather than wait a more

" distant

⁸ The senators could not be long absent from Rome without leave of the senate. When their private affairs, therefore, required their attendance abroad, it was usual to apply for what they called a *legatio libera*, which gave a sanction to their absence, and invested them with a sort of travelling title, that procured them the greater respect and honours in the countries through which they passed, and in the place where they proposed to reside.

^a That is, (as the commentators explain it) by arming the slaves, throwing open the prisons, and raising foreign nations in their defence.

" distant period?" My answer is, because I know not where we can hope to make a stand, unless we should go either to Sextus Pompeius⁹, or to Cæcilius Bassus¹. It is probable, indeed, that when the news of Cæsar's death shall be spread through their respective provinces, it may much contribute to strengthen their party; however, it will be soon enough to join them, when we shall know the state of their forces.

If you and Cassius are desirous I should enter into any engagement on your behalf, I shall very readily be your sponsor: and, indeed, it is a condition which Hirtius requires. I desire, therefore, you would acquaint me with your resolution, as soon as possible: for I expect, before ten o'clock, to receive an appointment from Hirtius to meet him upon these affairs. Let me know, at the same time, where I shall find you.

As

⁹ Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey, was in Corduba, when his brother Cneius gave battle to Cæsar, Cneius attempting to make his escape, after the total defeat of his army, was killed by some of the conqueror's soldiers: but Sextus, upon the enemy's approach, in order to lay siege to Corduba, secretly abandoned that city, and concealed himself till Cæsar's return into Italy. The latter had no sooner left Spain, than Sextus collected his broken forces: and a short time after this letter was written, he appeared at the head of no less than six legions. *Hirt. de Bel. Hisp. Dio. pag. 274.*

¹ An account of him has already been given in rem. 7. p. 65. of this vol.

As soon as Hirtius shall have given me his final answer, I purpose to apply to the senate, that a guard may be appointed to attend us in Rome. I do not suppose they will comply with this request, as our appearing to stand in need of such a protection, will render them extremely odious. But how successful soever my demands may prove, I shall not be discouraged from making such as I think reasonable. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TIRO.

NOTWITHSTANDING I wrote this morning by Harpatus, and nothing new has since occurred: yet I cannot forbear making use of this opportunity of conveying a second letter to you upon the same subject: not, however, as entertaining the least distrust of your care, but because the business in which I have employed you, is of the last importance to me¹. My whole design

¹ As Cicero was known to favour the conspirators, he did not think it prudent to trust himself in Rome after Brutus and Cassius had found it necessary to withdraw from thence: and, accordingly, he soon afterwards followed their example, by retiring into the country. His intention at this time was, to make a tour into Greece for a few months; and with that view he had dispatched Tiro to Rome, in order to call in the several monies which were due to him, and likewise to discharge some debts which he had himself contracted.

design, indeed, in parting with you was, that you might thoroughly settle my affairs. I desire, therefore, in the first place, that the demands of Otillius and Aurelius may be satisfied. Your next endeavour must be to obtain part, at least, if you cannot procure the whole, of what is due to me from Flamma: and particularly insist on his making this payment by the first of January². With regard to that debt which was assigned over to me; I beg you would exert your utmost diligence to recover it; but, as to the advance-payment of the other not yet due, I leave you to act as you shall judge proper. And this much for my private concerns. As to those of the public, I desire you would send me all the certain intelligence you can collect. Let me know what Octavius⁴ and Antony are doing; what is the general

² When the new consuls were to enter upon their office; by which time, Cicero proposed to return to Rome.

⁴ Octavius, who was afterwards known and celebrated by the name of Augustus Cæsar, was the son of Attia, Julius Cæsar's niece. His uncle, who designed him for the heir, both of his power and his fortunes, had sent him, about six months before his death, to Apollonia, a learned seminary of great note in Macedonia. In this place he was to prosecute his studies and exercises, till Cæsar, who proposed he should accompany him in his intended expedition against the Parthians, should call upon him in his march to that country. But as soon as Octavius was informed of the death of Cæsar, and that he had appointed him his heir, he immediately hastened to Rome: and the eyes of every body, but particularly of Cicero, were now attentively turned towards him, in order

general opinion of Rome; and what turn you imagine affairs are likely to take. I can scarcely forbear running into the midst of the scene: but I restrain myself, in the expectation of your letter.

Your news concerning Balbus, proves true; he was at Aquinum at the time you were told; and Hirtius followed him thither the next day. I imagine they are both going to the waters of Baiæ: but let me know what you can discover of their motions.

Do not forget to remind the agents of Dolabella: nor to insist upon the payment of what is due from Papia. Farewel.

LETTER

to discover in what manner he would act in this very critical situation, both of his own affairs, and those of the republic. *Dio. p. 271. Appian. Bel. Civil. ii.*

³ It appears by the letters written to Atticus at this time, that Cicero had some considerable demands upon Dolabella; which arose, it is probable, from the latter not having yet returned the whole of Tullia's portion, agreeably to the Roman laws in cases of divorce.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 709.]

To BITHYNICUS⁶.

I HAVE many reasons to wish that the republic may be restored: but, believe me, the promise you give me in your letter, renders it still more ardently my desire. You assure me, if that happy event should take place, you will consecrate your whole time to me: an assurance which I received with the greatest pleasure, as it is perfectly agreeable to the friendship in which we are united, and to the opinion which that excellent man your father⁷ entertained of me. You have received more considerable services, I confess, from the men who are, or lately were, in power, than any that I have been capable of conferring upon you: but, in all other respects, there is no person whose connexions with you are of a stronger kind than my own. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that I find, you

⁶ This person is supposed, by Manutius, to be the son of Quintus Pompeius, who obtained the name of Bithynicus, in honour of his conquest of Bithynia.

⁷ Cicero mentions him in his treatise of celebrated orators, as one with whom he had enjoyed a particular friendship. He attended Pompey in his flight after the battle of Pharsalia, and perished with him in Egypt. *Cic. de clar. orat. 240.*

you not only preserve our friendship in your remembrance, but are desirous, likewise, of increasing its strength. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TIRO.

IF you should have an opportunity, you may register the money you mention: though, indeed, it is an acquisition which it is not absolutely requisite to enrol³. However, it may, perhaps, be as well.

I have received a letter from Balbus, wherein he excuses himself for not giving me an account of Antony's intentions concerning the law I inquired after; because he has gotten, it seems, a violent defluction upon his eyes. Excellent excuse, it must be owned! For if a man is not able to write; most certainly, you know, he cannot dictate! But let the world go as it will, so I may sit down quietly here in the country.

I have written to Bithynicus.—As to what you mention concerning Servilius; you, who are a young man, may think length of days a desirable circumstance; but, for myself, I have

no

³ The censors every five years numbered the people: at which time each citizen was obliged to give an exact account of his estate. But, if in the interval, a man had made any new acquisition, he was required to enter it before the prætor.

no such wish². Atticus, nevertheless imagines, that I am still as anxious for the preservation of my life as he once knew me; not observing how firmly I have since fortified my heart with all the strength of philosophy. The truth of it is, he is now seized in his turn with a panic himself; and would endeavour to infect me with the same groundless apprehensions. But it is my intention to preserve that friendship unviolated, which I have so long enjoyed with Antony¹: and, accordingly, I intend writing to him very soon. I shall

² Servilius Isauricus died about this time, in an extreme old age: Manutius conjectures, therefore, and with great probability, that Tiro, in the letter to which the present is an answer, had given Cicero an account of this event, and, at the same time, expressed his wishes of living to the same advanced period.

¹ Both Antony and Cicero seem to have been equally unwilling, at this time, to come to an open rupture: but, as to a real friendship between them, it is highly probable there never had been any. On the part of Antony, at least, there were some very strong family reasons to alienate him from Cicero. For Antony's father married the widow of Lentulus, whom Cicero had put to death as an accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy; and he, himself, was married to Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, Cicero's most inveterate enemy. These alliances must unquestionably have made impressions upon Antony's mind, little favourable to sentiments of amity: and, probably, contributed, among other reasons, to kindle that resentment which terminated in Cicero's destruction: but whatever the true motive of their enmity towards each other might have been; the first coolness seems to have arisen on the side of Antony: and, if Cicero had resented it with greater moderation, he would have acted, perhaps, with more prudence in regard to the public interest, as well as in respect to his own. *Vid. Ad Att. xiv. 19.*

shall defer my letter, however, till your return: but I do not mention this with any design of calling you off from the business you are transacting², and which, indeed, is much more nearly my concern.

I expect a visit from Lepta to-morrow: and shall have occasion for all the sweets of your conversation, to temper the bitterness with which his will be attended. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 709.]

TO DOLABELLA, Consul³.

I DESIRE no greater satisfaction, my dear Dolabella, than what arises to me from the disinterested part I take in the glory you have lately acquired: however, I cannot but acknowledge, I am infinitely pleased to find, that the world gives me a share in the merit of your late applauded conduct. I daily meet, in this place,

great

² See rem. 2. p. 86. of this vol.

³ Cæsar had appointed Dolabella to succeed him in the consulship as soon as he should set out upon his Parthian expedition; and, accordingly, Dolabella, upon the death of Cæsar, immediately assumed the administration of that office. His conduct in this critical conjuncture had rendered it somewhat doubtful which side he was most disposed to favour: but an accident had lately happened which gave the friends of the republic great hopes that he would support the cause of the conspirators. Some of Cæsar's freedmen had erected

a sort

great numbers of the first rank in Rome, who are assembled here for the benefit of their health, as well as a multitude of my friends from the principal cities in Italy: and they all agree in joining their particular thanks to me, with those unbounded praises they bestow upon you. They every one of them, indeed, tell me, that they are persuaded it is owing to your compliance with my counsels and admonitions, that you approve yourself so excellent a patriot and so worthy a consul. I might, with strict truth assure them, that you are much superior to the want of being advised by any man; and that your actions are the free and genuine result of your own uninfluenced judgment. But although I do not entirely acquiesce in their compliment, as it would lessen the credit of your conduct, if it should be supposed to flow altogether from my suggestions; yet, neither do I wholly reject it: for the love of praise is a passion, which I am apt, you know, somewhat

a sort of altar, upon the spot where his body had been burnt: at which the populace daily assembled in the most tumultuous and alarming manner. Dolabella, in the absence of his colleague Antony, interposed his consular authority in order to suppress this mob: and having caused the altar to be demolished, he exerted a very seasonable act of severity, by commanding the principal ringleaders of the riot to be instantly put to death. It was this that produced the following letter from Cicero, written from some place of public resort, probably from the Baths of Balne. *Dio. p. 240. 267. Ad Att. xiv. 15.*

what too immoderately to indulge. Yet, after all, to take counsel of a Nestor, as it was an honour to the character even of that king of kings, Agamemnon himself, it cannot surely be unbecoming the dignity of yours. It is certainly, at least, much to the credit of mine, that while in this early period of your life[†], you are thus exercising the supreme magistracy with universal admiration and applause; you are considered as directed by my guidance and formed by my instructions.

I lately paid a visit to Lucius Cæsar[‡], at Naples; and though I found him extremely indisposed, and full of pain in every part of his body, yet the moment I entered his chamber he raised himself with an air of transport, and without allowing himself time to salute me, "O my dear Cicero, said he, I give you joy of your influence over Dolabella, and had I the same credit with my nephew, our country might
" now

[†] Dolabella was, at this time, no more than twenty-five years of age: which was almost twenty years earlier than he could legally have offered himself as a candidate for the consular dignity; the Roman laws having very wisely provided that no man should be capable of exercising this important office till he had attained the age of forty-two.

[‡] He was a distant relation to Julius Cæsar, and uncle to Mark Antony. Upon the celebrated coalition of the triumvirate, he was sacrificed by Antony to the resentment of Octavius: as, in return, Cicero was delivered up to the vengeance of Antony. But Lucius escaped the consequence of this proscription by the means of Julia, Antony's mother. *Plut. in vit. Ant.*

" now be preserved. But I not only congratulate your friend on his worthy conduct, but desire you would return him my particular acknowledgments: as, indeed, he is the single consul who has acted with true spirit, since you filled that office." He then proceeded to enlarge upon your late glorious action, representing it as equal to the most illustrious and important service that ever was rendered to the commonwealth. And in this he only echoed the general voice of the whole republic. Suffer me, then, to take possession of those encomiums to which I am by no means entitled, and, in some sort, to participate with you in that general applause you have acquired. To be serious, however, (for you will not imagine that I make this request in good earnest) I would much rather resign to you the whole of my own glory, (if there be any, indeed, I can justly claim) than arrogate to myself the least portion of that which is so unquestionably your due. For as you cannot but be sensible that I have ever loved you, so your late behaviour has raised that affection into the highest possible ardour: as, in truth, there cannot be any thing more engagingly fair, more irresistibly amiable, than the patriot virtues. I need not tell you how greatly the exalted talents and polite man-
ners,

ners, together with the singular spirit and probity of Marcus Brutus, had ever endeared him to my heart. Nevertheless, his late glorious achievement on the ides of March, has wonderfully heightened that esteem I bore him: and which I had always looked upon as too exalted to admit of any farther advance. In the same manner, who would have imagined that my friendship towards yourself was capable of increase? yet it actually has increased so very considerably, that the former sentiments of my heart seem to have been nothing more than common affection, in comparison of that transcendent passion which I now feel for you.

Can it be necessary that I should either exhort you to preserve the glory you have acquired, or, agreeably to the usual style of admonition, set before your view some animating examples of illustrious merit? I could mention none for this purpose more forcible than your own: and you have only to endeavour to act up to the character you have already attained. It is impossible, indeed, after having performed so signal a service to your country, that you should ever deviate from yourself. Instead, therefore, of sending you any unnecessary exhortations, let me rather congratulate you upon this noble display of your patriotism. It is your privilege (and a privilege, perhaps,

perhaps, which no one ever enjoyed before) to have exercised the severest acts of necessary justice, not only without incurring any odium, but with the greatest popularity: with the approbation of the lowest, as well as of the best and highest amongst us. If this were a circumstance in which chance had any share, I should congratulate your good fortune: but it was the effect of a noble and undaunted resolution, under the guidance of the strongest and most enlightened judgment. I say this, from having read the speech you made upon this occasion to the people; and never was any harangue more judiciously composed. You open and explain the fact with so much address, and gradually rise through the several circumstances in so artful a manner, as to convince all the world that the affair was mature for your animadversion. In a word, you have delivered the commonwealth in general, as well as the city of Rome in particular, from the dangers with which they were threatened: and not only performed a singular service to the present generation, but set forth a most useful example for times to come. You will consider yourself, then, as the great support of the republic; and remember, she expects that you will not only protect, but distinguish those illustrious per-

sons⁶ who have laid the foundation for the recovery of our liberties. But I hope soon to have an opportunity of expressing my sentiments to you more fully upon this subject in person. In the mean while, since you are thus our glorious guardian and preserver, I conjure you, my dear Dolabella, to take care of yourself for the sake of the whole commonwealth⁷. Farewel.

LETTER

⁶ Brutus and Cassius, together with the rest of the conspirators.

⁷ Cicero communicated a copy of this letter to Atticus, who appears to have much disapproved of those encomiums with which it is so extravagantly swelled. The hyperbole, indeed, seems to have been the prevailing figure in Cicero's rhetoric; and he generally dealt it out, both to his friends and to his enemies, with more warmth than discretion. In the present instance, at least, he was either very easily imposed upon by appearances, or he changed his opinion of Dolabella's public actions and designs, according to the colour of his conduct towards himself. Perhaps, both these causes might concur, in forming those great and sudden variations which we find in our author's sentiments at this period, with respect to the hero of the panegyric before us: for, in a letter to Atticus, written very shortly after the present, he speaks of Dolabella with high displeasure; and, in another to the same person, a few months later, he exclaims against him with much bitterness, as one who had not only been bribed by Antony to desert the cause of liberty, but who had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, entirely to ruin it. The accusation seems to have been just; but, it is observable, however, that in both the letters referred to, part of Cicero's indignation arises from some personal ill-treatment which he complains of having received from Dolabella. *Vid. Ad Att. xiv. 18. xvi. 15.*

LETTER X.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TREBONIUS⁸.

I HAVE recommended my *Orator* (for that is the title which I have given to the treatise I promised to send you) to the care of your freedman Sabinus. I was induced to trust it in his charge, from the good opinion I entertain of his countrymen: if, indeed, I may guess at his country by his name⁹, and he has not, like an artful candidate at an election, usurped an appellation to which he has no right¹. However, there

⁸ Some account has already been given of Trebonius in rem. 4. p. 181. vol. ii. Cæsar, upon his return from Spain, in the preceding year, appointed him consul with Quintus Fabius Maximus; but this and other favours of the same kind were not sufficient to restrain him from entering into the conspiracy which was soon afterwards formed against Cæsar's life. At the same time, therefore, that Brutus and Cassius found it expedient to leave Rome, Trebonius secretly withdrew into Asia Minor, which had before been allotted to him as his proconsular province: and he was on his way to that government when the present letter was written. *Dia. p. 236, 247. Ad Att. xiv. 10.*

⁹ Cicero supposes that Sabinus was so called as being a native of Sabinia, a country in Italy, the inhabitants of which were celebrated for having long retained an uncorrupted simplicity of manners. *Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini*, is Virgil's conclusion of that charming description which he gives of the pleasing labours and innocent recreations of rural life. *Georg. ii. 532.*

¹ It was an artifice sometimes practised by the candidates for offices, in order to recommend themselves to the

there is such a modesty in his countenance, and such an air of sincerity in his conversation, that I am much deceived if he does not possess, in some degree, at least, the true Sabine simplicity. But not to suffer him to take up any more of my paper, I will now turn, my dear Trebonius, to yourself. As there were some circumstances attending your departure that increased the affection I bear towards you, let me entreat you, in order to sooth the uneasiness I feel from your absence, to be as frequent a correspondent on your part, as you shall certainly find me on mine. There are two reasons, indeed, why you ought to be more so; the first is, that, as the republic can now no longer be considered as in Rome, but removed with its glorious defenders, we, who remain here, must expect to receive from our provincial friends what we used to transmit to them; an account, I mean, of the commonwealth. The next reason is, because I have many other opportunities in your absence, besides that of writing, to give you proofs of my friendship: whereas, you have none, I think, of testifying yours, but by the frequency of your letters. As to all other articles, I can wait; but my first and most

good graces of their constituents, to pretend a kindred to which they had no right, by assuming the name of some favourite and popular family. *Manut.*

most impatient desire, is to know what sort of journey you have had, where you met Brutus², and how long you continued together. When you are advanced farther towards your province, you will acquaint me, I hope, with your military preparations, and with whatever else relates to our public affairs, that I may be able to form some judgment of our situation. I am sure, at least, I shall give no credit to any intelligence but what I receive from your hands. In the mean time, take care of your health, and continue to allow me the same singular share of your affection which I have always enjoyed. Farewel.

LETTER

² Brutus had not left Italy when Trebonius set out for Asia, nor did he leave it till several months afterwards: so that the inquiry which Cicero here makes, must relate to some interview which he supposed that Trebonius might have had with Brutus before the former embarked. *Vid. Ad Att. xiv. 10.*

H 3

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 709.]

TREBONIUS TO CICERO³.

I ARRIVED at Athens on the 22d of this month, where, agreeably to my wishes, I had the satisfaction of finding your son in the pursuit of the noblest improvements, and in the highest esteem for his modest and ingenuous behaviour⁴. As you perfectly well know the place you possess in my heart, you will judge, without my telling you, how much pleasure this circumstance afforded me. In conformity, indeed, to the unfeigned friendship which had so long been cemented between us, I rejoice in every advantage that can attend you, be it ever so inconsiderable; much more, therefore, in one so important to your happiness. Believe me, my dear Cicero, I do not flatter you when I say, there is not a youth in all this seminary of learning more ardently devoted to those refined and elevated arts which are so peculiarly your passion, or who, in every view of his character, is more truly amiable, than our young man. I call him *ours*, for, be assured, I

³ This letter seems to have been written before the preceding epistle had reached the hands of Trebonius.

⁴ See the remarks on let. 37. of this book.

cannot separate myself from any thing with which you are connected. It is with great pleasure, therefore, as well as with strict justice, I congratulate both you and myself, that a youth for whom we ought to have some affection, whatever his disposition might be, is of a character to deserve our highest. As he intimated a desire of seeing Asia, I not only invited, but pressed him to take the opportunity of visiting that province whilst I presided there: and you will not doubt of my supplying your place in every tender office of paternal care. But that you may not be apprehensive this scheme will prove an interruption of those studies, to which, I know, he is continually animated by your exhortations, Cratippus⁵ shall be of our party. Nor shall your son want my earnest incitements to advance daily in those sciences, into which he has already made so successful an entrance.

I am wholly ignorant of what is going forward at Rome; only I hear some uncertain rumours of commotions amongst you. But I hope there is no foundation for this report; that we may one day sit down in the peaceful possession of our liberties, retired from the noise and bustle of the world: a privilege which hitherto

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⁵ See rem. 3. p. 171. of this vol.

it has not been my fortune to enjoy. However, having had a short relaxation from business during my voyage to this place, I amused myself with putting together a few thoughts, which I always designed as a present to you. In this performance I have inserted that lively observation which you formerly made so much to my honour, and have pointed out, by a note at the bottom, to whom I am indebted for the compliment. If, in some passages of this piece, I should appear to have taken great liberties; I shall be justified, I persuade myself, by the character of the man at whom my invective is aimed⁶: and you will, undoubtedly, excuse the just indignation I have expressed against a person of such infamous principles. Why, indeed, may I not be indulged in the same unbounded licence as was allowed to honest Lucilius⁷? He could not be animated with greater abhorrence of the vices, which he has so freely attacked; and, certainly, they were not more worthy of satire than those against which I have inveighed.

I hope you will remember your promise, and take the first opportunity of introducing me as a party in some of your future dialogues. I doubt not, if you should write any thing upon the subject

⁶ Probably at Antony.

⁷ See rem. 8. p. 319. vol. ii.

ject of Cæsar's death, that you will give an instance of your friendship and your justice, by ascribing to me no inconsiderable share of that glorious transaction.

I recommend my mother and family to your good offices, and bid you farewell.

Athens, May the 25th.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO MATIUS⁸.

I KNOW not whether it is with greater pain or pleasure, that I reflect on the visit which I lately received from our very good friend, the well-natured Trebatius. He called upon me the next morning after my arrival at Tusculum:

⁸ It is principally owing to this and the following letter, that the name and character of Matius are known to posterity: as he is nowhere mentioned by any of the ancient historians of this memorable period. His inviolable and disinterested affection to Cæsar, together with the generous courage with which he avowed that attachment when Cæsar was no more; as they strongly mark out the virtues of his heart, so they will best appear by his own spirited reply to the present epistle. But Matius was as much distinguished by his genius as his virtues: and he was perfectly well accomplished in those arts, which contribute to the innocent pleasure and embellishment of human life. Gardening and poetry, in particular, seem to have been his favourite amusements: in the former of which, his countrymen were indebted to him for some useful improvements; as they likewise were in the latter, for an elegant translation of the Iliad. *Columel.* xii. 44. *Aul. Gel.* vi. 6. ix. 4.

lum: and as he was, by no means, sufficiently recovered from his late indisposition, I could not forbear reproving him for thus hazarding his health. He interrupted me with saying, that nothing was of more importance to him than the business which brought him to my house: and upon my enquiry if any thing new had occurred; he immediately entered into an account of your complaints against me. But before I give them a particular answer, let me begin with a few previous reflections.

Amongst all my acquaintance, I cannot recollect any man with whom I have longer enjoyed a friendship, than with yourself; and, although there are several for whom my affection commenced as early, there are few for whom it has risen so high. The truth of it is, I conceived an esteem for you from the first moment I saw you: and I had reason to believe, that you thought of me in the same favourable manner. But your long absence from Rome, which immediately succeeded our first acquaintance, together with that active course of life wherein I was engaged, and which was so entirely different from yours, did not, at that time, admit of our improving this mutual disposition, by a more frequent intercourse. Nevertheless, even so long ago as when Cæsar

was in Gaul, and many years before the commencement of the civil war, I experienced your friendly inclinations towards me. For as you imagined that my union with Cæsar would be greatly advantageous on my side, and not altogether unserviceable to his, you generously recommended me to his favour, and was the cause of his cultivating my friendship. I forbear to mention several instances which occurred at that period, of the unreserved manner in which we both conversed and corresponded together: as they were followed by others of a more important nature. At the opening of the civil war, when you were going to meet Cæsar at Brundisium, you paid me a visit in my Formian villa. This single favour, had it been attended with no other, was, at such a critical juncture, an ample testimony of your affection. But can I ever forget the generous advice you so kindly gave me at the same time: and of which Trebatius, I remember, was himself a witness? Can I ever forget the letter you afterwards wrote to me, when you went to join Cæsar in the district, if I mistake not, of Trebula? It was soon after this, that, either by gratitude, by honour, or perhaps by fate, I was determined to follow Pompey into Greece; and was there any instance of an obliging zeal, which you did not exert in my absence, both
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for me and for my family? was there any one, in short, whom either they or I had more reason to esteem our friend? But I returned to Brundisium: and can I forget (let me ask once more, with what an obliging expedition you hastened, as soon as you heard of my arrival, to meet me at Tarentum? How friendly were your visits; how kind your endeavours to reason me out of that dejection, into which the dread of our general calamities had sunk me! At length, however, I returned to Rome: where every proof of the greatest intimacy, and upon occasions too of the most important kind, mutually passed between us. It was by your directions and advice, that I learned to regulate my conduct with respect to Cæsar: and as to other instances of your friendship, where was the man, except Cæsar himself, at whose house you more frequently visited, or upon whom you bestowed so many agreeable hours of your conversation? in some of which, you may remember, it was, that you encouraged me to engage in my philosophical writings. When Cæsar afterwards returned from compleating his victories, it was your first and principal endeavour to establish me again in his friendship: and it was an endeavour, in which you perfectly well succeeded. But to what purpose, you will ask, perhaps, this long detail? Longer, indeed, I must acknowledge

knowledge it is, than I was myself aware: however, the use I would make of these several circumstances, is to shew you how much reason I have to be surprised, that you, who well know the truth of them, should believe me capable of having acted inconsistently with such powerful ties. But besides these motives of my attachment to you; motives known and visible to the whole world; there are others of a far less conspicuous kind: and which I am at a loss to represent in the terms they deserve. Every part, indeed, of your character I admire: but when I consider you as the wise, the firm and the faithful friend; as the polite, the witty, and the learned companion; these, I confess, are the striking points amidst your many other illustrious qualifications, with which I am particularly charmed. But it is time to return to the complaints you have alledged against me. Be assured then, I never once credited the report of your having voted for the law you mentioned to Trebatius: and, indeed, if I had, I should have been well persuaded that you were induced to concur in promoting it, upon some very just and rational motive. But as the dignity of your character draws upon you the observation of all the world; the malevolence of mankind will, sometimes, give severer constructions to your actions, than most certainly

certainly they merit. If no instances of this kind have ever reached your knowledge, I know not in what manner to proceed in my justification. Believe me, however, I have always defended you, upon these occasions, with the same warmth and spirit, with which I am sensible you are wont to oppose, on your part, the calumnies that are thrown out upon myself. Thus, with regard to the law I just now mentioned, I have always peremptorily denied the truth of the charge: and as to your having been one of the managers of the late⁹ games, I have constantly insisted that you acted agreeably to those pious offices that are due to the memory of a departed friend. In respect to the latter, however, you cannot be ignorant, that if Cæsar was really a tyrant, (as I think he was¹) your zeal may be considered

¹ At the time when Cæsar was killed, he was preparing, agreeably to a vow which he had made at the battle of Pharsalia, to exhibit some games in honour of Venus; a divinity, from whom he affected to be thought a descendant. Octavius, soon after his return to Rome, upon the death of Cæsar, celebrated these games at his own expence: and Matius undertook to be one of the managers. As this was a public spark of respect paid to the memory of Cæsar, and might tend to inflame the minds of the populace against the conspirators, it gave much disgust to the friends of the republic: and Cicero, it is probable, was in the number of those who had openly spoken of it with displeasure. He did so, at least, in a letter to Atticus. *Vid. Ad Att. xv. 2. Appian. Bel. Civil. ii. 407.*

² "It is with injustice (said the celebrated queen of Sweden) that Cæsar is accused of being a tyrant: if to govern

considered in two very different views. It may be said, (and it is an argument which I never fail to urge in your favour) that you shewed a very commendable fidelity, in thus displaying your affection to a departed friend. On the other hand, it may be alledged (and, in fact, it is alledged) that the liberties of our country ought to be far preferable even to the life itself of those whom we hold most dear. I wish you had been informed of the part I have always taken, whenever this question has been started. But there are two circumstances that reflect the brightest lustre upon your character, and which none of your friends more frequently or more warmly commemorate, than myself; I mean your having always most strongly recommended pacific measures to Cæsar, and constantly advised him to use his victory with moderation: in both which, the whole world is agreed with me in acknowledging your merit.

I think "govern Rome was the most important service he could have performed to his country." It is certain that the republic was well-nigh reduced to a state of total anarchy, when Cæsar usurped the command: but it is equally certain, that he, himself, had been the principal author and fomentor of those confusions, which rendered an absolute authority the only possible expedient for reducing the commonwealth into a state of tranquillity and good order. If this be true, it seems no very intricate question to determine, what verdict ought to be passed upon Cæsar. But surely it is difficult to know by what principles Cicero can be acquitted, who reviled that man when dead, whom he was the first to flatter when living.

I think myself much obliged to our friend Trebatius, for having given me this occasion of justifying myself before you. And you will credit the professions I have here made, unless you imagine me void of every spark both of gratitude and generosity: an opinion, than which nothing can be more injurious to my sentiments, or more unworthy of yours. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 700.]

MATIUS TO CICERO.

I RECEIVED great satisfaction from your letter, as it assured me of my holding that rank in your esteem, which I have ever wished and hoped to enjoy. Indeed I never doubted of your good opinion: but the value I set upon it, rendered me solicitous of preserving it without the least blemish. Conscious, however, that I had never given just offence to any candid and honest mind, I was the less disposed to believe, that you, whose sentiments are exalted by the cultivation of so many generous arts, could hastily credit any reports to my disadvantage: especially as you were one for whom I had

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at all times discovered much sincere good will. But as I have the pleasure to find that you think of me agreeably to my wishes, I will drop this subject, in order to vindicate myself from those calumnies which you have so often, and with such singular generosity, opposed. I am perfectly well apprised of the reflections that have been cast upon me since Cæsar's death. It has been imputed to me, I know, that I lament the loss of my friend, and think with indignation on the murderers of the man I loved. "The welfare of our country," say my accusers, (as if they had already made it appear that the destruction of Cæsar was for the benefit of the commonwealth) "the welfare of our country is to be preferred to all considerations of amity." It may be so; but I will honestly confess, that I am by no means arrived at this elevated strain of patriotism. Nevertheless, I took no part with Cæsar in our civil dissensions; but neither did I desert my friend, because I disliked his measures. The truth is, I was so far from approving the civil war, that I always thought it unjustifiable, and exerted my utmost endeavours to extinguish those sparks by which it was kindled. In conformity to these sentiments, I did not make use of my friend's victory to the gratification of any lucrative or ambitious purposes

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of my own, as some others most shamefully did, whose interest with Cæsar was much inferior to mine. Far, in truth, from being a gainer by his success, I suffered greatly in my fortunes by that very law which saved many of those who now exult in his death from the disgrace of being obliged to fly their country². Let me add, that I recommended the vanquished party to his clemency, with the same warmth and zeal as if my own preservation had been concerned. Thus desirous that all my fellow-citizens might enjoy their lives in full security, can I repress the indignation of my heart against the assassins of that man, from whose generosity this privilege was obtained; especially, as the same hands were lifted up to his destruction, which had first drawn upon him all the odium and envy of his administration? Yet I am threatened, it seems, with their vengeance, for daring to condemn the deed. Unexampled insolence! that some should glory in the perpetration of those crimes, which others should not be permitted even to deplore! The meanest slave has ever been allowed to indulge, without control, the fears, the sorrows, or the joys of his heart;

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² The law alluded to, is, probably, that which Cæsar enacted for the relief of those who had contracted debts before the commencement of the civil war, of which see rem. 11. p. 260, vol. II.

but these our assertors of *liberty*, as they call themselves, endeavour to extort from me, by their menaces, this common privilege of every creature. Vain and impotent endeavours! no dangers shall intimidate me from acting up to the generous duties of friendship and humanity; persuaded, as I have ever been, that death in an honest cause ought never to be shunned, and frequently to be courted. Yet, why does it thus move their displeasure, if I only wish that they may repent of what they have perpetrated? for wish I will acknowledge I do, that both they and all the world may regret the death of Cæsar. "But as a member, (say they,) of the common-wealth, you ought, above all things, to desire its preservation." Now that I sincerely do so, if the whole tenor of my past conduct, and all the hopes I can reasonably be supposed to entertain, will not sufficiently evince, I shall not attempt to prove it by my professions. I conjure you, then, to judge of me, not by what others may say, but by the plain tendency of my actions; and, if you believe I have any interest in the tranquillity of the republic, be assured, that I will have no communication with those who would impiously disturb its peace. Shall I renounce, indeed, those patriot principles I steadily pursued in my youth, when warmth and

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inexperience might have pleaded some excuse for errors? Shall I, in the sober season of declining age, wantonly unravel, at once, the whole fair contexture of my better days? Most assuredly not; nor shall I ever give any other offence than in bewailing the severe catastrophe of a most intimate and illustrious friend! Were I disposed to act otherwise, I should scorn to deny it; nor should it be ever said, that I covered my crimes by hypocrisy, and feared to avow what I scrupled not to commit.

But to proceed to the other articles of the charge against me; it is farther alledged that I presided at those games which the young Octavius exhibited in honour of Cæsar's victories. The charge, I confess, is true; but what connexion has an act of mere private duty, with the concerns of the republic? It was an office, not only due from me to the memory of my departed friend, but which I could not refuse to that illustrious youth, his most worthy heir. I am reproached, also, with having been frequent in paying my visits of compliment to Antony; yet you will find that the very men who impute this as a mark of disaffection to my country, appeared much more frequently at his levee, either to solicit his favours, or to receive them. But, after all, can there be any thing, let me

ask, more insufferably arrogant than this accusation? Cæsar never opposed my associating with whomsoever I thought proper, even though it were with persons whom he himself disapproved; and shall the men who have cruelly robbed me of one friend, attempt, likewise, by their malicious insinuations, to alienate me from another? But the moderation of my conduct, will, I doubt not, discredit all reports that may hereafter be raised to my disadvantage; and I am persuaded, that even those who hate me for my attachment to Cæsar, would rather choose a friend of my disposition, than of their own. In fine, if my affairs should permit me, it is my resolution to spend the remainder of my days at Rhodes. But, if any accident should render it necessary for me to continue at Rome, my actions shall evince, that I am sincerely desirous of my country's welfare. In the mean time, I am much obliged to Trebatius for supplying you with an occasion of so freely laying open to me the amicable sentiments of your heart; as it affords me an additional reason for cultivating a friendship with one whom I have ever been disposed to esteem. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 709.]

MARCUS BRUTUS and CAIUS CASSIUS, Prætors³, to MARK ANTONY, Consul.

IF we were not persuaded of your honour and friendship, we should not trouble you with the present application; which, in confidence of both, we doubt not of your receiving in the most favourable manner.

We are informed, that great numbers of the veteran troops are already arrived in Rome, and that many more are expected by the first of June. Our sentiments would be extremely changed, indeed, if we entertained any fears or suspicions with regard to yourself. However, as we resigned ourselves entirely to your direction, and, in compliance with your advice, not only published an edict, but wrote circular letters in order to dismiss our friends who came to our assistance from the municipal towns, we may justly look upon ourselves as worthy of being admitted into a share of your councils; especially in an article wherein we are particularly

³ They had been appointed prætors for the present year, by Cæsar. The reader has already been informed, that Brutus and Cassius, finding it necessary, soon after the assassination of Cæsar, to withdraw from Rome, retired to a villa of the former, at Lanuvium; from whence this letter was probably written.

larly concerned. It is our joint request, therefore, that you would explicitly acquaint us with your intentions, and whether you imagine we can possibly be safe amidst such a multitude of veteran troops, who have even some design, we are told, of replacing the altar⁴ which was erected to Cæsar; a design, surely, which no one can wish may meet with your approbation, who has any regard to our credit or security⁵. It has sufficiently appeared, that from the beginning of this affair, we have had a view to the public tranquillity, and have aimed at nothing more than the recovery of our common liberties. No man, except yourself, has it in his power to deceive us, because we never have trusted, nor ever will trust, any other; and most certainly you have too much integrity to betray the confidence we have reposed in you. Our friends, however, notwithstanding that they have the same reliance upon your good faith, are greatly alarmed for our safety; as they think so large a body of veterans may much more easily be instigated to violent measures by ill-designing men, than they can be restrained by

⁴ See rem. 3. p. 92. of this vol.

⁵ Because the suffering of divine honours to be paid to Cæsar, would necessarily impress the highest sentiments of him upon the minds of the populace, and, consequently, tend to incense them against those who were concerned in taking away his life.

by your influence and authority. We entreat you, therefore, to return us a full and satisfactory answer. To tell us that you ordered these troops to march to Rome, as intending to move the senate in June next, concerning their⁶ affairs, is amusing us with a very idle and trifling reason; for as you are assured that we shall not attempt to obstruct this⁷ design, from what other quarter can you possibly suspect that it will be opposed? In a word, it cannot be thought that we are too anxious for our own preservation, when it is considered, that no accident can happen to our persons without involving the whole republic in the most dangerous commotions. Farewel.

LETTER

⁶ Antony's *pretended* reason for drawing together this body of veteran troops, was, in order to procure a ratification from the senate, of those grants of lands which had been made to them by Cæsar, as a reward of their services; but his *true* reason was, to strengthen his hands against those who should attempt to oppose his measures.

⁷ The conspirators had given public assurances to the veteran troops, that they would not endeavour to annul the grants which Cæsar had made in their favour. *Dio.* p. 257.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

BELIEVE me, my Cassius, the republic is the perpetual subject of my meditations; or, to express the same thing in other words, you and Marcus Brutus are never out of my thoughts. It is upon you two, indeed, together with Decimus Brutus, that all our hopes depend.--- Mine are somewhat raised by the glorious conduct of Dolabella, in suppressing the late insurrection⁸; which had spread so wide, and gathered every day such additional strength, that it seemed to threaten destruction to the whole city. But this mob is now so totally quelled, that I think we have nothing farther to fear from any future attempt of the same kind. Many other fears, however, and very considerable ones too, still remain with us; and it entirely rests upon you, in conjunction with your illustrious associates, to remove them. Yet where to advise you to begin for that purpose, I must acknowledge myself at a loss. To say truth, it is the tyrant alone, and not the tyranny, from which we seem to be delivered: for although the man, indeed, is destroyed,

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⁸ See rem. 3. p. 92. of this vol.

we still servilely maintain all his despotic ordinances. We do more; and, under the pretence of carrying his designs into execution, we approve of measures which even he himself would never have pursued⁹: and the misfortune is, that I know not where this extravagance will end. When I reflect on the laws that are enacted, on the immunities that are granted, on the immense largesses that are distributed, on the exiles that are recalled, and on the fictitious decrees that are published, the only effect that seems to have been produced by Cæsar's death is, that it has extinguished the sense of our servitude, and the abhorrence of that detestable usurper; as all the disorders into which he threw the republic still continue. These are the evils, therefore, which it is incumbent upon you and your patriot coadjutors to redress: for let not my friends imagine that they have yet completed

⁹ A few days after Cæsar's death, Antony assembled the senate in the temple of Tellus, in order to take into consideration the state of public affairs. The result of their deliberations was, to decree a general act of oblivion of what was past, and to confirm the several nominations to magistracies, and other grants, which had been made by Cæsar. This was a very prudent and necessary measure, in order to preserve the public tranquillity; and it was principally procured by the authority and eloquence of Cicero. But Antony soon perverted it to his own ambitious purposes: for being appointed to inspect the papers of Cæsar, he forged some, and modelled others, as best suited his own designs; disposing of every thing as he thought proper, under the authority of this decree. *Dio. p. 250. 256.*

completed their work. The obligations, it is true, which the republic has already received from you, are far greater than I could have ventured to hope: still, however, her demands are not entirely satisfied; and she promises herself yet higher services from such brave and generous benefactors. You have revenged her injuries, by the death of her oppressor; but you have done nothing more. For, tell me, what has she yet recovered of her former dignity and lustre? Does she not obey the will of that tyrant, now he is dead, whom she could not endure when living? And do we not, instead of repealing his public laws, authenticate even his private memorandums? You will tell me, perhaps, (and you may tell me with truth) that I concurred in passing a decree for that purpose. It was in compliance, however, with public circumstances; a regard to which is of much consequence in political deliberations of every kind. But there are some, however, who have most immoderately and ungratefully abused the concessions we found it thus necessary to make.

I hope very speedily to discuss this and many other points with you in person. In the mean time, be persuaded, that the affection I have ever borne to my country, as well as my particular friendship to yourself, renders the advancement

advancement of your credit and esteem with the public extremely my concern. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO OPPIUS².

THE sentiments and advice which your letter has so freely given me, in relation to my leaving Italy³, together with what you said to Atticus, in a late conversation upon this subject, have greatly contributed, he can bear me witness, to dispel those doubts that occurred on whichever side I viewed this question. I have ever thought, indeed, that no man was more capable of forming a right judgment, nor more faithful in communicating it, than yourself; as, I am sure, I very particularly experienced, in the beginning of the late civil wars. For when I consulted you in regard to my following Pompey, or remaining in Italy, your advice, I remember, was, that "I should act as my honour directed." This sufficiently discovered your opinion; and I could not but look with admiration on so remarkable an instance

² The MSS. vary in the name of the person to whom this letter is addressed; some writing it *Appius*, and others *Oppius*. If the latter be the true reading, perhaps he is the same of whom some account has been given in rem. 9. p. 134. vol. ii.

³ See rem. 2. p. 86. of this vol.

stance of your sincerity. For notwithstanding your strong attachment to Cæsar, who, you had reason to think, would have been better pleased if I had pursued a different conduct; yet you rather chose I should act agreeably to my honour, than in conformity to his inclination. My friendship for you, however, did not take its rise from this period; for I was sensible that I enjoyed a share in your esteem long before the time of which I am speaking. I shall ever remember, indeed, the generous services you conferred both upon myself and my family, during the great misfortunes which I suffered in my exile: and the strict intimacy in which we conversed with each other, after my return, as well as the sentiments which, upon all occasions, I professed to entertain of you, are circumstances which none who were inclined to observe them could possibly overlook. But you gave me a most distinguishing proof of the good opinion you had conceived of my constancy and fidelity, by the unreserved resignation of your heart to me, after the death of Cæsar. I should think myself, therefore, a disgrace to human nature, if I did not justify these your favourable sentiments, by every kind of good office in my power, as well as by the return of my warmest affection.

Continue

Continue yours to me, my dear Oppius, I entreat you; a request, however, which I prefer more in compliance with the customary form, than as thinking it in the least necessary. I recommend all my affairs in general to your protection, and leave it to Atticus to inform you in what particular points I desire your services. When I shall be more at leisure, you may expect a longer letter. In the mean time take care of your health, as the most agreeable instance you can give me of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I AM the more enamoured with this city⁴, because I find you are much the favourite of every body in it. But I know not, in truth, where you are otherwise; and I should rather have told you, that even the absence of your freedman, Rufio, is no less regretted among them, than

⁴ Cicero, after much debate with himself, concerning the voyage which he mentions in the preceding letter, at length fixed his resolution, and embarked. He sailed along the western coast of Italy, towards Rhegium; but came ashore every night, in order to lodge at the villa of some friend.—He was in this manner pursuing his voyage into Greece, when he wrote the present letter from Velia, a sea port town on the coast of Lucania.

than if he were a person of as much consequence as you and I. However, I by no means disapprove of your having called him from hence, in order to superintend the buildings you are carrying on in the Lupercal⁵: for, notwithstanding your house at Velia is altogether as agreeable as that which you have in Rome, yet I should prefer the latter to all the possessions you enjoy here. Nevertheless, if you should take the opinion of a man whose advice you seldom reject, you will not part with your patrimony on the banks of the noble Heles, nor forsake a villa which had once the honour of belonging to Papirius; an intention which the citizens of Velia are in some fear lest you should entertain. But although it be incommoded, indeed, by the great concourse of strangers who visit the adjoining grove; yet that objection may easily be removed, you know, by cutting down⁶ this impertinent

⁵ A range of buildings in Rome, so called from an ancient temple of the same name, which had been formerly erected upon that spot, to the god Pan. *Dion. Halicarn.* l. 24.

⁶ Groves were generally consecrated to some divinity, as this seems to have been, by the number of strangers who probably frequented it on a religious account. Instead of *lucum*, therefore, which is the reading adopted by Manutius, and followed in the translation, some of the commentators have thought it should be *lotum*; because, if it were a consecrated grove, it could not be cut down without committing an act of impiety. But this objection is founded upon the mistake that Cicero spoke in a serious sense, what he seems plainly to have intended in a ludicrous one.

pertinent plantation; which will prove a very considerable advantage likewise both to your pocket and your prospect. To speak seriously, it is a great convenience, especially in such distracted times as the present, to be possessed of an estate which affords you a refuge from Rome, in a pleasant and healthy situation, and in a place where you are so universally beloved. To these considerations, I will add, my dear Trebatius, that, perhaps, it may be for my advantage also, that you should not part with this villa. But, whatever you may determine, take care both of yourself and my affairs; and expect to see me, if the gods permit, before the end of the year.

I have purloined from Sextius Fadius, one of Nico's disciples, a treatise which the latter has written concerning the pleasures of the palate. Agreeable physician! how easily will he make me a convert to his doctrine! Our friend Bassus was so jealous of this treasure, that he endeavoured to conceal it from me: but I imagine, by the freedom of your table indulgencies, that he has been less reserved in communicating the secrets of it to you.—The wind has just now turned to a favourable point, so that I must bid you farewell.

Velia, July the 20th.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

To the same.

YOU see the influence you have over me: though, indeed, it is not greater than what you are justly entitled to, from that equal return of friendship you make to mine. I could not, therefore, be easy in the reflection, I will not say of having absolutely refused, but of not having complied, however, with the request you made me, when we were lately together. Accordingly, as soon as I set sail from Velia, I employed myself in drawing up the treatise you desired, upon the plan of Aristotle's topics⁷: as, indeed, I could not look upon a city in which you are so generally beloved, without being reminded of my friend. I now send you the produce of my meditations: which I have endeavoured to express with all the perspicuity that a subject of this nature will admit. Nevertheless, if some passages should appear dark; you must do me the justice to remember, that no science can be rendered perfectly intelligible.

⁷ The treatise here mentioned, is still extant among Cicero's works: and appears to be a sort of epitome of what Aristotle had long before published upon the same subject. The principal design of it is, to point out the several sources from whence arguments upon every question may be derived.

gible, without the assistance of a master to explain and apply its rules. To send you no farther, for an instance, than to your own profession, could a knowledge of the law be acquired merely from books? Undoubtedly it could not: for although the treatises which have been written upon that subject are extremely numerous; yet they are by no means of themselves sufficient instructors, without the help of some learned guide to enlighten their obscurities. However, with respect to the observations in the present performance, if you give them a frequent and attentive perusal, you will certainly be able to enter into their meaning: but the ready application of them can only be attained by repeated exercise. And in this exercise I shall not fail to engage you, if I should return safe into Italy, and find the republic in a state of repose. Farewel.

Rhegium^a, July the 28th.

LETTER

^a A sea-port upon the western point of Calabria, opposite to Sicily: it is now called *Regio*.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 709.]

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors⁹, to ANTONY, Consul.

THE letter we have received from you is altogether agreeable to your late contumelious and menacing edict, and by no means becoming *you* to have written to *us*. We have in no sort, Antony, given you any just provocation: nor could we have imagined, that you would look upon it as any thing extraordinary, if, invested as we are with the high authority of prætors, we thought proper, in a public manifesto, to signify our requests to the consul. But if it raises your indignation that we presumed to take this liberty as prætors, allow us to lament that you should not indulge us in it at least as friends.

We receive it as an instance of your justice, that you deny ever having complained of our
levying

⁹ The prætors could not legally absent themselves from Rome for above ten days, unless they obtained a special dispensation from the senate for that purpose. Brutus and Cassius, therefore, not thinking it safe to trust themselves in the city, published a sort of manifesto, directed to Antony as consul, requesting him to move the senate for this licence in their favour. Antony, instead of complying with their request, seems to have answered it by publishing a manifesto on his part, which was followed, likewise, by a private letter that produced the present epistle.

levying troops and contributions, and making applications to the armies, both at home and abroad, to rise in our defence: a charge, which we likewise disavow, in every particular. We cannot but wonder, however, since you were silent upon this head, that you should be so little able to command yourself upon another, as to reproach us with the death of Cæsar.

We leave it to your own reflections to determine what sentiments it ought to create in us, that the prætors of Rome, in order to preserve the tranquillity and liberties of the commonwealth, cannot publish a manifesto declaring their desire of retiring from the execution of their office, without being insulted by the consul. 'Tis in vain, however, that you would intimidate us by your arms: for it would ill become the spirit we have shewn, to be discouraged by dangers of any kind. As little should Antony attempt to usurp an authority over those, to whom he is himself indebted for the liberty he enjoys. To the free and independent, the menaces of any man are perfectly impotent. Had we a design, therefore, of having recourse to arms, your letter would be altogether ineffectual to deter us from our purpose. But, you are well convinced, that no consideration can prevail with us to rekindle the flames of a civil war: and, perhaps, you artfully threw out these menaces,

menaces, in order to persuade the world that our pacific measures are the effect, not of choice, but timidity.

To speak plainly our sentiments; we wish to see you raised to the highest honours; but to honours that are conferred by a free republic. It is our desire, likewise, not to engage with you in any contests: but we must add, that the possession of our liberties is of far higher value in our esteem than the enjoyment of your friendship. Well consider what you undertake, and how far you may be able to carry it into execution; reflecting, not how many years Cæsar was permitted to live, but how short a period he was suffered to reign¹. In the meanwhile, we implore the gods to inspire you with such counsels as may tend to the advantage both of yourself, and of the commonwealth. But should they prove otherwise, we wish that the consequence may be as little detrimental to your own interest, as shall be consistent with the dignity and safety of the republic.

August the 4th.

LETTER

¹ Cæsar did not continue longer than five months in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation: for he returned to Rome from the conquest of Pompey's sons in Spain, in the month of October 708, and was assassinated in the March following. *Vel. Paterc. ii. 56.*

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 709.]

TO PLANCUS¹.

I HAD left Rome, and was actually on my voyage to Greece, when I was recalled by the general voice of the republic²: but the conduct of Marc Antony, ever since my return, has not permitted

¹ Some general account of Plancus has already been given in rem. 6. p. 221. vol. ii. In the beginning of the present year he was appointed by Cæsar governor of the farther Gaul: where he now was, at the head of three legions. He is said, during his residence in that province, to have founded the city of Lions. Upon the death of Cæsar, to whom he had been warmly attached, Cicero employed all his art to engage him on the side of the senate: and Plancus, after much hesitation, at length declared himself accordingly. But this declaration seems to have been entirely the effect of a belief that the rupture between Antony and the senate was upon the point of being accommodated: it is certain, at least, that it was not sincere. For Plancus soon afterwards betrayed the cause he had thus professed to support, and went over with his troops to Antony. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 465. *Senec. Ep.* 91. *Vel. Patere.* ii. 63. See note 11. p. 384. of this vol.

² The principal motive of Cicero's intended voyage into Greece, was in order to avoid the danger of taking part in a civil war, which he apprehended would soon break out between Antony and young Pompey; the latter being expected from Spain, at the head of a considerable army. But as his leaving Italy at so critical and important a conjuncture might justly expose him to the censure of unworthily deserting the republic, he was long and greatly embarrassed between the desire of preserving his character on the one side, and of securing his person on the other: the two points which seem, throughout his whole life, to have held him in perpetual suspense. However, he at length embarked³ but he no sooner sailed, than he repented, as usual, of the step he had taken. Nevertheless

permitted me to enjoy a moment of repose. The ferocity (for to call it pride would be imputing a vice to him which is nothing uncommon) the ferocity of his temper is so excessive, that he cannot bear a word, or even a look, which is animated with the least spirit of liberty. It is this that fills my heart with a thousand disquietudes: but disquietudes, in which my own preservation is by no means concerned. No, my friend, I have nothing farther to wish with respect to myself; whether I consider the years to which I am arrived⁴, the actions that I have performed, or the glory (if that may be mentioned as of any value in the account) with which they have been crowned. All my anxiety is for our country alone; and the more so, my dear Plancus, as the time appointed for your

Nevertheless, he pursued his voyage, and arrived in Sicily; from whence he proposed to stretch over into Greece; but, in attempting this passage, he was blown back by contrary winds on the coast of Italy. Upon his going ashore, in order to refresh himself, he was informed, by some of the principal inhabitants of that part of the country who were just arrived from Rome, that there were great hopes Antony would accommodate affairs to the general satisfaction of all parties. This news was followed by a letter from Atticus, pressing him to renounce his intended voyage, as also by an interview with Brutus, who likewise expressed his disapprobation of that scheme. Upon these considerations, therefore, he gave up all farther thoughts of Greece, and immediately returned to Rome. *Vid. Ad Att.* xiv. 13, 22. xv. 19, 20, 21, 33. xvi. 6, 7.

⁴ Cicero was, at this time, in his 63d year.

your succession to the consular office⁵ is so remote, that it is rather to be wished than expected, that we should be able to preserve our liberties so long alive. What rational hopes, indeed, can possibly be entertained, where a commonwealth is totally oppressed by the arms of the most violent and outrageous of men, where neither the senate nor the people have any authority; where neither laws nor justice prevail; and, in one word, where there is not the least trace or shadow of civil government remaining? But as you receive, I imagine, the public accounts of what is transacted amongst us, I need not descend into a detail of particulars. Let me rather, in consequence of that affection I bear you, and which has been still increasing from our earliest youth; let me rather remind and exhort you, to turn all your thoughts and cares towards the republic. If it should not be utterly destroyed ere you enter upon the consular office, it may, without difficulty, be steered right. Tho' I will add, that much vigilance as well as great good fortune must concur, in order to preserve it to that desirable period. But I hope we may see you here, somewhat before that time

⁵ Plancus was in the number of those whom Cæsar had named to the consulate, in that general designation of magistrates which he made a short time before his death. But as Plancus stood last in the list, his turn was not to commence till the year 711.

time shall arrive. Mean while, besides the inducements that arise to me from my regard to the well-being of the republic, you may be assured that, from my particular attachment likewise to yourself, I shall exert my utmost efforts for the advancement of your credit and honours. By these means, I shall have the satisfaction to discharge, at once, the duties I owe both to my country and to my friend: to that country which is the object of my warmest affections, and to that friend whose amity I would most religiously cultivate.

I am extremely rejoiced, though by no means surprised, to find that you treat Furnius⁶ agreeably to his rank and merit. Be assured that whatever favours you shall think proper to confer upon him, I shall consider them as so many immediate instances of your regard to myself. Farewel.

LETTER

⁶ He was lieutenant to Plancus in Gaul.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 709.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul⁷ elect, to CICERO.

IF I entertained the least doubt of your inclinations to serve me, I should be extremely copious in my sollicitations for that purpose: but I have strongly persuaded myself, that my interest is already a part of your care.

I led my army against the most interior inhabitants of the Alps, not so much from an ambition of being saluted with the title of *Imperator*⁸, as in order to comply with the martial spirit of my troops, and to strengthen their attachment to our cause. In both these views, I have, I think, succeeded: as the soldiers have had an opportunity, by this measure, of experi-

⁷ Decimus Brutus was nominated by Cæsar to be colleague with Plancus: of whose appointment to the consular office, mention has been made in rem. 5. on the preceding epistle. Soon after the rest of the conspirators found it necessary to leave Rome, Decimus withdrew into Cisalpine Gaul, in order to take possession of that province which had been allotted to him by Cæsar, and to put himself in a posture of defence against the attempts which Antony was meditating. Shortly after his arrival in that province, he employed his troops in an expedition against certain inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains; and having happily executed this scheme, he wrote the following letter to request Cicero's suffrage in procuring him those distinctions which the senate usually decreed to their successful generals.

⁸ See vol i. p. 1. rem. 1.

encing the courage and the generosity of their general. I was engaged with the most warlike of these people: and have taken and destroyed great numbers of their forts. In short, I thought the action sufficiently considerable, to send an account of it to the senate. I hope, therefore, you will support my pretensions with your suffrage: as it will, at the same time, be greatly contributing to the credit of the common cause. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 709.]

To DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

IT is of much consequence to the success of this epistle, whether it reaches you in an anxious, or an easy hour. Accordingly, I have directed the bearer to watch the favourable moment of delivering it into your hands: as there is a time, my friend, when a letter, no less than a visit, may prove extremely unseasonable. But if he should observe the caution I have enjoined him, and this should find you, as I hope it will, in a state of mind perfectly serene and undisturbed, I doubt not of your ready compliance with the request I am going to make.

Lucius Lamia offers himself as a candidate, at
the

the ensuing election of prætors. There is no man with whom I live in an equal degree of familiarity: as we are intimately, indeed, united by a long acquaintance. But what greatly, likewise, recommends him to me is, that nothing affords me more entertainment than his company. To this I must add, the infinite obligations I received from him in my affair with Clodius. He was at that time at the head of the equestrian order; and he entered with so much spirit into my cause, that the consul Gabinius commanded him to withdraw from Rome; an indignity never offered before to any citizen of the republic. As the world has not forgotten what he thus suffered upon my account, I am sure it would be the highest reproach upon my character if I did not remember it myself: and, therefore, my dear friend, be well assured that the good or ill success of Lamia, in his present pursuit, will no less sensibly affect me, than if I were personally concerned. Notwithstanding, therefore, the illustrious character which Lamia bears, together with the great popularity he has acquired by the magnificence of the games he exhibited when he was ædile, yet I am labouring with as much assiduity to promote his interest, as if he had none of these advantages to recommend him.

him. If then I possess that share in your affection which I am well persuaded I enjoy; let me entreat you to write to Lupus to secure the votes of those equestrian centuries, over which you bear an unlimited sway. But not to detain you with a multiplicity of words, I will conclude all with most sincerely assuring you, that although there is nothing, my dear Brutus, which I have not reason to expect from your friendship; yet you can, in no instance, more effectually oblige me, than by complying with my present request. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 709.]

To the same⁹.

THERE is none of my friends with whom I live in so strict an intimacy, as with Lamia. To say that I am much indebted to his good offices, would not be speaking of them in the terms they deserve; for the truth is, (and it is a truth of which the whole republic is sensible) he has conferred upon me the highest and most generous obligations. Lamia, after having passed through the office of ædile with the greatest splendour and magnificence, now offers himself

⁹ This letter seems to have been a kind of duplicate of the former; as it is written to the same person, and upon the same occasion.

as a candidate for the prætorship: and, it is universally acknowledged, that he wants neither interest nor dignity to support his pretensions. However, the opposition he is likely to meet with from his competitors is so strong, that I have many fears for the event; and, therefore, think myself obliged to be his general solicitor upon this occasion. I well know how much it is in your power to serve me in this affair, and I have no doubt of your inclination. Be assured, then, my dear Brutus, that you cannot more sensibly oblige me, than by assisting Lamia in his present pursuit: and it is with all the warmth of my heart that I entreat you to exert your utmost interest for that purpose. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

IT gives me great pleasure to find that my late speech¹ has received your approbation. If I could

¹ Upon Cicero's return to Rome, (see rem. 3. p. 134. of this vol.) he received a summons from Antony to attend a meeting of the senate, which was to be holden the next morning: but, as the business of this meeting was to decree certain divine honours to the memory of Cæsar, our author excused himself from being present. The following day, however, Antony being absent, Cicero ventured to appear in the senate: when he delivered the speech to which he here alludes,

could more frequently enforce the same sentiments, the liberties of the republic might easily be recovered. But that far more desperate and detestable scoundrel^a than he^b at whose death you said, "the worst of all villains is expired," is watching for a pretence to begin his murderous purposes: and his single view, in charging me with having advised the killing of Cæsar, is merely to excite the veteran soldiers against my life. But this is a danger which I am not afraid to hazard, since he gives me a share with you in the honour of that glorious deed. Hence it is, however, that neither Piso, who first ventured to inveigh against the measures of Antony, nor myself, who made a speech to the same purpose about a month^c afterwards, nor Publius Servilius, who followed my example, can any of us appear with safety in the senate. For this inhuman gladiator has evidently a design upon our lives: and he hoped to have rendered me the first victim of his cruel vengeance. With this sanguinary view he entered the senate on the 19th of September, having several days before retired to the villa of Metellus, in order to prepare an inflammatory speech against me^d. But who

ludes, and which is the first of those that are called his *Philippics*. See life of Cic. iii. 81.

^a Antony. ^b Cæsar.

^c The speech mentioned in the preceding remark.

^d It was in answer to this speech that Cicero composed his

who shall reconcile the silent meditations of eloquence with the noisy revels of lewdness and debauchery? Accordingly, it was the opinion of all his audience, (as I have already, I believe, mentioned to you in a former letter,) that he could not so properly be said to have delivered a speech, as to have discharged, with his usual indecency, the horrid fumes of his scandalous intemperance.

You are persuaded, you tell me, that my credit and eloquence will be able to produce some good effect. And some indeed they have produced, considering the sad situation of our affairs. They have rendered the people sensible, that there are three persons of consular rank, who, because they are in the interest of the republic, and have spoken their sentiments in the senate with freedom, cannot attend that assembly without the danger of being assassinated. And this is all the good you are to expect from my oratory.

A certain relation of yours⁴ is so captivated with his new alliance, that he no longer concerns himself in the success of your games; but, on the contrary, is mortified to the last degree at those peals of applause with which your brother was distinguished.

his second Philippic; which, however, he did not deliver. For, by the advice of his friends, he absented himself from this meeting of the senate, as they did not think it safe for him to be present. *Manut.*

⁴ Lepidus is supposed to be the person here meant: as he was related to Cassius by his own marriage, and had lately married his son to Antony's daughter.

distinguished⁵. Another of your family⁶ has been softened by some grants which it is pretended that Cæsar had designed to confer upon him. This, however, might be borne with patience; but is it not utterly beyond endurance, that there should be a man who dares openly avow, that he supports the measures of that scoundrel, Antony, with the hopes that his son will be chosen consul when you and Brutus are entitled to be candidates for that office? As to our friend, Lucius Cotta, a fatal despair (for so he terms it himself) has almost entirely driven him from the senate. Lucius Cæsar, that firm and excellent patriot, is prevented from coming thither by his ill state of health; and Servius Sulpicius, who is a true friend to the cause of liberty, and whose authority might be of infinite service in the present conjuncture, is, unhappily, absent from Rome. After having mentioned these, I must take the liberty to say, that I cannot add any others, excepting the consuls elect, who may be justly deemed as well-wishers to the republic. The truth is,

these

⁵ Brutus and Cassius were obliged, as prætors, to exhibit certain games in honour of Apollo, with which the public were annually entertained on the third of July; but as they had withdrawn themselves from Rome, these games were conducted by the brother of Cassius.

⁶ It is not known to whom Cicero alludes in this place, nor in the period immediately following.

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these are the only persons upon whose advice and authority the commonwealth can depend. And small, indeed, would their number be, even in the best of times; how unequal, then, must their strength be found, to combat against the worst? All our hopes, therefore, rest entirely upon you and Brutus; I mean, if you have not withdrawn from us with a view only to your own preservation; for, if that should be the case, we have nothing, alas! to hope either from Brutus or from you. But if, on the contrary, you are forming some glorious enterprise, worthy of your exalted characters, I doubt not that the republic, by your assistance, will soon recover her liberties; and I have only to wish, that I may not be destroyed ere that happy day shall arrive. In the mean time, my best services neither are, nor shall be, wanting to your family; and whether they should apply to me for that purpose, or not, I shall never fail to give them proofs of my friendship towards you. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO PLANCUS.

AGREEABLY to the friendship which subsists between us, my services should not have been wanting to advance your dignities⁷, if I could have been present in the senate, consistently with my honour or my safety. But no man can freely deliver his opinion in that assembly, without being exposed to the violences of a military force, that are licensed to commit their outrages with full impunity; and it would ill become my rank and character to speak upon public affairs, in a place where I am more attentively observed, and more closely surrounded, by soldiers than by senators. In any instance of private concern, my best offices shall not be wanting to you; nor shall they, indeed, even in those of a public nature, whatever hazard I may run, where my appearance is absolutely necessary to promote your interest. But where it may be equally advanced without my concurrence, suffer me, I entreat you, to pay a proper regard to my own dignity and preservation. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ The occasion on which Plancus had applied to Cicero for his services in the senate, does not appear.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

THE malignant spirit of your friend^a breaks out every day with greater and more open violence. To instance, in the first place, the statue which he has lately erected near the rostrum, to Cæsar, under which he has inscribed, TO THE EXCELLENT FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY; intimating, that you and your heroic associates are to be considered, not only as assassins, but parricides. In which number I am, likewise, included; for this outrageous man represents me as the principal adviser and promoter of your most glorious enterprise. Would to heaven the charge were true! for had I been a party in your councils, I should have put it out of his power thus to perplex and embarrass our affairs^b. But this was a point which

^a Antony.

^b Cicero frequently reproaches the conspirators with having committed a capital mistake in sparing Antony when they destroyed Cæsar, an error which our author would have prevented, it seems, had they admitted him into their councils. But it may be affirmed, (and upon the authority of Cicero himself) that nothing could have been more unjustifiable than to have rendered Antony a joint victim with Cæsar. 'Tis true, there was an ancient law subsisting by which every one was authorised to lift up his sword against the man who should discover any designs of invading the public liberties. But Antony was so far from having given indications of

which depended upon yourselves to determine; and, since the opportunity is now over, I can only wish that I were capable of giving you any effectual advice. But the truth is, I am utterly at a loss in what manner to act myself, for to what purpose is resistance, where one cannot oppose force by force?

It is evidently the intent of Cæsar's party to revenge his death. And, accordingly, Antony being on the 2d of October last presented to the people by Canutius^c, mentioned the generous deliverers of our country in terms that traitors alone deserve. He scrupled not to assert, likewise, that you had acted entirely by my advice; and that Canutius, also, was under the same influence. He had the mortification, however, to leave the rostrum with great disgrace. In a word, you may judge what are the designs of this faction by their having seized the appointments of your lieutenant^d; for does not their conduct, in this instance, sufficiently declare,

of this kind at Cæsar's death, that Cicero, in a letter written to Atticus, soon afterwards, tells him, he looked upon Antony as a man too much devoted to the indulgencies of a luxurious life, to be inclined to form any schemes destructive of the public repose: *quem quidem ego (says he) epularum magis arbitror rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare.* Plut. in vit. Publicol. Ad Att. vi. 3.

^c He was one of the tribunes for the present year.^d As proconsul of Syria; to which province Cassius was, probably, on his way when this letter was written.

declare, that they considered this money as going to be remitted to a public enemy? Wretched condition, indeed! that we, who scorned to submit to a master, should more ignobly crouch to one of our fellow slaves! Nevertheless, I am still inclined to flatter myself, that we are not quite deprived of all hopes of being delivered by your heroic efforts. But where then, let me ask, are your troops? And with this question I will conclude my letter; as I had rather leave the rest to be suggested by your own reflections, than by mine. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

STRATORIUS has given me an ample account of the sad situation of affairs in your province². Oh, my friend, what insufferable outrages are committed in every part of the Roman dominions! But those which have been offered to yourself, are so much the less to be borne, as they are aggravated by the superior veneration which is due to your illustrious rank and character. Notwithstanding, therefore, that your great and generous spirit may incline you to look upon these insults with calmness, and,

perhaps,

² Of Africa. See rem. 6. p. 61. of this vol.

perhaps, with indifference, yet you ought by no means to suffer them to pass unchastised.

The news of Rome, I well know, is regularly transmitted to you, otherwise I would take upon myself to be your informer; and particularly of the late attempt of Octavius¹. The fact laid to his charge is considered by the populace as a mere fiction of Antony, in order to gain a pretence to seize upon the young man's estate. But the more penetrating and better sort, not only credit the report, but highly approve the design. Indeed, the hopes of the republic are greatly turned towards Octavius; as there is nothing which his generous thirst of glory, 'tis believed, will not animate him to perform. My friend Antony, at the same time, is so sensible of his being generally detested, that although he discovered the

¹ "Octavius, in order to maintain by stratagem what he could not gain by force, formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with their poignards, in Antony's house." Thus far Dr. Middleton; who might have added (as a learned critic has remarked) that Cicero himself, together with his nephew Quintus, were charged by Antony with being accomplices in this plot; and that the charge appears to have been true. For though, in the present letter, indeed, Cicero talks of this affair as if he was no otherwise acquainted with it than by common report; yet, in a speech which he afterwards made in the senate, when Antony had retired into Gaul, taking notice of the above-mentioned accusation, he avows and glories in the charge. *Life of Cic.* iii. 89. *Tunstall's observ. on the letters between Cic. and Brut.* p. 142. *Philip.* iii. 7. 8.

the assassins in his house, yet he would not venture to make the affair public. He set out for Brundisium on the 9th of October, in order to meet the four legions⁴ that are returning from Macedonia; he hopes, by bribing them over to his interest, to conduct them to Rome, and with their assistance to fix the yoke upon our necks. Thus you see the situation of the republic! if a republic, indeed, it may with any propriety be called, where all is in a state of intestine war. I frequently lament your fortune, in having been born so late, as never to have tasted the happiness of living in a sound and well-regulated commonwealth. You remember the time, however, when there was a prospect, at least, of better days, but now that prospect is no more! How in truth should it any longer subsist, after Antony dared to declare, in a general assembly of the people, that "Canutius affected to rank himself with those who could never appear in Rome, so long as he preserved his life and authority." But thanks to philosophy for having taught me to endure this and every other mortification, which human nature can possibly suffer; and, indeed, it has not only cured me of all my disquietudes,

⁴ These were part of that army which Cæsar intended to lead against the Parthians, and which he had sent before him into Macedonia, to wait his arrival for that purpose.

⁵ The conspirators.

tudes, but armed my breast against every future assault of fortune. And let me advise you to fortify yourself with the same resolution; in the full persuasion that nothing but guilt deserves to be considered as a real evil. But these are reflections which you know much better how to make, than I can instruct you.

Stratorius has always been highly in my esteem; but he has rendered himself more particularly so, by the great diligence, fidelity, and judgment he discovers in the management of your affairs. Take care of your health, as the most pleasing instance you can give me of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

To the same.

MY very intimate and most accomplished friend, Caius Anicius, has obtained a titular legation⁶ into Africa, in order to transact some business relating to his private concerns in that province. Let me, therefore, entreat your best offices to him upon all occasions, and that you would give him your assistance, for the more easy and expeditious dispatch of his affairs. But above all (as it is superior to all in my friend's estimation)

⁶ See rem. 8. p. 84. of this vol.

estimation) I recommend the dignity of his rank and character to your peculiar regard; and accordingly I make it my request, that you would appoint lictors to attend him. This is a compliment which I always spontaneously paid, during my own proconsulate, to those of senatorial rank, who came into my province; and which I have ever, likewise, myself received upon the same occasions; as, indeed, it is what I have both heard and observed to have been generally practised by proconsuls of the greatest distinction. You will act, then, in the same manner, my dear Cornificius, in the present instance, if I have any share in your affection; and in all other respects will consult the honour and interest of my friend; assuring yourself that you cannot confer upon me a more acceptable service. Farewel.

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TIRO.

I see into your scheme: you have a design that *your* letters, as well as mine², should make their appearance in public. But, tell me, how happened

² It appears, from an epistle to Atticus, that Cicero had formed a design, about this time, of publishing a collection of his letters. It is probable, however, that the greater part of those which are now extant were sent into the world at different

happened it, that you, who are wont to be the supreme judge and critic of my writings, should be guilty of so inaccurate an expression, as to desire me "*faithfully*" to preserve my health?" That adverb surely can have no business there, as its proper employment is to attend upon some word that imports a moral obligation. In figurative language, its use, indeed, is various, as it may be applied even to inanimate and intellectual objects, provided (as Theophrastus observes) the metaphor be not too bold and unnatural. But we will reserve this for a conversation when we meet.

Demetrius has been here: but I had the address to avoid both him and his retinue. Doubtless, you will regret that you lost the opportunity

different times, and by different hands, after his decease: as there are many of them which one can scarce suppose that either himself, or any friend who had a regard to his memory, would have suffered to come abroad. *Vid. Ad Att. xvi. 5.*

³ It is impossible, perhaps, to determine, precisely, wherein the impropriety of this expression consisted; as it does not appear from the original whether Tiro spoke of his own health or of Cicero's. In the translation, however, it is applied to the latter; as it seems to render the expression less critically just. For as Tiro was Cicero's slave, the care of his health was a duty which the former owed to the latter, as a necessary means of enabling him to perform those services to which Cicero had a right. Accordingly, therefore, to our author's own remark, concerning the literal use of the word *fidelis*, Tiro might very properly have applied it in the sense here mentioned. But there was no such duty owing from the master to the slave; and consequently Tiro could not, in strict propriety, have applied it to Cicero.

opportunity of seeing him. It is an opportunity, however, which you may still recover: for he returns, it seems, to-morrow. Accordingly, I purpose to leave this place the next morning.

I am extremely uneasy about your health, and entreat you not to omit any means that may contribute to its re-establishment. It is thus that you will render me insensible of your absence, and abundantly discharge all the services I require at your hands.

I am obliged to your good offices towards Cuspius; for I greatly interest myself in the success of his affairs. Adieu.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

QUINTUS TURIVS, who was an African merchant of great probity, as well as of an honourable family, is lately dead. He has appointed Cneius Saturninus, Sextus Aufidius, and Caius Anneius, together with Quintus Considius Gallus, Lucius Servilius Posthumus, and Caius Rubellius, all of them men of the same worthy character as himself, his joint heirs. I find you have already treated them in so generous

rous a manner, that they have more occasion for my acknowledgments to you, than my recommendation: and, indeed, the favours they gratefully profess to have received from your hands, are more considerable than I should have ventured, perhaps, to request. Nevertheless, as I perfectly well know the regard you pay to my recommendation, I will take courage, and entreat you to add to those services which you have already, without my solicitation, so liberally conferred upon them. But what I am particularly to desire is, that you would not suffer Eros Turios, the testator's freedman, to continue to embezzle his late patron's effects. In every other instance, also, I recommend their interest to your protection, assuring you that you will receive much satisfaction from the regard and attachment of these my illustrious friends. Again and again, therefore, I very earnestly recommend them to your good offices. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

WHEN our friend Lupus arrived with your dispatches, I had retired from Rome², to a place where I thought I could be most secure from danger. For this reason, notwithstanding he took care that your letter¹ should be delivered into my hands, and continued some days in the city, yet he returned without receiving my answer. However, I came back hither on the 9th of this month³, when I immediately, as my first and principal concern, paid a visit to Pansa³, from whom I had the satisfaction of hearing such an account of you as was most agreeable to my wishes. As you wanted not any exhortations to engage you in the noblest enterprise

² Soon after Cicero's late return to Rome, (see rem. 3. p. 134. of this vol.) he came to an open rupture with Antony. He found it necessary, therefore, for his security, to remove from the city to some of his villas near Naples. *Life of Cic.* iii. 87.

³ The same, probably, which stands the 21st in the present book, p. 138.

² December. Antony had just before left Rome, in order to march his army into Cisalpine Gaul. Upon the news of this retreat, Cicero immediately returned to the city.—*Life of Cic.* iii. 98.

³ Consul elect for the ensuing year.

enterprise⁴ that stands recorded in history; so I am persuaded they are altogether unnecessary in the present conjuncture. It may not be improper, nevertheless, just to intimate that the whole expectations of the Roman people, and all their hopes of liberty, are entirely fixed upon you. If you constantly bear in mind (what I well know is ever in your thoughts) the glorious part you have already achieved, most undoubtedly you can never forget how much there still remains for you to perform. In fact, should that man to whom I always declared myself a friend, till he openly and forwardly took up arms against the republic; should Antony possess himself of your province⁵, I see not the least possibility of our preservation. I join my earnest intercessions, therefore, with those of the whole republic, that you would finish what you have so happily begun, and deliver us for ever from the tyranny of a despotic government. This patriot-task belongs particularly to yourself; and Rome, or, to speak more properly, every nation throughout the world, not only expects, but requires, their deliverance at your hands. But I am sensible (as I have already said) that you need no exhortations

⁴ The killing of Cæsar.

⁵ Cisalpine Gaul.

hortations to animate you for this purpose. I will spare my admonitions, therefore, and rather assure you (what, indeed, is more properly my part) that my most zealous and active services shall always be exerted for your interest. Be well persuaded, then, that, not only for the sake of the republic, which is dearer to me than my life, but from my particular regard likewise to yourself, I shall omit no opportunity of forwarding your glorious designs, and of promoting those honours you so justly deserve. Farewel.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

THERE is no man that cultivates my friendship with greater marks of esteem than Sextus Aufidius; nor is there any of equestrian rank who bears a more distinguished character. The strictness of his morals is so happily tempered with the sweetness of his disposition, that he unites the severest virtue with the easiest and most engaging address. I recommend his affairs in Africa to you, with the utmost warmth and sincerity of my heart. You will extremely oblige me, therefore, by shewing

him

him that you pay the highest regard to my recommendation; and I very earnestly entreat you, my dear Cornificius, to comply with this request. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul-elect.

MARCUS SEIUS has, I suppose, informed you what my sentiments were at the conference which Lupus held at my house with Libo, your relation Servilius, and myself; as he was present during the consultation. And, though Greccius immediately followed him, he can give you an account of all that passed after Seius set out⁶.

The grand and capital point, which I could wish you to be well convinced of, and ever to bear in your mind, is, that in acting for the security of our common liberties, you ought, by no means, to wait the sanction of the senate; as that assembly is not yet sufficiently free and uncontrolled in its deliberations. To conduct yourself by a contrary principle, would

⁶ be
The principal intent of this consultation seems to have been to determine, whether Decimus Brutus should venture, without the express sanction of the senate, to act offensively against Antony; who was, at this time, on his march to dispossess Brutus of Cisalpine Gaul.

be to condemn the first glorious steps you took for the deliverance of the commonwealth, and which were so much the more illustrious, as they were unsupported by the formal suffrage of public authority. It would be to declare, that the measures of young Cæsar are rash and ill-considered; who, in the same unauthorised manner, has undertaken the important cause of the commonwealth⁷. In a word, it would be to shew the world that you thought those brave and worthy veterans your fellow-soldiers, together with the fourth and martial legions⁸, had judged and acted irrationally, in deeming their consul an enemy to his country, and consecrating their arms to the service of the republic.

⁷ When Antony set out for Brundisium, in order to meet the legions which were returning from Macedonia, as has been related in the 27th letter of this book, Octavius went amongst those veteran soldiers to whom Cæsar had granted settlements in Campania. From these he drew together, at his own expence, and by his private authority, a very considerable body of troops to oppose Antony, if he had thought proper to have made any attempts upon Rome with the Macedonian legions. *Philip. ii. 2. 12. Ad Att. xvi. 8.*

⁸ The Roman legions were originally named according to the order in which they were raised, as the *first*, the *second*, &c. But as those legions which were occasionally raised in the provinces, were distinguished, likewise, in the same manner, it was usual to add to this numeral designation, some other, for the sake of avoiding confusion. This latter denomination was generally taken either from the country in which they served, as the *legio Parthica*, or from the name of the general who levied them, as the *legio Augusta*; or from the name of some divinity, as in the present instance, the *legio Martia*. *Rosin. de Antig. Rom. p. 966.*

public⁹. To pursue measures which are agreeable to the general sense of the senate, may be well considered as acting under their express authority; when it is fear alone that restrains them from signifying their approbation in a formal manner. In fine, you can no longer hesitate, whether you should be guided by the principle I am recommending, as you have in two strong instances been governed by it already; first, on the ides of March, and lately when you raised your troops. Upon the whole, then, you ought to be both disposed and prepared to act, not merely as you shall be commanded, but in such a manner as to render your achievements the subject of universal admiration and applause. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 709.]

To the same.

Our friend Lupus very punctually delivered your commands and your letter to me, the next morning after his arrival in Rome; which was in six days after his leaving Mutina¹. I cannot but

⁹ These two legions (part of those which arrived from Macedonia) refused the offers which Antony made to them at Brundisium, and afterwards joined themselves with Octavius. *Ad Att. xvi. 8. Philip. iii. 3.*

¹ A city in Cisalpine Gaul, where Decimus Brutus was shortly afterwards besieged by Antony. It is now called Modena.

but consider you as recommending my own honours to my protection, when you request me to be the guardian of yours; for, be assured, they are equally my concern. It will give me great pleasure, therefore, to find, that you doubt not of my promoting them, upon every occasion, to the best of my zeal and judgment. Accordingly, although I had purposed not to appear in the senate before the first of January next, yet the tribunes of the people, having on that very day on which your manifesto² was published, issued out a proclamation for a meeting of the senate on the 20th of this month³, in order to move that a guard might be appointed for the security of the consuls elect⁴; my affection towards you, induced me to change my resolution, and I determined to attend. I thought, indeed, it would be a most unpardonable omission, if the senate should be holden without taking notice of your inestimable services to the republic, as it unquestionably would have been if I had not attended; or that I should not be present to support any decree that might happen to be proposed for the advancement of your honours. For this

reason,

² The purport of this manifesto of Decimus Brutus, was to declare his resolution of endeavouring to preserve the province of Cisalpine Gaul, over which he presided, in its allegiance to the republic. *Philip. iii. 4.*

³ December.

⁴ Hirtius and Pansa.

reason, I came early into the senate, and my presence brought together a great number of the members. I will leave it to your other friends, to inform you what I there said to your advantage; as well as of the speech which I afterwards made to the same purpose, in a very numerous assembly of the people⁵. In the mean time, let me entreat you to believe, that I shall most zealously embrace every opportunity of contributing to the increase of those dignities you already possess; and although I am sensible I shall meet with many rivals in my good offices for this purpose, yet I will venture to claim the first rank in that honourable list. Farewel.

LETTER

⁵ These two speeches are the third and fourth of the Philippica. The senate, amongst other decrees which they passed upon this occasion, approved and ratified the measures which Decimus Brutus had taken in Cisalpine Gaul for the defence of that province. *Philip. iv. 4.*

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

I AM waging war here against that most iniquitous of all sanguinary ruffians, my colleague⁶ Antony; but by no means, however, upon equal terms; as I have nothing but my tongue to oppose to his arms. He ventured, in a speech which he lately made to the people, to throw out some bitter invectives against you. But his insolence did not pass unchastised; and he shall have still farther reason to remember, against whom it is that he has thus pointed his injurious attacks. But, as your other friends, I imagine, supply you with accounts of our transactions, I should rather inform you what turn affairs are likely to take; and, indeed, it is a point of no very difficult conjecture. The republic labours under a total oppression; her friends are without a leader, and our glorious tyrannicides are dispersed into different and distant quarters. Pansa means well to the commonwealth, and delivers his sentiments with great spirit and freedom. Hirtius recovers but slowly⁷; and, in truth, I know

not

⁶ Antony and Cicero were colleagues as members of the college of Augurs.

⁷ Pansa and Hirtius, as has already been noted, were consuls

not what to think of him. Our only hope is, that the people at last will be awakened from their lethargy, and act with a spirit becoming the descendants of their heroic ancestors. For myself, at least, I will never be wanting to my country; and whatever misfortune may attend the commonwealth after I have exerted my best efforts to prevent it, I shall bear it with perfect equanimity. You may depend, likewise, upon my supporting you in your rank and dignities, to the utmost of my power. Accordingly, in an assembly of the senate, which was holden on the 20th of this month⁸, I proposed (among other necessary and important articles, which I carried by a great majority) that the present proconsuls should be continued in their respective governments; and that they should be ordered not to resign them into other hands, than those which the senate should appoint. I made this motion, not only as thinking it highly expedient for the interest of the republic, but with a particular view also of preserving you in your provincial command⁹. Let me

exhort

consuls elect for the approaching year. The latter, about this time, was attacked by a most dangerous sickness; and his health was esteemed of so much importance, at this juncture, to the commonwealth, that public vows were put up for his recovery. *Philip. vii. 4.*

⁸ December.

⁹ Antony, a short time before he left Rome in order to

M 4

march

exhort you, then, for the sake of our country, and let me conjure you by your regard to myself, not to suffer any man to usurp the least part of your authority; but, in every instance, to maintain the dignity of your rank and character, as a possession which nothing can countervail.

To deal with you agreeably to that sincerity which our friendship requires, I must tell you, that all the world would have highly applauded your conduct, if you had complied with my advice in regard to Sempronius. But the affair is now over; and, in itself, indeed, it was a matter of no great importance. It is of the utmost, however, that you should employ, as I hope you will, every possible mean to retain your province in its allegiance. I would add more, but your courier presses me to dispatch; I must entreat you, therefore, to make my excuses to Cherippus, for not writing to him by this opportunity. Farewel.

LETTER

march against Decimus Brutus, had procured an illegal distribution of the provinces among his friends; by which Caius Calvisius was appointed to succeed Cornificius in Africa. *Philip. iii. Pigh Annal. ii. p. 465.*

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 709.]

QUINTUS CICERO to TIRO.

YOUR letter brought with it a very strong, though silent reproof, for my having thus long omitted writing to you. I could not, indeed, but be sensible how much I had lost by my negligence, when I observed that those points which my brother (from tenderness, perhaps, or haste) had but slightly touched in his letter, were faithfully represented in yours, in all their genuine colours. This was particularly the case, in respect to what you mentioned concerning the consuls elect*. I know, indeed, that they are totally sunk in sloth and debauchery: and if they should not recede from the helm, we are in the utmost danger of being irrecoverably lost. I was myself a witness, during a summer's campaign with them in Gaul, that they were guilty of such actions, and within sight too of the enemy's camp, as are almost beyond all belief: and I am well persuaded, unless we should be better supported than we are at present, that the scoundrel Antony will gain them over to his party, by admitting them as associates in his licentious pleasures.

* Pansa and Hirtius.

pleasures. The truth of it is, the republic must necessarily either throw herself under the protection of the tribunes, or employ some private hand to defend her cause: for as to these noble consuls of ours, one of them is scarce worthy to preside over Cæsena¹; and I would not trust the other with superintending the paltry hovels of Cossutius².

I hope to be with you towards the latter end of this month. In the mean while, let me repeat what I have often said, that I tenderly love you. My impatience to see you is, indeed, so immoderate, that if our first meeting were to happen in the midst of the forum, I should not forbear to transgress the rules of good breeding, and most warmly embrace you in the presence of the whole assembly. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ "An obscure town in Italy, situated upon the Papis, a river which empties itself into the Adriatic, between Ufens and the Rubicon." Mr. Ross.

² Who this person was is unknown. Pique and prejudice seem to have had a considerable hand in the draught which Quintus has here delineated of the two consuls. That Pansa and Hirtius were infected with the fashionable vices of the age, is altogether probable; but that they wanted either spirit or capacity for action, is by no means true, as will evidently appear in the farther progress of these letters.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 709.]

CICERO, the Son³, to his dearest TIRO.

AFTER having been in daily and earnest expectation of your couriers, they are at length, to my great satisfaction, arrived, having performed their voyage in forty-six days from the time they left you. The joy I received from my dear father's most affectionate letter, was crowned by the very agreeable one which attended it from yourself. I can no longer repent, therefore, of having neglected writing to you; as it has proved a mean of furnishing me with an ample proof of your good-nature; and it is with much pleasure I find that you admit the apology I made for my silence.

That the advantageous reports you have heard of my conduct, were perfectly agreeable, my dearest Tiro, to your wishes, I can by no means doubt: and it shall be my constant endeavour

³ He was at this time pursuing his studies at Athens, under the direction of Cratippus, one of the most celebrated philosophers of the peripatetic sect. If young Cicero had not the talents of his father, his genius, however, seems by no means to have been contemptible; and the present letter, written when he was but nineteen years of age, is a full confutation of those who have charged him with a want of sense, ven to a degree of stupidity. See p. 320. of this vol.

deavour to confirm and increase the general good opinion which is thus arising in my favour. You may venture, therefore, with great confidence, to be, what you obligingly promise, the herald of my fame. Indeed, I reflect with so much pain and contrition of mind on the errors into which my youth and inexperience have betrayed me, that I not only look upon them with abhorrence, but cannot bear even to hear them mentioned: and I am well convinced that you take a part in the uneasiness which I suffer from this circumstance. It is no wonder you should be solicitous for the welfare of a person whom both interest and inclination recommend to your good wishes, as I have ever been desirous you should partake of all the advantages that attend me. But if my conduct has formerly given you pain, it shall henceforward, be assured, afford you reason to think of me with double satisfaction.

I live with Cratippus, rather as his son than his pupil; and not only attend his lectures with pleasure, but am extremely delighted with the peculiar sweetness of his conversation. Accordingly I spend whole days in his company, and frequently, indeed, the most part of the night, as I entreat him to sup with me as often as his engagements will permit. Since the introduction
of

of this custom, he every now and then unexpectedly steals in upon us while we are at table; and, laying aside the severity of the philosopher, enters with great good humour into all the mirth and pleasantry of our conversation. Let me request you, then, to hasten hither as soon as possible, in order to enjoy with us the society of this most agreeable and excellent man. As to Bruttius, I never suffer him to be absent from me a single moment. His company is as entertaining as his conduct is exemplary; and he perfectly well knows how to reconcile mirth and good humour with the serious disquisitions of philosophy. I have taken a house for him near mine, and assist his narrow fortunes as far as my slender finances will admit.

I have begun to declaim in Greek, under Cassius, as I choose to employ myself in Latin exercises of that kind with Bruttius. I live in great familiarity also with those learned and approved friends of Cratippus, whom he brought with him from Mitylene, and pass much of my time likewise with Epicrates, one of the most considerable persons in Athens, together with Leonides, and several others of the same rank and

³ The allowance which Cicero made to his son, during his residence at Athens, was about 700l. a year. *Vid. Ad Att. xvi. 1.*

and merit. Thus I have given you a general sketch of my life.

As to what you mention concerning Gorgias, notwithstanding that he was of service to me in my oratorical exercises, yet my father's commands were superior to all other considerations: and as he peremptorily wrote to me that I should immediately dismiss him⁶, I have obeyed his injunctions. I would not suffer myself, indeed, to hesitate a moment, lest my reluctance should raise any suspicions in my father to my disadvantage. Besides, I thought it would ill become me to take upon myself to be a judge of the propriety of his orders. I am extremely obliged to you, however, for the friendly advice you give me in this affair.

I very readily admit the excuse you make on account of your want of leisure, perfectly well knowing how much your time is generally engaged. I am extremely glad to hear that you have bought a farm, and wish you much joy of the purchase. But you must not wonder that I deferred my congratulations to this part of my letter; for you will remember it was about the

⁶ This unworthy tutor had encouraged his pupil in a passion for drinking, a vice in which the young Cicero, how sincere soever he might have been in his present resolves, most shamefully signalised himself in his more mature years.—*Plut. in vit. Cic. Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 22.*

the same place in yours that you communicated to me the occasion of them. You have now a retreat from all the fatiguing ceremonies of the city, and are become a Roman of the true old rural kind⁷. I take pleasure in figuring you to myself, in the midst of your country employments, buying your tools of husbandry, dealing out your orders to your bailiff, and carefully treasuring up the fruit-seeds from your desert. To be serious, I sincerely join with you in regretting that I could not be of service to you upon this occasion. But be assured, my dear Tiro, I shall not fail to assist you, if ever fortune should put it in my power; especially as I am sensible you made this purchase with a view to my use as well as your own.

I am obliged to your care in executing my commission. I desire you would see that I have a writer sent to me who understands Greek, as I lose much time in transcribing my lectures. But, above all, I entreat you to take care of your health, that we may have the pleasure of enjoying together many philosophical conversations. I recommend Antherus to your good offices, and bid you farewell.

LETTER

⁷ Alluding, perhaps, to those celebrated Romans in the earlier ages of the republic, who, after having been called forth from their farms to the service of their country, discharged with glory the functions of the state, and then returned to their ploughs.

LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

From the same, to TIRO.

THE reasons you assign for the intermission of your letters are perfectly just; but I hope that these excuses will not very frequently recur. 'Tis true I receive intelligence of public affairs from particular expresses, as well as from general report; and am continually assured, likewise, of my father's affection, by his own hand; yet I always take great pleasure in reading a letter from yourself, be it upon ever so trifling a subject. I hope, therefore, since I am thus earnestly desirous of hearing from you, that you will not, for the future, send me apologies instead of epistles. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIX.

[A. U. 709.]

BITHYNICUS³ to CICERO.

If we were not mutually attached to each other, by many singular good offices, I should remind you of that friendship which formerly subsisted between our parents: but I leave arguments

³ See rem. 6. p. 89. of this vol.

guments of this kind to those who have neglected to improve their hereditary connexions. For myself, I am well satisfied with going no farther for my claim to your services, than to our own personal amity. In confidence of which let me entreat you, if you believe that none of your favours will be thrown away upon me, that you would, upon all occasions, during my absence², take my interests under your protection. Farewel.

LETTER

² In Sicily: to which province he succeeded as governor at the expiration of his prætorship. *Pigh. Annal. iii. p. 476.*

VOL. III.

N

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XIII.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 710.]

To CORNIFICIUS*.

I NEGLECT no opportunity (and, indeed, if I did, I should fail in what you have a full right to expect from me) not only of celebrating your merit, but of promoting those honours it so justly deserves. But I choose you should be informed of my zealous endeavours for this purpose, by the letters of your family, rather than

* See rem. 6. p. 61. of this vol.

than by my hand. Let me employ it in exhorting you to turn all your care and your attention upon the republic. This is an object worthy of your spirit and your talents; as it is agreeable, likewise, to those hopes which you ought to entertain, of still rising in the dignities of your country. But this is a topic I will enlarge upon another time. In the mean while, I will inform you, that the public affairs are totally in suspense; as the commissioners are not yet returned, whom the senate deputed to Antony; not to sue for peace, indeed, but to denounce war, unless he shall immediately pay obedience to the orders with which they are charged².

I seized the first occasion that offered of resuming my former spirit, in standing forth as the protector both of the senate and the people: and from the moment I thus declared myself the

² These injunctions were, that Antony should instantly quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul. Cicero strongly opposed the sending this deputation, as it was below the dignity of the senate to enter into any sort of treaty with a man whom they had already, in effect, declared a public enemy; as it would have the appearance of fear; and, as the only method of bringing Antony to his duty, would be by an immediate and vigorous prosecution of the war. But these reasons, and others of the same tendency, which Cicero urged with great warmth and eloquence, were over-ruled by the friends of Antony: and it was ordered that Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Piso, and Lucius Philippus, all of them persons of consular rank, should carry this message from the senate to Antony. *Vid. Philip. v.*

the advocate of liberty, I have not lost the least favourable opportunity for the defence of our common rights. But this, likewise, is an article for which I choose to refer you to the information of others.

It is with all possible warmth and earnestness that I recommend Titus Pinarius to your favour, as one who, not only from a similitude of taste and studies, but as he is possessed also of every amiable virtue, engages my strongest affection. He comes into your province in order to superintend the affairs of Dionysius, who, as he is much, I am sensible, in your esteem, so no man stands higher in mine. Unnecessary, therefore, as I know it to be to recommend his interests to your protection, yet I cannot forbear doing so: and I doubt not of your giving occasion to the very grateful Pinarius of sending me a letter of acknowledgment for your good offices both to himself and to Dionysius. Farewel.

N 3

LETTER

LETTER II.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

POLLA³ sends me word that an opportunity offers of conveying a letter to you: but, at present, I have nothing material to write. All public business, indeed, is entirely suspended, till we shall hear what success the deputies⁴ have met with, from whom we have not yet received any intelligence. I will take this occasion, however, of telling you, that the senate and the people are greatly anxious concerning you, not only as their own preservation depends upon yours, but as they are extremely solicitous that you should acquit yourself with glory. The truth is, you have, in a very remarkable degree, the general affection of the whole republic, which confidently hopes, that as you lately delivered us from one tyrant⁵, so you will now free us from the danger of another⁶.

We are raising troops⁷ in Rome and throughout all Italy, if that term may, with any propriety, be

³ The wife of Decimus Brutus.

⁴ Those mentioned in the preceding letter.

⁵ Caesar.

⁶ Antony.

⁷ The senate did not suspend their preparations for war, notwithstanding the deputation they had sent to Antony. On the

be employed, where every man eagerly presses to enter into the service; so warmly are the people animated with a passion of recovering their liberties, and such is their abhorrence of the slavery they have thus long sustained!

We now expect soon to receive an account from you, not only of your own operations, but of those, likewise, of our common friend Hirtius, and of Cæsar, whom I must particularly call *mine*. I hope, shortly, to see you all three united in the general honour of one common victory. For the rest, I have only to add (what I had rather you should learn, however, from the letters of your family, and what I hope they are so just as to assure you) that I neither do, nor ever shall, neglect any opportunity of contributing to the advancement of your public honours. Farewel.

LETTER

the contrary, Hirtius and Octavius marched into Gaul at the head of a considerable army, while Pansa remained in Italy, in order to complete the additional troops with which he purposed to join them. *Life of Cic. iii. 121.*

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LETTER III.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS¹.

THE visit I lately received from Furnius² afforded me great satisfaction, not only upon his own account, but more particularly on yours, as he painted you so strongly to my mind, that I could not but fancy, during the whole conversation, that you were actually present. He represented to me the heroism you display in the military affairs of your province, the equity of your civil administration; the prudence which distinguishes every part of your conduct in general; together with what I was by no means, indeed, a stranger to before, the charms of your social and friendly qualities. To this he did not forget to add, likewise, the singular generosity which you have shewn in your behaviour towards himself. Every one of these articles I heard with pleasure; and, for the last, I am much obliged to you³.

The friendship I enjoy with your family, my dear Plancus, commenced somewhat before you

¹ See rem. 2. p. 134. of this vol.

² He was one of the lieutenants of Plancus.

³ Furnius had been particularly recommended by Cicero to the favour of Plancus. See let. 20. of the preceding book.

you were born: and, as the affection which I conceived for you begun from your childhood, so, in your more mature years, it was mutually improved into the strictest intimacy. These are considerations which strongly engage me to favour your interests: which I look upon, indeed, as my own. Merit, in conjunction with fortune, have crowned you, even thus early in your life, with the highest distinctions: as the diligent exertion of your superior talents has frustrated the opposition of those many envious antagonists, who vainly endeavoured to obstruct your way. And now, if you will be influenced by the advice of a man who greatly loves you, and who, from a long connexion with you, has an equal claim to your regard with the oldest of your friends, you will receive all the future honours of your life from the republic in its best and most constitutional form. There was a season, you know, (for nothing surely could have escaped your discernment) there was a season² when the world thought you too compliant with the prevailing faction of the times: and I should have thought so too, if I had imagined that your approbation was to be measured by your submission. But as I knew the sentiments of your heart,

² During Caesar's usurpation.

heart, I was persuaded you had prudently considered the extent of your power. Public affairs, however, are at present in a far different situation; and you may now freely act in every point as your judgment shall direct. The time is shortly approaching, when, in consequence of your present designation, you will enter upon the consular office³; and you will enter upon it, my friend, in the prime of your years; with the advantage of possessing the noblest and most commanding eloquence; and, at a period too, when there is the utmost scarcity of such illustrious citizens as yourself. Let me conjure you, then, by the immortal gods, most earnestly to pursue those measures that will ensure the highest glory to your character. Now, there is but one possible method of acting towards the republic with this advantage to your reputation: at least, there is but one in the present conjuncture, as the commonwealth has for so many years⁴ been disturbed by our intestine commotions.

When I write to you in this strain, it is rather in compliance with the dictates of my affection, than as supposing that you stand in need either of precepts or admonitions. I am sensible

³ See rem. 5. p. 136. of this vol.

⁴ The civil wars had now continued about seven years.

sensible that you are sufficiently supplied with reflections of this nature, from the same source whence I derive them myself; it is time, therefore, to put an end to what I designed, not as an ostentation of my wisdom, but merely as an instance of my friendship. I will only add, that you may depend upon the most zealous of my services upon every occasion, wherein I shall imagine your credit and character is concerned. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

I AM exceedingly obliged to you for your letter: a favour, for which I am indebted, I perceive, to the account that Furnius gave of me in the conversation you mention. If I have not written to you sooner, you must impute it to my being informed that you were set out upon your expedition into Greece: and I was not apprised of your return till a very short time before I learned it from your letter. I mention this because I should think myself deserving of the highest reproach, if I were intentionally guilty of an omission, even in the slightest

* The preceding epistle.

slightest office of friendship towards you. The intimacy, indeed, which was contracted between you and my father; the early esteem I conceived of your merit, together with those instances of affection I have received from you, supply me with many powerful reasons for not failing in the regards I owe you. Be assured, therefore, my dear Cicero, there is no man whom I am so much disposed to revere as yourself: as, indeed, the great disparity of our ages, may well justify me in looking up to you with all the sacred respect of filial veneration. I received your admonitions, therefore, as so many dictates of the most consummate wisdom; at the same time that I considered them as instances, likewise, of your unfeigned sincerity; for, in this respect, I judge of *your* heart by what I feel in *my own*. If I had any doubt then, what measures to pursue, or were inclined to adopt others than those you recommend, I should most certainly be determined by your judgment, or restrained by your advice; but in my present situation, can there possibly be an inducement to draw me from those paths you point out? The truth is, that whatever honourable distinctions I have acquired, either by my own industry, or by the favours of fortune, though far inferior to what your affection re-

presents

presents them; yet they want no other lustre, perhaps, but that of having been attained with the general approbation of the commonwealth; and this even the most inveterate of my enemies acknowledge. Be assured then, that the whole of my power, my prudence, and my authority, shall ever be exerted in the service of the republic. As I am no stranger to your sentiments, I am well persuaded that mine would never disagree with yours, if I had the happiness of having you so near me as to be able to consult them. But though I cannot enjoy this very desirable advantage, yet I trust you will never have occasion to condemn my conduct.

I am extremely impatient to learn what is transacting in the nearer Gaul⁶, as well as what effect the present month⁷ may produce in regard to affairs at Rome. In the mean time, I am earnestly labouring to prevent the people of this province from pursuing the example of their neighbours, by taking advantage of the public disturbances to throw off their allegiance. And should my endeavours be attended

⁶ Where Decimus Brutus commanded, who, at this time, was actually besieged in Modena by Mark Antony: a circumstance, to which Plancus, 'tis probable, was no stranger, though he thought proper to affect ignorance.

⁷ January: when the new consuls always entered upon their office. The consuls for the present year were Hirtius and Pansa.

tended with the success they deserve, I doubt not of being approved, not only by every friend of liberty in general, but, what I am most ambitious of, by yourself in particular. Farewel, my dear Cicero, and love me with an equal return of that affection I bear you.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

THE duplicate you sent me of your letter* was an instance of your obliging care lest I should be disappointed of what I so impatiently wished to receive. The contents afforded me a double satisfaction; and I am at a loss to determine whether the friendship you profess for myself, or the zeal you discover for the republic, rendered it most truly acceptable. To speak my own opinion, indeed, the public affections are altogether noble and sublime; but surely there is something more amiably sweet in those of the private kind. Accordingly, that part of your letter where you remind me of the intimacy in which I lived with your father, of the early disposition you found in yourself to love me, together with other passages to the same friendly purpose, filled my heart with the most exquisite pleasure, as the sentiments you profess with

* The foregoing.

regard to the commonwealth, raised in me the highest satisfaction: and, to say truth, I was so much the more pleased with the latter, as they were accompanied, at the same time, with the former.

To repeat what I said in the letter to which you have returned so obliging an answer, let me not only exhort, but entreat you, my dear Plancus, to exert your utmost powers in the service of the commonwealth. There is nothing that can more contribute to the advancement of your glory: for amongst all human honours, none most certainly is superior to that of deserving well of one's country. Your great good sense and good nature will suffer me, I know, to speak my sentiments to you with the same freedom that I have hitherto used. Let me again observe then, that the honours you have already acquired, though you could not, indeed, have attained to them without merit, yet they have principally been owing to fortune, in conjunction with the particular circumstances of the times. But whatever services you shall perform for the republic in this very critical conjuncture, will reflect a lustre upon your character, that will derive all its splendour from yourself alone. It is incredible how odious Antony is become to all sorts of people, except those only of the same dishonest views with himself:

himself: but the great hopes and expectations of the republic are fixed upon you and the army you command. Let me conjure you then, in the most solemn manner, not to lose so important an opportunity of establishing yourself in the esteem and favour of your fellow-citizens, or in other words, of gathering immortal praise. Believe me, it is with all the tenderness of a father that I thus admonish you; that I enter into your interests with as much warmth as if they were my own; and that my exhortations proceed from the zeal I bear for the glory of my friend, and the welfare of my country. Adieu.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

Oh, that you had invited me to that glorious feast you exhibited on the ides of March! Be assured, I would have suffered none of it to have gone off untouched. Whereas the part you unhappily spared, occasions me, above all others, more trouble than you can well imagine. I must acknowledge, at the same time,

* Alluding to the conspirators having spared Antony when they destroyed Cæsar. See rem. 8, p. 148. of this vol.

time, that we have two most excellent consuls: but as to those of consular rank, there is not one of them who does not merit the highest reproach. The senate in general, however, exert themselves with spirit, as the lower order of magistrates distinguish themselves by their singular resolution and zeal. In a word, it is impossible to shew a better or more vigorous disposition than appears in the populace, not only of Rome, but throughout all Italy. But Philippus and Piso, on the contrary, whom the senate deputed with peremptory orders to Antony*, have executed their commission in a manner that raises our highest indignation. For notwithstanding that Antony refused to comply with every single article of the senate's injunctions, yet these unworthy deputies had the meanness to charge themselves with bringing back the most insolent demands. This behaviour of theirs has occasioned all the world to have recourse to my assistance,

* Hirtius and Pansa.

* See rem. 2. on let. 1. of this book.

* "The purport of them was, that the senate should assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other grants which he and Dolabella had made in their consulship; that all his decrees from Cæsar's books and papers should be confirmed; that no account should be demanded of the money taken from the temple of Opis, &c. On these terms, he offered to give up Cisalpine Gaul, provided, that he might have the greater Gaul in exchange for five years, with an army of six legions, to be complete out of the troops of Decimus Brutus." *Life of Cic. iii*

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assistance, and I am become extremely popular in a way wherein popularity is seldom acquired, I mean, by supporting a good cause.

I am altogether ignorant in what part of the world you are at present, as well as of what schemes you are either executing or meditating. A report prevails that you are gone into Syria, but for this we have no certain authority. We can a little more depend upon the accounts we receive of Brutus, as his distance from us is less remote³.

It has been remarked here by men of some pleasantry, and much indignation against Dolabella, that he has shewn himself in too great haste to be your *successor*, as he is most uncivilly set out to take *possession* of your government when you have enjoyed it scarce a single month⁴. The case is clear, therefore, say they, that Cassius should by no means give him admittance. But to be serious; both you and Brutus are mentioned with the highest applause, as it is generally supposed that each of you has drawn

³ Marcus Brutus, when he found it necessary to leave Italy, withdrew into Macedonia, where he was, at this time, employed in raising forces in support of the republican cause.

⁴ The province of Syria had been intended by Cæsar for Cassius; but Mark Antony, after the death of Cæsar, had artfully procured it to be allotted to Dolabella. Accordingly, the latter left Rome a short time before the expiration of his consulship the last year, in order to be beforehand with Cassius, in getting possession of this government; and it is in allusion to this circumstance, that the humour of the present passage, such as it is, consists.

drawn together an army far beyond our expectations. I would add more, if I knew with certainty the situation of yourself and your affairs; but I hazard this letter merely upon the doubtful credit of common fame. It is with great impatience, therefore, that I wait for better intelligence from your own hand. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO TREBONIUS⁵.

WOULD to heaven you had invited me to that noble feast which you made on the ides of March; no remnants, most assuredly, should have been left behind⁶. Whereas the part you unluckily spared gives us so much perplexity, that we find something to regret, even in the godlike service which you and your illustrious associates have lately rendered to the republic. To say the truth, when I reflect that it is owing to the favour of so worthy a man as yourself, that Antony now lives to be our general bane, I am sometimes inclined to be a little angry with you for

⁵ He was, at this time, in Asia Minor, of which province he was governor. See rem. 8. p. 99. of this vol.

⁶ See rem. 9. on the preceding letter.

for taking him aside when Cæsar fell⁷; as by this mean you have occasioned more trouble to myself in particular, than to all the rest of the whole community. From the very first moment, indeed, that Antony's ignominious departure from Rome⁸, had left the senate uncontrolled in its deliberations, I resumed the spirit which you and that inflexible patriot, your father, were wont to esteem and applaud. Accordingly, the tribunes of the people having summoned the senate to meet on the 20th of December, upon other matters, I seized that opportunity of taking the whole state of the republic into consideration⁹; and more by the zeal than the eloquence of my speech, I revived

⁷ As it had been resolved, in a council of the conspirators, that Antony's life should be spared, they did not choose he should be present when they executed their design upon Cæsar: probably lest he should attempt to assist his friend, and by that means occasion them to spill more blood than they intended. For this reason, Trebonius held Antony in discourse, at the entrance into the senate, till the rest of the conspirators had finished their work. *Dio. p. 249. Plut. in vit. Brut.*

⁸ Upon the news that two of the four legions from Brundisium [see rem. 4. p. 152. of this vol.] had actually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves in the neighbourhood of Rome, Antony left the city with great precipitation; and, putting himself at the head of his army, marched directly, in order to wrest Cisalpine Gaul out of the hands of Decimus Brutus. Cicero, who was at this time in the country, took the opportunity of Antony's absence to return to Rome; where he arrived on the 9th of December, in the preceding year, about a month or two, 'tis probable, before he wrote the present letter. See *Life of Cic. iii. 97.*

⁹ It was upon this occasion that Cicero spoke his third Philippic.

vived the drooping spirits of that oppressed assembly, and awakened in them all their former vigour. It was owing to the ardour with which I thus contended in the debates of this day, that the people of Rome first conceived a hope of recovering their liberties: and to this great point all my thoughts and all my actions have ever since been perpetually directed. Thus important, however, as my occupations are, I would enter into a full detail of our proceedings, if I did not imagine that public transactions of every kind are transmitted to you by other hands. From them, therefore, you will receive a more particular information; whilst I content myself with giving you a short and general sketch of our present circumstances and situation. I must inform you, then, we have a senate that acts with spirit; but that as to those of consular dignity, part of them want the courage to exert themselves in the manner they ought, and the rest are ill-affected to the republic. The death of Servius¹ is a great loss to us. Lucius Cæsar², though he is altogether

in

¹ Servius Sulpicius, to whom several letters, in the foregoing part of this collection, are addressed. He was one, and the most considerable, of the three consulars whom the senate had lately deputed to Antony; but, very unfortunately for that embassy, he died just as he arrived in Antony's camp. *Phil. ix. 1.*

² See rem. 5. p. 94. of this vol.

in the interest of liberty, yet in tenderness to his nephew¹, does not concur in any very vigorous measure. The consuls², in the mean time, deserve the highest commendations: I must mention Decimus Brutus, likewise, with much applause. The conduct of young Cæsar also is equally laudable: and I persuade myself that we have reason to hope he will complete the work he has begun. This, at least, is certain, that if he had not been so extremely expeditious in raising the veteran forces³, and if two legions had not deserted to him from Antony's army, there is nothing so cruel or so flagitious which the latter would not have committed. But as these are articles which I suppose you are already apprised of, I only just mention them in order to confirm them.

You shall hear farther from me, whenever I can find a more leisure moment. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ Antony.

² Hirtius and Pansa.

³ See rem. 7. p. 162. of this vol.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

It is owing, I imagine, to the difficulty of forwarding any dispatches during the winter season, that we have yet received no certain intelligence of what you are doing, nor even know in what part of the world you are placed. It is universally reported, however, (though more, I believe, from what people wish, than from what they have sufficient grounds to assert) that you have raised an army, and are actually in Syria; a report which the more easily gains credit, as it appears to be extremely probable.

Our friend Brutus has acquired great honour by his late glorious and unexpected achievements⁴; not only as being in themselves extremely desirable to the friends of liberty, but from the wonderful expedition, likewise, with which he performed them. If it be true, therefore, that you are in possession of those provinces we imagine, the republic is very powerfully

⁴ He had lately sent an account to the senate of his success against Caius, the brother of Mark Antony; having forced him to retire, with a few cohorts, to Apollonia, and secured Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, together with the several armies in those countries, to the interest of the republic. *Vid. Philip. x.*

fully supported; as that whole tract of country, which extends from the nearest coast of Greece as far as Egypt, is, upon this supposition, in the hands of two the most faithful friends of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, if my judgment does not deceive me, the event of this war depends entirely upon Decimus Brutus: for if he should be able to force his way out of Mutina, (as we have reason to hope) it will, in all probability, be totally at an end.--- There are now, indeed, but few troops employed in carrying on that siege; as Antony has sent a large detachment to keep possession of Bononia⁶. In the mean while, our friend Hirtius is posted at Claterna⁷, and Cæsar at Forum Cornelii⁸, each of them at the head of a very considerable army; at the same time that Pansa is raising at Rome a large body of Italian troops. But the season of the year has hitherto prevented their entering upon action; and, indeed, Hirtius appears, by the several letters I have received from him, to be determined to take all his measures with the utmost precaution.

Both the Gauls, excepting only the cities of Bononia, Regium, and Parma, are zealously affected to the republic; as are also your clients

⁶ Bologna.

⁷ Quaderna.

⁸ Imola.

on the other side the Po. The senate likewise is firm in the cause of liberty; but when I say the senate, I must exclude all of consular rank, except Lucius Cæsar, who, indeed, is faithfully attached to the interest of the commonwealth. The death of Servius Sulpicius has deprived us of a very powerful associate. As for the rest of the consulars, part of them are ill affected to the republic, others want spirit to support its cause, and some there are who look with envy on those patriot citizens whose conduct they see distinguished by the public applause. The populace, however, both in Rome, and throughout all Italy, are wonderfully unanimous in the common cause.---I have nothing farther, I think, to add, but my wishes that your heroic virtues may shine out upon us from yon eastern regions, in all their enlivening warmth and lustre. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 710.]

TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

I HAVE received a second letter from you, concerning your friend Rufus: and since you interest yourself thus warmly in his behalf, you might depend upon my utmost assistance, even

if

⁷ See rem. 1. p. 15. vol. ii.

if he had done me an injury. But I am perfectly sensible, from those letters of his, which you communicated to me, as well as from your own, how much my welfare has been his concern. I cannot, therefore, refuse him my friendly offices, not only in regard to your recommendation, which has all the weight with me it ought, but in compliance also with my own inclinations. I must acknowledge that it was his and your letters, my dear Pætus, which first put me upon my guard against the designs that were formed to destroy me⁸. I afterwards, indeed, received intelligence from several other hands to the same effect, and particularly of the consultations that were held concerning me both at Aquinium and Fabratina⁹; of which meetings, I find, you were likewise apprised. One would imagine that this party had foreseen how much I should embarrass their schemes, by the industry they employed in order to compass my destruction: and, as I had not the least suspicion of their purposes,

⁸ This probably alludes to some design of the veteran soldiers against Cicero's life; as it appears, from a letter to Atticus, written soon after Cæsar's death, that our author had been cautioned not to trust himself in Rome, on account of the danger to which he would be exposed, from the insolence of those troops. *Vid. Ad Att. xv. 3.*

⁹ These towns were situated in Latium, or what is now called the Campagna di Roma. They still subsist under the names of *Aquino* and *Fabratèra*.

purposes, I might incautiously have fallen into their snares, if it had not been for the admonitions you sent me, in consequence of the information you had received from Rufus. Your friend, therefore, wants no advocate with me for my good offices; and I wish the republic may be in so happy a situation, as to afford me an opportunity of giving him the most substantial proofs of my gratitude.

But, to dismiss this subject, I am sorry you no longer frequent the festive tables of your friends; as you cannot renounce these parties of good cheer, without depriving yourself of a very exquisite gratification. And, to tell you the truth, I am sorry, likewise, upon another account; as I am afraid you will lose the little knowledge you had acquired in the art of cookery, and be absolutely at a loss how to set forth a tolerable supper. For as you made no very considerable improvements in this fashionable science, even when you had many curious models for your imitation, what strange awkward things must your entertainments prove now that you enjoy no longer the same advantages? When I informed Spurinna¹ of this wonderful revolution in the system of your affairs, he shook his prophetic head, and declared that

¹ A celebrated diviner, who is said to have forewarned Cæsar of the ides of March. *Suet. in Jul. 81.*

that it portended some terrible disaster to the commonwealth; unless, said he, this extraordinary phenomenon be occasioned by the present cold weather, and your friend should return with the zephyrs to his accustomed train of life. But, without a joke, my dear Pætus, I would advise you to spend your time in the cheerful society of a set of worthy and agreeable friends; as there is nothing, in my estimation, that more effectually contributes to the happiness of human life. When I say this, I do not mean with respect to the sensual gratifications of the palate, but with regard to that pleasing relaxation of the mind which is best produced by the freedom of social converse, and which is always most agreeable at the hour of meals. For this reason, the Latin language is much happier, I think, than the Greek, in the term it employs to express assemblies of this sort. In the latter they are called by a word which signifies *computations*; whereas, in ours, they are more emphatically styled *convivial* meetings; intimating that it is in a communication of this nature that life is most truly enjoyed. You see I am endeavouring to bring philosophy to my assistance, in recalling you to the tables of your friends; and, indeed, I prescribe them as the best recipe for the re-establishment of your health. Do

Do not imagine, my friend, from my writing in this strain of pleasantry, that I have renounced my cares for the republic. Be assured, on the contrary, that it is the sole and unintermitted business of my life to secure to my fellow-citizens the full possession of their liberties, to which end my admonitions, my labours, and the utmost powers of my mind, are, upon all occasions, unweariedly employed. In a word, it is my firm persuasion, that, if I should die a martyr to these patriot endeavours, I shall finish my days in the most glorious manner. Again and again I bid you farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 710.]

CAIUS CASSIUS, Proconsul, to CICERO.

I AM to inform you of my arrival in Syria, where I have joined the generals Lucius Murcus and Quintus Crispus[?]. These brave and worthy citizens, having been made acquainted with what has lately passed in Rome, immediately resigned their armies to my command, and with great zeal and spirit co-operate with me in the service of the republic. Aulus Allie-

nus

[?] "They had been prætors, A. U. 708. Cæsar sent the former into Syria, and the latter into Bithynia, with pro-consular authority." *Dio. xlvii. Appian. iii. Mr. Ross.*

nus has delivered to me the four legions which he brought from Egypt³: the legion which was commanded by Cæcilius Bassus⁴ has likewise joined me. And now it is unnecessary, I am persuaded, that I should exhort you to defend the interest both of myself and of the commonwealth, to the utmost of your abilities: but it may animate your zeal and your hopes, to be assured that a powerful army is not wanting to support the senate and its friends in the cause of liberty. For the rest, I refer you to Lucius Carteius, whom I have directed to confer with you upon my affairs. Farewel.

From my camp at Tarichea⁵, March the 7th.

LETTER

³ "Allienus was lieutenant to Dolabella, by whom he was sent into Egypt, in order to conduct those legions into Syria. He accordingly executed his commission; but, instead of delivering these troops to Dolabella, he went over with them to Cassius." *Quartier*.

⁴ See rem. 7. p. 65. of this vol.

⁵ Situated upon the lake of Genesaret, in Galilee.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 710.]

ASINIUS POLLIO⁶, to CICERO.

YOU must not wonder that you have heard nothing from me, in relation to public affairs, since the breaking out of the war. Our couriers have always found it difficult to pass unmolested through the forest of Castulo⁷; but it is now more than ever infested with robbers. These banditti, however, are by no means the principal obstruction to our intercourse with Rome, as the mails are perpetually searched and detained

⁶ Asinius Pollio was, in every respect, one of the most accomplished persons among his contemporaries. His extensive genius was equal to all the nobler branches of polite literature, and he gave the most applauded proofs of his talents as a poet, an orator, and an historian. He united the most lively and pleasing vein of wit and pleasantry with all that strength and solidity of understanding which is necessary to render a man of weight in the more serious and important occasions of life; in allusion to which uncommon assemblage of qualities, it was said of him, that he was a man *omnium horarum*. It is to be regretted that a character so truly brilliant on the intellectual side, should shine with less lustre in a moral view. 'Tis evident, however, from the present epistle, that, in taking part with Cæsar, against Pompey, private considerations were of more force with him than public utility, and determined him to support a cause which his heart condemned. This letter was written from the farther Spain, of which province Cæsar, a short time before his death, had appointed Pollio governor.

⁷ A city anciently of great note: at present it is only a small village, called *Cazorla*, in the province of New Castile, in Spain.

detained by the soldiers that are posted for that purpose, by both parties, in every quarter of the country. Accordingly, if I had not received letters by a ship which lately arrived in this river^a, I should have been utterly ignorant of what has been transacted in your part of the world. But now that a communication by sea is thus opened between us, I shall frequently, and with great pleasure, embrace the opportunity of corresponding with you.

Believe me, there is no danger of my being influenced by the persuasions of the person you mention^b. As much as the world abhors him, he is far from being detested to that degree which I know he deserves: and I have so strong an aversion to the man, that I would upon no consideration bear a part in any measures wherein he is concerned^c. Inclined both by my temper and my studies to be the friend of tranquillity and freedom, I frequently and bitterly lamented our late unhappy civil wars. But as the formidable

^a The Quadalquiver, upon which the city of Corduba, from whence this letter is dated, was situated.

^b Antony, as Manutius conjectures, though some of the commentators, with greater probability, suppose that he means Lepidus. *Vid. Epist. Famil. x. 11. & 15.*

^c Nothing could be more insincere, it should seem, than these professions, as it is probable that Pollio was at this time determined to join Antony. It is certain, at least, that he did so soon afterwards, and carried with him the troops under his command. *Patercul. ii. 63.*

midable enemies which I had among both parties, rendered it, altogether, unsafe for me to remain neuter; so I would not take up arms on that side where I knew I should be perpetually exposed to the insidious arts of my capital adversary^a. But though my inclinations were not with the party I joined, my spirit, however, would not suffer me to stand undistinguished among them: in consequence of which, I was forward to engage in all the dangers of the cause I had espoused. With respect to Cæsar himself, I will confess that I loved him with the highest and most inviolable affection: and, indeed, I had reason. For, notwithstanding his acquaintance with me commenced so late as when he was in the height of his power; yet he admitted me into the same share of his friendship, as if I had been in the number of those with whom he had lived in the longest intimacy. Nevertheless, as often as I was at liberty to follow my own sentiments, I endeavoured that my conduct should be such as every honest man must approve: and whenever I was obliged to execute the orders I received, it was in a manner that evidently discovered how much

^a The person hinted at, is, perhaps, Cato: as Pollio had early distinguished his enmity towards that most illustrious of Romans, by a public impeachment. *Vid. Dial. de Cato. Corrupt. Eloquent. 34.*

much my actions were at variance with my heart. The unjust odium, however, that I incurred by these unavoidable compliances, might well teach me the true value of liberty, and how wretched a condition it is to live under the government of a despotic power. If any attempts, therefore, are carrying on to reduce us a second time under the dominion of a single person, whoever that single person may be, I declare myself his irreconcilable enemy. The truth is, there is no danger so great that I would not cheerfully hazard for the support of our common liberties. But the consuls have not thought proper to signify to me, either by any decree of the senate, or by their private letters, in what manner I should act in the present conjuncture. I have received, indeed, only one letter from Pansa since the ides of March: by which he advised me to assure the senate, that I was ready to employ the forces under my command in any service they should require. But this would have been a very imprudent declaration at a time when Lepidus had professed, in his public speeches, as well as in the letters he wrote to all his friends, that he concurred in Antony's measures. For could I possibly, without the consent of the former, find means to subsist my army in their march through his provinces?

vinces? But granting that I could have surmounted this difficulty, I must have conquered another and a still greater: as nothing less than a pair of wings could have rendered it practicable for me to have crossed the Alps, whilst every pass was guarded by the troops of Lepidus. Add to this, that I could by no means convey any dispatches to Rome: as the couriers were not only exposed in a thousand different places to the danger of being plundered, but were detained, likewise, by the express orders of Lepidus. It is well known, however, that I publicly declared at Corduba, that it was my resolution not to resign this province into any other hands than those which the senate should appoint: not to mention how strenuously I withstood all the applications that were made to me for parting with the thirtieth legion. I could not, indeed, have given it up, without depriving myself of a very considerable strength for the defence of the republic: as there are no troops in the whole world that are animated with a braver or more martial spirit than those of which this legion is composed. Upon the whole, I hope you will do me the justice to believe, in the first place, that I am extremely desirous of preserving the public tranquillity; as there is nothing I more

sincerely
Lepidus was governor of that part of Spain which lay nearest to Italy. See rem. a. on letter 14. of this book.

sincerely wish than the safety of all my fellow-citizens: and, in the next place, that I am determined to vindicate my own and my country's rights.

It gives me greater satisfaction than you can well imagine, that you admit my friend into a share of your intimacy. Shall I own, nevertheless, that I cannot think of him as the companion of your walks, and as bearing a part in the pleasantries of your conversation, without feeling some emotions of envy! This is a privilege, believe me, which I infinitely value: as you shall most assuredly experience, by my devoting the whole of my time to your company, if ever we should live to see peace restored to the republic.

I am much surprised that you did not mention, in your letter, whether it would be most satisfactory to the senate that I should remain in this province, or march into Italy. If I were to consider only my own ease and safety, I should certainly continue here: but as, in the present conjuncture, the republic has more occasion for legions than for provinces, (especially as the loss of the latter may, with great ease, be recovered) I have determined to move towards Italy with my troops. For the rest, I refer you to the letter I have written to Pansa: a copy of which I herewith transmit to you. Farewel.

Cordoba, March the 16th.

LETTER

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

YOU will receive a full account of the present situation of affairs from Tadius Strabo, a person of great merit, and extremely well-affected to the republic. Need I add how strong his attachment, likewise, is to yourself, when it thus evidently appears by his leaving his family and his fortunes in order to follow you? For the same reason, I forbear to solicit your good offices in his behalf, as I am persuaded you will think his coming to you a sufficient recommendation to your favour.

If any misfortune should attend our arms, be assured that the friends of the republic have no other resource left than in you and Marcus Brutus. We are, at this juncture, indeed, in the most imminent danger: as it is with great difficulty that Decimus Brutus still holds out at Mutina. However, if he should be speedily relieved, we may look upon victory as our own; if not, let me repeat it again, every friend of liberty will fly for refuge to Brutus and to you. May you stand ready, then, with all that spirit which is necessary for the full and complete deliverance of our distressed country! Farewel.

P 3

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 710.]

To PLANCUS.

THE account that Furnius gave us of your disposition towards the republic, afforded the highest satisfaction both to the senate and the people. But your letter, which was afterwards read in the senate, seemed by no means to comport with those sentiments our friend had thus represented you as entertaining. At the very time, indeed, when your illustrious colleague is sustaining a siege from the lawless crew of the most worthless villains, you do not scruple to advise us to peace. But if peace is their sincere desire, let them immediately lay down their arms, and sue for it in a proper manner, otherwise they must expect to obtain it, not by treaty, be assured, but by the sword alone. But I leave it to Furnius and your worthy brother, to acquaint you with the reception which your letter upon this subject, as well as that of Lepidus, met with from the senate. Meanwhile, notwithstanding you are well qualified to be your own adviser, and that it will soon be in your power, likewise, to have recourse to the faithful and friendly counsels of Furnius and your brother; yet, in compliance with that af-

fection

fection to which you have so many powerful claims, I cannot forbear sending you a few admonitions. Believe me, then, my dear Plancus, whatever honours you have hitherto acquired, (and you have acquired, in truth, the highest) they will be considered as so many vain and empty titles, unless you dignify them by joining in the defence both of the liberties of the people and the authority of the senate. Let me conjure you, therefore, to separate yourself from those associates with whom you have hitherto been united, not by choice, indeed, but by the general attraction of a prevailing party. It has been the fortune of many, as it will probably be yours, to exercise the supreme magistracy during times of public commotions; but not one of this number ever derived to himself that esteem and veneration which naturally flows from the consular dignity, who had not distinguished his administration by an active and zealous regard for the interests of the commonwealth. To this end, it is necessary, that you renounce the society of those impious citizens, whose principles are far different from your own; that you shew yourself the friend, the guide, and the protector of all those who are faithfully attached to our constitution; and, in fine, that you be well persuaded that

P 4 the

the re-establishment of the public tranquillity consists, not merely in laying down our arms, but in being secure from all reasonable apprehension of their ever being resumed to enslave us again. Thus to think and thus to act, will render your character, both as a consul and a consular, most truly illustrious; but if you should steer yourself by other maxims and by other measures, you will possess those exalted distinctions, not only without honour, but with the utmost disgrace.

And now, if I have expressed my sentiments with somewhat more than ordinary seriousness, impute it to the zeal of my affection towards you; assuring yourself, at the same time, that you will, undoubtedly, find my advice is founded on truth, if you make the experiment in a manner worthy of your character. Farewel.

March the 20th.

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO LEPIDUS.*

THE singular regard I bear you, renders it greatly my concern that you should be distinguished with the highest dignities of the republic. I cannot, therefore, but regret, that you

* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was descended from one of the noblest and most ancient families in Rome: and he was himself distinguished with some of the most honourable posts in the republic. He stood high in the confidence and friendship of Julius Cæsar: who, when he was dictator, named him for the master of the horse; when he was consul, in the year 707, declared him his colleague; and who, a short time before his death, appointed him governor of the nearer Spain. One of the most elegant of the Roman historians has represented Lepidus as void of all military virtues, and in every view of his character as altogether unworthy of that high station to which fortune had exalted him. Accordingly he is described by Shakespear, in the tragedy of Julius Cæsar, as,

—a slight unmeritable man,

Meet to be sent on errands.

But though the poet has been strictly true to history, it may be questioned, perhaps, whether the historian has been equally faithful to truth. For when one considers the great trust which Cæsar reposed in Lepidus; his address in prevailing with young Pompey, who had made himself master almost of all Spain, to renounce his conquests; together with the share he had in forming that celebrated league between Antony, Octavius, and himself, which gave him a third part in the division of the whole Roman dominions; is it credible that his talents were destitute of lustre? History, perhaps, may be more reasonably relied upon in what it has delivered concerning his moral character: and it is probable that Lepidus was strongly infected with avarice, ambition, and vanity. This at least is certain, that he acted towards the senate in the present conjuncture, with great dissimulation and treachery. At the time when this letter was written, he was at the head of

you omitted to pay your acknowledgments to the senate for those extraordinary honours they lately conferred upon you^b.

I am glad you are desirous of composing those unhappy dissensions that destroy the tranquillity of our country: and if you can effect this good work, consistently with the enjoyment of our liberties, it will be greatly to your own credit, as well as to the advantage of the commonwealth. But if the peace you propose, is to re-establish a most oppressive tyranny, be well assured there is not a man in his senses who will not rather renounce his life than thus suffer himself to be made a slave. I should think, therefore, that your wisest way would be to avoid engaging as the mediator of a peace which is neither approved by the senate, or the people, nor indeed by any lover of his country in the whole republic. But as this is a truth which you will undoubtedly learn from others, I will only add, that I hope you will consider, with your usual prudence, in what manner it will be best and most adviseable for you to act. Farewel.

LETTER

of a very considerable army in the Narbonensian Gaul, which Cæsar had annexed to the province of Spain, in favour of Lepidus. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 451. Vel. Patercul. ii. 63. 80. Dio. xlv. 275.*

^bThe senate had lately decreed, that the statue of Lepidus should be erected in the forum with an inscription, in honour of the services he had performed to his country, by prevailing with young Pompey to lay down his arms. *Philip. xvi. 4.*

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

I WILL not tell you with how much zeal I lately stood forth, both in the senate and before the people, an advocate for the advancement of your honours⁺; as it is a circumstance which I had rather you should learn from the letters of your family, than from my own hand. I should easily have carried my point in the former, if I had not met with a strenuous opposition from Pansa. Nevertheless, after having enforced my sentiments in the senate, I made a speech, to the same purpose, in an assembly of the people: to which I was introduced by Marcus Servilius, the tribune. I urged, upon this occasion, (and with a warmth and vehemence suitable to a popular audience) all that I most justly might in your favour: and my speech was received with a louder and more universal applause than ever was known before

⁺ Dolabella having entered into Asia Minor, and committed great outrages and hostilities in that province, was declared, by a general vote of the senate, a public enemy: in consequence of which a debate arose concerning the person to whom the war to be carried on against Dolabella should be entrusted. Cicero moved that a commission should be granted to Cassius for that purpose, with the most honourable and extensive powers. But his motion was over-ruled by the superior interest of Pansa, who seems to have been secretly desirous of obtaining this command for himself. *Vid. Philip. xi.*

before. I hope you will pardon me that I took these steps contrary to the persuasions of your mother-in-law: who was apprehensive they might give offence to Pansa. He did not, indeed, forget to avail himself of these fears: and he assured the people, that even your own family were averse to my making this motion. I was by no means, I confess, governed by their sentiments in the case: as I acted entirely with a view to an interest which I have always endeavoured to promote; the interest I mean of the republic in general, as well as with a regard to the advancement of your glory in particular.

There is one article upon which I very largely expatiated in the senate, as I afterwards repeated it likewise in my speech to the people: and I hope your conduct will fully justify what I then said. I undertook to assure the public, that you would not wait for the sanction of our decrees; but, agreeably to your usual spirit, would, upon your own single authority, take such measures as should appear expedient to you for the defence of the commonwealth. I went even farther, and almost ventured to affirm, that you had already acted in this manner. The truth of it is, although I was not at that time certainly informed either in what part of the world you were, or what number of troops you were furnished with; yet I was confident, I said,

4

that

every legion in Asia^s had submitted to your command, and that you had recovered that province to the republic. I have only to add my wishes, that in every enterprise you shall undertake, you may still rise above yourself with superior glory. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

I SHOULD employ this letter in giving you a full explanation of my measures, if I had no other method of convincing you, that I have in every respect conducted myself towards the republic agreeably to my own promises, and to your persuasions. I have ever been ambitious, indeed, of obtaining your esteem, as well as your friendship: and if I have wished to secure you for my advocate where I have acted wrong, I have been no less desirous of giving you occasion to applaud me for acting right. But I was going to say, that I shorten this letter for two reasons; the first is, because I have entered into an ample detail of every thing in my public manifesto⁶; and the next, because you

^s Asia Minor.⁶ See the next letter.

you will receive a circumstantial account of all that relates to me from Marcus Varisidius, a Roman knight, and my particular friend, whom I have directed to wait upon you. In the mean time, let me protest, that it was not without much concern that I saw others anticipate me in the good opinion of the republic: but I forbore to declare myself, till I should be in a condition to effect something worthy of those expectations the senate has conceived of me, and of that high office⁷ I shall shortly bear. And should fortune second my endeavours, I hope to render such considerable services to the republic, that not only the present age shall feel the advantage of my assistance, but that it shall be remembered, likewise, in times to come. Meanwhile, that I may pursue these endeavours with the greater alacrity, let me entreat your suffrage in procuring me those honours which your letter sets before my view as incitements of my patriotism; and your interest for this purpose is equal, I well know, to your inclination. Take care of your health, and give me your friendship in the same degree that I sincerely give you mine.

LETTER

⁷ The consulate, upon which Plancus was to enter the following year.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS, Consul elect, to the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes, the Senate, and the Commons of Rome.

BEFORE I make any professions with respect to my future conduct, I deem it necessary to justify myself to those who may think that I have held the republic too long in suspense concerning my designs⁸. For I would by no means have it imagined that I am atoning for my past behaviour, when, in fact, I am only seizing the first favourable opportunity of publicly declaring a resolution, which I have long formed. I was in no sort ignorant, however, that, at a time of such general and alarming confusions, a less deliberate discovery of my intentions would have proved most to my own private advantage: as I was sensible that several of my fellow-citizens had been distinguished with great honours, by a more hasty explication of their purposes. But as fortune had placed me in such a situation, that I could not be earlier in testifying mine without prejudicing that cause which I could better serve by concealing them; I was willing to suffer for a season in the good opinion of the world; as I preferred

⁸ See rem. 2. p. 134. of this vol.

preferred the interest of the public to that of my own reputation. That this was the genuine motive of my proceedings, cannot reasonably, I trust, be questioned. For can it be supposed that a man, in my prosperous circumstances, and of my well-known course of life, whose utmost hopes too were upon the very point of being crowned⁹, could be capable either of meanly submitting to the destructive ambition of another, or impiously cherishing any dangerous schemes of his own? But it required some time, as well as much pains and expence, to render myself able to perform those assurances I purposed to give to the republic, and to every friend of her cause; that I might not approach with mere empty professions to the assistance of my country, but with the power of performing an effectual service. To this end, as the army under my command had been strongly and frequently solicited to revolt, it was necessary to persuade them that a moderate reward, conferred by the general voice of the commonwealth, was far preferable to an infinitely greater from any single hand. My next labour was to convince those many cities which had been gained the last

⁹ Alluding to his being to enter the next year on the consular office.

last year by largesses and other donations, that these were obligations of no validity, and that they should endeavour to obtain the same benefactions from a better and more honourable quarter. I had still the farther task to prevail with those who commanded in the neighbouring provinces, to join with the more numerous party in a general association for the defence of our common liberties, rather than unite with the smaller number, in hopes of dividing the spoils of a victory that must prove fatal to the whole world. Add to this, that I was obliged to augment my own troops and those of my auxiliaries, that I might have nothing to fear whenever I should think proper, contrary to the inclination of some about me, openly to avow the cause which it was my resolution to defend. Now, I shall never be ashamed to acknowledge, that, in order to bring these several schemes to bear, I submitted, though very unwillingly, indeed, to the mortification of dissembling the intentions I really had, and of counterfeiting those which I certainly had not: as the fate of my colleague¹ had taught me how dangerous it is

¹ Decimus Brutus. To what particular circumstance of his conduct Plancus alludes, the history of these times does not discover. Perhaps, he may only mean, in general, that Decimus had imprudently drawn upon himself the siege of Modena, before he had made the proper dispositions against an attack.

is for a man who means well to his country, to divulge his resolutions ere he is sufficiently prepared to carry them into execution. For this reason it was that I directed my brave and worthy lieutenant, Caius Furnius, to represent to you, more fully than I thought prudent to explain in my dispatches, those measures which seemed necessary for the preservation both of this province and of the republic in general, as being the more concealed method of conveying my sentiments to you upon that subject, as well as the safer with respect to myself.

It appears, then, that I have long been secretly attentive to the defence of the commonwealth. But now that, by the bounty of the gods, I am in every respect better prepared for that purpose, I desire to give the world, not only reason to hope well of my intentions, but clear and undoubted proofs of their sincerity.

I have five legions in readiness to march; all of them zealously attached to the republic, and disposed, by my liberalities, to pay an entire obedience to my orders. The same disposition appears in every city throughout this province: and they earnestly vie with each other, in giving me the strongest marks of their duty. Accordingly, they have furnished me with as considerable a body of auxiliary forces, both horse
and

and foot, as they could possibly have raised for the support of their own national liberties. As for myself, I am ready either to remain here, in order to protect this province, or to march wheresoever else the republic shall demand my services. I will offer, yet, another alternative; and either resign my troops and government into any hands that shall be appointed, or draw upon myself the whole weight of the war; if, by these means, I may be able to establish the tranquillity of my country, or even retard those calamities with which it is threatened.

If, at the time that I am making these declarations, our public disturbances should happily be composed, I shall rejoice in an event so advantageous to the commonwealth, notwithstanding the honour I shall lose by being too late in the tender of my services. But, on the contrary, if I am early enough in my offers to bear a full part in all the dangers of the war, let me recommend it to every man of justice and candour to vindicate me against the malevolence of those, whom envy may prompt to asperse my character.

In

* This passage sufficiently discovers the true motive of Plancus's present declarations: as they appear evidently to have flowed from some reason he had to believe, that the contest between Antony and the senate was likely to be adjusted in an amicable manner.

In my own particular, I desire no greater reward for my services, than the satisfaction of having contributed to the security of the republic. But I think myself bound to recommend those brave and worthy men to your especial favour, who, partly in compliance with my persuasions, put much more in confidence of your good faith, would not suffer themselves to be prevailed upon by all the applications that have been made both to their hopes and their fears, to depart from their duty to the commonwealth.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

ALTHOUGH I had received a very full account from our friend Furnius of your disposition with regard to the republic, and of the measures you were meditating in its defence, yet, the perusal of your letter¹ afforded me a still clearer view into the whole plan of your patriot purposes. Notwithstanding, then, that you should not have an opportunity of executing your projected services, as the fate of the commonwealth, which depends upon a single battle,

¹ The foregoing letter to the senate.

tle, will, probably, be decided ere this reaches your hands; yet you have acquired, nevertheless, great and universal applause from what the world has been informed of your general good intentions. Accordingly, had either of the consuls been in Rome⁴ when your dispatches arrived, the senate would have declared, and in terms, I am persuaded, extremely to your advantage, the sense it entertains of your zealous and acceptable preparations in their cause. The proper season, however, for your being rewarded with honours of this kind, is, in my opinion, at least, so far from being elapsed, that, on the contrary, it seems to be scarce fully arrived: as those distinctions, alone, appear to me to deserve the name of honours that are conferred by our country, not in expectation of services to come, but in just retribution to those that have effectually been performed. Believe me, if any form of government shall subsist amongst us where merit can hope to be distinguished, you will shine out with all the most illustrious dignities it can bestow. But nothing of this kind (let me repeat it again) can justly be called an honour, but what is given,

⁴ "The two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, were both in Gaul, and waiting to attempt a decisive battle with Antony, in order to deliver Decimus Brutus from the danger he was in at Modena." Mr. Ross.

given, not as the incentive of an occasional service, but as the recompence of a constant and uniform course of patriotism. Be it then your earnest endeavour, my dear Plancus, to acquire these well-merited rewards, by advancing to the relief of your colleagues; by improving that wonderful unanimity which appears in every province for the support of the common cause; and by giving all possible succour to your country in general. Be persuaded that I shall always be ready to assist your schemes with my best advice, and to promote your honours with my utmost interest: in a word, that I shall act, upon every occasion, wherein you are concerned, as one who is most sincerely and most warmly your friend. I am so, indeed, not only from that intercourse of affectionate good offices by which we have been long mutually united, but from the love I bear likewise to my country; in tenderness to which I am more anxious for your life than for my own. Farewel.

March the 30th.

LETTER

5 Decimus Brutus.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

I AGREE with you in thinking that those who were concerned in the design upon Lilybæum⁶, deserved to have been executed upon the spot. But you spared them, it seems, in the apprehension that the world would condemn you as too freely indulging a vindictive spirit: yet, as well might you have been apprehensive, my friend, that the world would condemn you for acting too agreeably to your patriot character.

I very gladly embrace your overtures of renewing that association with you, for the defence of the republic, in which I was formerly engaged with your father: and I am persuaded, it is an association, my dear Cornificius, in which we shall ever be united. It is with much pleasure, likewise, that I find you esteem it unnecessary to send me any ceremonious acknowledgments of my services: formalities, indeed, would ill agree with that intimacy which subsists between us.

If

⁶ A city in Sicily, opposite to the coast of Lybia in Africa. The particulars of the affair alluded to, as well as the persons concerned in it, are unknown.

If the senate were ever holden in the absence of the consuls, unless upon some very sudden and extraordinary occasion, it would have been more frequently summoned in order to concert proper measures for the support of your authority. But as neither Hirtius nor Pansa are in Rome, no decree can at present be procured, in relation to the several sums of two millions⁷, and of seventy millions⁸ of sesterces which you mention. I think, however, that you are sufficiently authorized to raise this money by way of loan, in virtue of that general decree of the senate by which you were confirmed in your government.

I imagine you are informed of the state of our affairs, by those to whom it properly belongs to send you the intelligence. As for myself, I conceive great hopes that things will take a favourable turn. I am not wanting, at least, in my utmost vigilance and efforts for that purpose; and I am resolutely waging war against every foe to the republic. The recovery of our liberties does not seem, indeed, even *now*, to be a matter of great difficulty: I am sure it would have been perfectly easy, if some persons had acted in the manner they ought. Farewel.

LETTER

⁷ About 16,000*l.* of our money.

⁸ About 560,000*l.*

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

It is principally for the sake of my country that I ought to rejoice in the very powerful succours with which you have strengthened the republic, at a juncture when it is well-nigh reduced to the last extremity. I protest, however, by all my hopes of congratulating you on the victorious deliverance of the commonwealth, that a considerable part of the joy which I feel upon this occasion, arises from the share I take in your glory. Great, indeed, is the reputation you have already acquired, and great, I am persuaded, will be the honours that will hereafter be conferred upon you: for assure yourself, nothing could make stronger impression upon the senate than your late letter to that assembly. It did so, both with respect to those very important services which it brought us an account that you had performed, and with regard to that strength of sentiment and expression with which it was drawn up. It contained nothing, however, that was in the least unexpected to myself: as I was not only perfectly well acquainted with your heart, and

had

⁹ The letter here mentioned seems to have been a subsequent one to that which stands the 17th in the present book.

had not forgotten the promises you had given me in your letters, but as I had received from Furnius a full information of all your designs. These, indeed, appeared to the senate much beyond what they had allowed themselves to hope: not that they ever entertained the least doubt of your disposition, but because they were by no means sufficiently apprised either of what you were in a condition to effect, or whither you purposed to march. It was with infinite pleasure, therefore, that I read the letter which Marcus Varisidius delivered to me on your part. I received it on the 7th of this month, in the morning, amidst a large circle of very worthy citizens, who were attending in order to conduct me from my house: and I immediately gave them a share in my joy. Whilst we were mutually congratulating each other upon this happy occurrence, Munatius came to pay me his usual morning visit: to whom I likewise communicated your letter. It was the first notice he had received of an express being arrived from you: as Varisidius, in pursuance of your directions, did not deliver any of his dispatches till he had first waited upon me. A short time, however, after Munatius had left me, he returned with your letter to himself, together also with that which you wrote to the senate.

senate. We thought proper to carry the latter immediately to Cornutus: who, as prætor of the city, supplies the office of the consuls in their absence, agreeably, you know, to an ancient and established custom. The senate was instantly summoned: and the expectation that was raised by the general report of an express being arrived from you, brought together a very full assembly. As soon as your letter was read, it was objected that Cornutus had not taken the auspices in a proper manner: and this scruple was confirmed by the general sentiments of our college⁹. In consequence of this, the senate was adjourned to the following day: when I had a very warm contest with Servilius, who strenuously opposed the passing of any decree to your honour. For this purpose he had the interest to procure his own motion to be first proposed to the senate¹: which being rejected, however, by a great majority, mine was next taken into consideration. But when the senate had unanimously agreed to it, Publius Titius², at the instigation of Servilius, interposed

⁹ See rem. 3. p. 279. vol. I.

¹ The senate could not enter into any debate, unless the subject of it was proposed to them in form by some of the magistrates; who had the sole privilege of referring any question to a vote, or of dividing the house upon it. *Midlet. on the Rom. S. p. 155.*

² One of the tribunes. It has already been observed, that those magistrates had a power of putting a stop to the proceedings of the senate, by their single negative.

terposed his negative. The farther deliberation upon this affair was postponed, therefore, to the next day: when Servilius came prepared to support an opposition, which, in some sort, might be considered as injurious to the honour even of Jupiter himself; as it was in the Capitol³ that the senate, upon this occasion, was assembled. I leave it to your other friends to inform you in what manner I mortified Servilius, and with how much warmth I exposed the contemptible interposition of Titius. But this I will myself assure you, that the senate could

³ The Capitol was a temple dedicated to Jupiter, and the most considerable structure of the sacred kind in all Rome. The ruins of this celebrated edifice are still to be seen. None of the commentators have taken notice of the indirect compliment which Cicero here pays to Plancus: which seems, however, to deserve a particular explanation. The Capitol was held in singular veneration, as being built upon the spot which Jupiter was supposed to have chosen for the visible manifestation of his person. In consequence of this popular superstition, both Horace and Virgil often speak of the prosperity and duration of the Capitol, as a circumstance upon which the fortune of the whole empire depended:

Stet Capitolium

Fulgens, triumphatque possit
Roma ferox dare jura mediis. Hor. Od. iii. 3. 42.

Dum domus Aenei Capitoli immobile saxum
Accolet, imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit. Æn. ix. 448.

Cicero, therefore, by a very artful piece of flattery, insinuates, that the opposition Servilius made to the honours which the senate intended to have paid to Plancus, was, in effect, an affront to that supreme and guardian divinity in whose temple the transaction passed, as being contrary to the interest of a republic which was distinguished by Jupiter himself with his immediate presence. *Vid. Æn. viii. 346.*

could not possibly act with greater dignity and spirit, or shew a stronger disposition to advance your honours, than it discovered upon this occasion. Nor are you less in favour with the whole city in general: as, indeed, all orders and degrees of men amongst us remarkably concur in the same common zeal for the deliverance of the republic. Persevere then, my friend, in the glorious course upon which you have entered: and let nothing less than immortal fame be the object of your well-directed ambition. Despise the false splendour of all those empty honours that are short-lived, transitory, and perishable. True glory is founded upon virtue alone: which is never so illustriously distinguished as when it displays itself by important services to our country. You have at this time a most favourable opportunity for that purpose: which, as you have already embraced, let it not slip out of your hands till you shall have employed it to full advantage; lest it be said, that you are more obliged to the republic than the republic is obliged to you. As, for my own part, you will always find me ready to contribute to the advancement as well as to the support of your dignities: indeed, it is what I owe not only to our friendship, but to the commonwealth, which is far dearer to me than life itself.

Whilst

Whilst I was employing my best services for the promotion of your honours, I received great pleasure in observing the prudence and fidelity which Titus Munatius exerted for the same purpose. I had experienced those qualities in him upon other occasions: but the incredible diligence and affection with which he acted for your interest, in this affair, shewed them to me in a still stronger and more conspicuous point of view. Farewel.

April the 11th.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

MY friendship with Lucius Lamia is well known, I am persuaded, not only to yourself, who are acquainted with all the circumstances of my life, but to every Roman in general. It most conspicuously appeared, indeed, to the whole world, when he was banished by the consul Gabinius⁴, for having, with so remarkable a spirit of freedom and fortitude, risen up in my defence⁵. Our friendship, however, did not commence from that period: it was from an affection of a much earlier date, that he was induced thus generously to expose himself to every

⁴ See rem. 21. p. 174. vol. i.

⁵ When Cicero was persecuted by Clodius.

every danger in my cause. To these his meritorious services, I must add, that there is no man whose company affords me a more true and exquisite entertainment. After what I have thus said, you will think it needless, surely, that I should use much rhetoric in recommending him to your favour. You see the just reason I have for giving him so large a share of my affection: whatever terms, therefore, the strongest friendship can require upon an occasion of this nature, let your imagination supply for me in the present. I will only assure you, that your good offices to the agents, the servants, and the family of Lamia, in every article wherein his affairs in your province shall require them, will be a more acceptable instance of your generosity than any you could confer in my own personal concerns. I am persuaded, indeed, from your great penetration into the characters of men, that without my recommendation you would be perfectly well-disposed to give him your best assistance. I must confess, at the same time, I have heard that you suspect him of having signed some decree of the senate injurious to your honour. But I must assure you, in the first place, that he never signed any during the administration of those consuls⁶; and,

⁶ It is altogether uncertain to what consuls Cicero alludes: Manutius supposes, to Antony and Dolabella.

and, in the next, that almost all the decrees which were pretended to be passed at that time, were absolutely forged. The truth is, you might just as reasonably suppose I was concerned in that decree to which my name was subscribed, relating to Sempronius; though, in fact, I was then absent from Rome, and complained, I remember, of the injury that had been done me, in a letter which I wrote to you upon the occasion. But not to enter farther into this subject; I most earnestly entreat you, my dear Cornificius, to consider the interest of Lamia, in all respects, as mine, and to let him see that my recommendation has proved of singular advantage to his affairs; assuring yourself that you cannot, in any instance, more effectually oblige me. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 710.]

To the same.

CORNIFICIUS delivered your letter to me on the 17th of March, about three weeks, as he told me, after he had received it from your hands. The senate did not assemble either on that day or the next; however, on the 9th they met, when I defended your cause in a very full house, and with no unpropitious regards from Minerva¹. I may with peculiar propriety say so, as the statue of that guardian goddess of Rome, which I formerly erected in the Capitol², and which had lately been thrown down by an high wind, was at the same time decreed to be replaced. Your letter, which Pansa read to the senate, was much approved, and afforded great satisfaction to the whole assembly. It fired them, at the same time, with general indignation against the impudent attempts

¹ It was a sort of proverbial expression among the Romans, when they spoke of any successful undertaking, to say that it was carried on "not without the approbation of Minerva."

² "Cicero, a little before his retreat into banishment, took a small statue of Minerva, which had long been revered in his family as a kind of tutelar deity, and carrying it to the Capitol, placed it in the temple of Jupiter, under the title of *Minerva, the guardian of the city*." Life of Cic. i. 350.

tempts of the horrid *Minotaur*, for so I may well call those combined adversaries of yours, Calvisius and Taurus³. It was proposed, therefore, that the censure of the senate should pass upon them; but that motion was over-ruled by the more merciful Pansa. However, a decree was voted upon this occasion extremely to your honour.

As for my own good offices in your favour, be assured, my dear Cornificius, they have not been wanting from the first moment I conceived a hope of recovering our liberties. Accordingly, when I laid a foundation, for that purpose, on the 20th of December last⁴, while the rest of those who ought to have been equally forward in that work, stood timidly hesitating in what manner to act, I had a particular view to the preserving you in your present post; and to this end I prevailed with the senate to agree to my motion concerning the continuance of the proconsuls in their respective provinces. But my zeal in your cause did
not

³ The Minotaur was a fabulous monster which the poets describe as half man half bull. Cicero, therefore, in allusion to the name of Taurus, who had joined with Calvisius in some combination against Cornificius, jocosely gives them the appellation of the Minotaur.

⁴ When he spoke his third and fourth Philippic orations, wherein Cicero endeavoured, amongst other articles, to animate the senate and the people to vigorous measures against Antony.

not terminate here, and I still continued my attacks upon that person, who, in contempt of the senate, as well as most injuriously to you, had, even whilst he himself was absent from Rome, procured your government to be allotted to him. My frequent, or, to speak more properly, my incessant, remonstrances against his proceedings, forced him, much against his inclinations, to enter Rome, where he found himself obliged to relinquish the hopes of an honour which he thought himself no less sure of, than if it had been in his actual possession. It gives me great pleasure that these my just and honest invectives against your adversary, in conjunction with your own exalted merit, have secured you in your government, as I rejoice extremely, likewise, in the distinguished honours you have there received.

I very readily admit of your excuse in regard to Sempronius, well knowing that your conduct upon that occasion may justly be imputed to those errors to which we were all equally liable, whilst we trod the dark and dubious paths of bondage. I myself, indeed, the grave inspirer of your counsels, and the firm defender of your dignities, even I, my friend, was injudiciously hurried away by my indignation at the times, when, too hastily despairing of li-
R 2 berty,

berty, I attempted to retire into Greece⁶. But the Etesian winds, like so many patriot-citizens, refused to waft me from the commonwealth, whilst Auster, conspiring in their designs, collected his whole force, and drove me back again to Regium. From thence I returned to Rome, with all the expedition that sails and oars could speed me, and, the very next day after my arrival, I shewed the world that I was the only man, amidst a race of the most abject slaves, that dared to assert his freedom and independency⁷. I inveighed, indeed, against the measures of Antony with so much spirit and indignation, that he lost all manner of patience; and pointing the whole rage of his Bacchanalian fury at my devoted head, he at first endeavoured to gain a pretence of assassinating me in the senate; but that project not succeeding, his next resource was to lay wait for my life in private. But I extricated myself from his insidious snares, and drove him, all reeking with the fumes of his nauseous intemperance, into the toils of Octavius⁸. That

excellent

⁶ An account of this intended voyage has already been given in a former note. See rem. 3. p. 134. of this vol.

⁷ This seems to allude to his having refused to pay obedience to a summons from Antony, to attend a meeting of the senate which was held on that day. See rem. 1. p. 142. of this vol.

⁸ Octavius, as soon as he returned into Italy, after the death of Cæsar, endeavoured to secure Cicero in his interest,

excellent youth drew together a body of troops, in the first place, for his own and my particular defence; and in the next, for that of the republic

as Cicero appeared no less forward to embrace the friendship of Octavius. They both of them, indeed, had one of the strongest of all motives, perhaps, for a mutual coalition; as there is nothing in which men seem to unite more amicably, than in hunting down the same common foe. The league, however, into which Cicero entered with Octavius, extended no farther, at first, than to a matter of mere civil controversy: and he only engaged to support Octavius in his claim of part of Cæsar's estate, which Antony, it was alledged, injuriously withheld from him. But even this was going a greater length than a true patriot could prudently have ventured. For though the contest between Antony and Octavius, with respect to the money in question, was altogether personal, yet "by natural consequence (as the accurate observer upon the epistles between Cicero and Brutus justly remarks) it became a matter of more extensive concern. "In the first place, it was joined with the succession to the name of Cæsar; which was looked upon by the chiefs of the Cæsarian party as an earnest of the continuance of the public settlement made by Cæsar in the person of Octavius; and, on the same account, it was always suspected by the more discerning republicans. In the next place, it gave Octavius the plausible occasion of being the distinguished assertor of Cæsar's acts, and of the full execution of all his bequests: by which means he drew upon himself the eyes of all the veterans, the military force of the empire, and interested the whole populace of Rome in his cause; since it was the common cause of all who were expecting with impatience the effect of Cæsar's liberality." However, had Cicero's engagements with Octavius ended here, his conduct might have been excused, at least, though it certainly could not have been justified. But when he afterwards armed Octavius with the power and the dignities of the state; when he trusted (as the excellent author of the observations on his life ingeniously expresses it) *the last stake of liberty in the hands of a man who had so great temptations to betray it*, he seems clearly to have acted in contradiction to the sentiments of his heart, and to have sacrificed the cause of the republic

public in general; which, if he had not happily raised, Antony, in his return from Brundisium, would have spread desolation, like a wasting pestilence, around the land. What followed I need not add, as I imagine you are well apprised of all that has happened subsequent to that period. To return, then, to what gave occasion to this digression, let me again assure you, that I am perfectly well satisfied with your excuse concerning Sempronius. The truth is, it was impossible to act with any determined steadiness and uniformity in times of such total anarchy and confusion. "But other days" (to use an expression of Terence) are now "arrived, and other measures are now required." Come, then, my friend, let us sail forth together, and even take our place at the helm. All the advocates of liberty are embarked in one common bottom; and it is my utmost endeavour

republic to the hatred he bore to Antony. Plutarch expressly assigns this as Cicero's motive for declaring in favour of Octavius; which, indeed, is abundantly confirmed by his letters to Atticus. It appears from these that there was so little difference, with respect to the republican interest, whether Antony or Octavius was at the head of affairs, that neither Atticus nor Cicero could determine, in that view, which to prefer: *valde tibi essentior*, says our author to his friend, *si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmitus acta tyranni comprobatur iri, quam in telluris: atque id contra Brutum fieri. Sin autem vincitur, vides intolerabilem Antonium, ut quem velis nescias.* Ad Att. xvi. 14. Plut. in Brut. Tanstall's observ. on the epist. between Brut. and Cic. p. 132. Observ. on the Life of Cic. p. 50.

endeavour to steer them right. May prosperous gales then attend our voyage! But, whatever winds may arise, my best skill, most assuredly, shall not be wanting: and is it in the power of patriotism to be answerable for more? In the mean time, let it be your care to cherish in your breast every generous and exalted sentiment, remembering always that your true glory must ever be inseparably connected with the republic. Farewel.

B 4

LETTER

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XIV.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 710.]

GALBA¹ to CICERO.

ON the 15th of this month, the day on which Pansa intended to join the army of Hirtius, Antony drew out of his lines the second and thirty-fifth legions, together with his own prætorian cohort, and that of Silanus²; both which were

¹ He had been one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul; but not being favoured by him in his pursuit of the consulship, he joined in the conspiracy with Brutus and Cassius. He was great grand-father to the emperor Galba. *Quartier.*

² He was military tribune in the army of Lepidus, and by the secret connivance, if not by the express orders, of that general, had conducted a body of troops to the assistance of Antony, in the siege of Modena. *Dio. xlv. p. 336.*

were composed of the *Evocati*³. I happened, at this time, to be in Pansa's army, having been sent an hundred miles express, in order to hasten his march. Antony advanced towards us with these troops, in the supposition that our forces consisted only of four new-raised legions; whereas Hirtius, the better to secure our junction, had taken advantage of the preceding night to reinforce us with the *martial* legion, which I generally commanded, as also with two prætorian cohorts. These regiments, upon the very first appearance of Antony's cavalry, could by no means be restrained from engaging; so that we were under an absolute necessity of following them to the charge. Antony, in order to deceive us into a belief that none of his legions were with him, had posted them at Forum Gallorum⁴, and only appeared with his horse and light-armed troops in view. Pansa, when he saw that, contrary to his inclination, the *martial* legion had rushed on to the attack, gave directions that two of his new-raised legions, which were behind, should immediately come up. As soon as we had passed the woods and a morass, we formed in order of battle with twelve cohorts⁵; the other two legions I just now mentioned not being

³ See rem. 1. p. 340. vol. 1.

⁴ Now called Castel-Franco, a small village on the Æmilian way, between Modena and Bologna.

⁵ A cohort consisted of about four or five hundred men.

being yet arrived. Antony observing this, drew all his forces out of the village, and instantly began the engagement. Both sides maintained the first onset with the most obstinate bravery; though, indeed, our right wing, in which I commanded eight cohorts of the *martial* legion, at the very beginning of the action, repulsed Antony's thirty-fifth legion, and pursued them above ***** paces out of the field. But I no sooner observed the enemy's cavalry attempting to surround the wing from which I had advanced, than I endeavoured to rejoin it; ordering, at the same time, my light-armed troops to engage Antony's Moorish horse, lest they should fall upon us in our rear. But whilst I was attempting to regain my post, I found myself in the midst of the enemy's troops, and perceived Antony himself at a small distance behind me. Upon this, throwing my shield cross my shoulders, I galloped full speed towards one of our new-raised legions, which I saw advancing from the camp; the enemy, at the same time pursuing me on the one side, and our own men aiming their pikes at me on the other; but, as the latter soon discovered who I was, I had the very extraordinary

⁶ "The common editions add here *quingentos*, but it is not found either in Dr. Mead's MS. or any other authority." Mr. Ross.

extraordinary good fortune to escape. Cæsar's prætorian cohort⁶, which was posted on the Æmilian road, made a very long and vigorous resistance. But our left wing, in which were two cohorts of the martial legion, together with the prætorian cohort, and which formed, indeed, the weakest division of our army, began to give ground, being hemmed in by Antony's cavalry, in which he is extremely strong. As soon as all our troops had made good their retreat, I began to think of mine, and was the last that entered our camp. Antony, considering himself as master of the field, imagined he could, likewise, take possession of our camp; but, after an unsuccessful attempt, he retired with great loss.

As soon as Hirtius was informed of what had passed, he put himself at the head of twenty veteran cohorts, and meeting Antony in his return from the attack of our camp, engaged him upon the very spot where our action had just before happened, and entirely defeated his army.—About ten o'clock that night, Antony, with his cavalry, regained his camp near Mutina; as Hirtius retired to that which Pansa had quitted in the morning, and in which he had left the two legions that repulsed Antony.

The enemy have lost the greatest part of their

⁶ Octavius.

their veteran troops. But this advantage was not to be obtained without a loss, likewise, on our side; the prætorian cohorts, together with the martial legion, having somewhat suffered in this action. We have taken two legionary standards⁷, together with sixty others; and, upon the whole, have gained a very considerable victory. Farewel.

From the camp, April the 20th.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO⁸.

IT affords me great pleasure to reflect, that I have amply justified your favourable representations of me, by having strictly fulfilled the promises I made you. I give you a proof, likewise, of my particular affection, by acquainting you, before any other of my friends, with the measures I have taken. I hope you are well persuaded, that the republic will daily receive still stronger instances of my attachment; let me assure you, at least, that you shall

⁷ Each legion had a chief standard carried before it, upon which was fixed the figure of an eagle; there was a particular one, likewise, to every company.

⁸ When Plancus wrote this letter, he had not received advice of the action between the troops of Antony and those of the republic; of which an account has been given in the preceding epistle.

shall be more and more convinced of it by the clearest and most unquestionable evidence. As to what concerns my own personal interest, I protest to you, my dear Cicero, by all my hopes of rescuing the republic from those imminent dangers to which it is exposed, that notwithstanding I esteem those illustrious recompences which are conferred by the senate as no less desirable than immortal fame; yet, believe me, I shall not, in the least, remit of my earnest endeavours to assist the commonwealth, although I should never participate of its glorious rewards. If the ardour and efficacy of my zeal should not distinguish me, amidst those many excellent citizens who stand forth in the defence of our country, let not your suffrage contribute to the increase of my honours. I have no ambition inconsistent with that general equality for which I have taken up arms, and am perfectly well contented to leave it to your own determination, both when, and in what manner, my services shall be recompensed. Nothing, indeed, can be deemed too late or too inconsiderable, which is given to a man as a public testimony of his country's approbation.

Having reached the Rhone, by long marches, I passed that river, with my whole army, on the 27th of April, and immediately ordered a de-

tachment of a thousand horse to advance before me from Vienna⁹, by a shorter road. If I meet with no obstructions on the part of Lepidus, I doubt not of giving the republic reason to be satisfied with my diligence and expedition; but, if he should attempt to intercept my passage, I must take my measures as circumstances shall require. Of this, however, I will now assure you, that the army I am conducting is highly respectable, whether considered with regard to the nature, the number, or the fidelity of my troops. I will only add, that I desire your friendship upon no other terms, than as you are sure I shall always give you the warmest returns of mine. Farewel.

LETTER

⁹ 'Tis now called Vienne, a city in the province of Dauphiny, situated upon the Rhone.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO.

YOU are sensible how great a loss the republic has sustained by the death of Pansa¹. It behoves you, therefore, to exert all your credit and address to prevent our enemies from entertaining any reasonable hope of recovering their strength, now that they have thus deprived us of both our consuls². I am preparing to pursue Antony immediately; and, I trust, shall be able to render it impossible either for Antony to continue in Italy, or for Ventidius³ to escape out of it. As

¹ Pansa died at Bologna a few days after the battle of Mutina, of the wounds he received in that action. *Appian*. iii. p. 572.

² Hirtius and Octavius, after the battle mentioned in the preceding note, "were determined, at all hazards, to relieve Modena; and after two or three days spent in finding the most likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with such vigour, that Antony, rather than suffer the town to be snatched, at last, out of his hands, chose to draw out his legions and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obstinate, and Antony's men, though obliged to give ground, bravely disputed every inch of it; till Decimus Brutus, taking the opportunity at the same time to sally out of the town, at the head of his garrison, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory. Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way into Antony's camp; but when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the general's tent." *Life of Cic.* iii. 204.

³ Ventidius was a soldier of fortune, who from the meanest original

As I suppose you see very clearly the measures which Pollio will pursue, I need say nothing to you upon that article. But I make it my first and principal request, that you would send to Lepidus, in order, if possible, to prevent that light and inconstant man from renewing the war, by joining with Antony: as both Lepidus and Pollio are at the head of very numerous and powerful armies. I do not mention this as imagining that you are not equally attentive to these important points; but, from the firm persuasion that Lepidus, however du-

bious

original, became one of the most distinguished captains of the age. The father of Pompey having taken the city of Asculum, in the Italic or social war, reserved part of the inhabitants to grace his triumphal entry into Rome; among which was the mother of Ventidius, who walked before the victor's car, with her infant son at her breast. When he grew up, he gained his livelihood by serving as a groom; in which employment having gotten together a little money, he furnished himself with some mules and carriages, which he let out to the government for the use of the proconsuls in their way to the provinces. In this capacity he became known to Cæsar, who observing in him a genius much superior to his station, took him into Gaul, where he advanced him in his army; and after the civil wars were ended, gave him a place in the senate, and created him prætor. After the death of Cæsar, he attached himself to the interest of Antony: to whose assistance he was at this time marching at the head of a considerable body of troops, which he had raised out of Cæsar's veteran legions that were dispersed in different parts of Italy. Towards the end of the present year, the triumvirate appointed him consul. Having, shortly afterwards, obtained a signal victory over the Parthians, his conduct and bravery were rewarded with a triumph: and, to crown the series of his glory, he was honoured, at his death, with a public funeral. *Aul. Gel.* xv. 4. *Dio.* xliii. p. 239. *Vel. Patere.* ii. 65.

bious it may perhaps appear to the senate, will never of himself act in the manner he ought. Let me entreat you, likewise, to confirm Plancus in his present resolutions: who, I should hope, when he sees Antony driven out of Italy, will not be wanting in his assistance to the republic. If the latter should have crossed the Alps, I purpose to post a proper number of forces to guard the passes of those mountains⁴: and you may depend upon my giving you regular notice of all my motions. Farewel.

From my camp at Regium⁵.
April the 29th.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

How pleasing was the letter I received from you two days before our victory at Mutina! wherein you gave me an account of the state of your troops, of your zeal to the republic, and of the expedition with which you were advancing to the relief of Brutus. But, notwithstanding that the enemy was defeated before you

⁴ The intent of this guard seems to have been what Mr. Ross conjectures, in order to intercept the march of Ventidius, and prevent him from following Antony over the Alps.

⁵ A town upon the Æmilian way, between Modena and Parma. It is now called Reggio.

you could join our army, the hopes, nevertheless, of the commonwealth, are still fixed entirely upon you: as the principal leaders of these infamous rebels have escaped, it is said, from the field of battle. You will remember, therefore, that to exterminate the remains of this party, will be a service no less acceptable to the senate, than if you had given them the first repulse.

I am waiting, as well as many others, with great impatience for the return of your couriers. I hope that our late success will now induce even Lepidus himself to act in concert with you, for the defence of the common cause. I entreat you, my dear Plancus, to employ your utmost endeavours for this important purpose; that every spark of this horrid war may be utterly and for ever extinguished. If you should be able to effect this, you will render a most godlike service to your country, and at the same time procure immortal honour to yourself. Farewel.

May the 5th.

S 2 LETTER

LETTER V.

[A. U. 710.]

To the same.

I SEIZED the very first opportunity of contributing to the augmentation of your dignities: and I omitted no distinction that could be considered either as the applause or reward of merit. This you will perceive by the decree which has been voted to your honour with the utmost zeal and unanimity in a very full house: and it is expressed in the very words I dictated from a paper which I had drawn up for that purpose. I was sensible, at the same time, from your letter, that it was more your ambition to approve your actions to every honest mind, than to be distinguished with these ensigns of glory: but I thought it incumbent upon the republic to consider, not what you desire, but what you deserve. Let me only entreat you to finish the work which others have so happily begun; remembering, that whoever shall destroy Antony, will have the whole honour of concluding this war. It is thus that Homer gives the glory, not to Ajax, nor Achilles, but to Ulysses alone, of having exterminated Troy*. Farewel.

LETTER

* In the original it is, *Homerus non Ajacem, nec Achillem, sed Ulyssem appellavit πολυπορθιον*; which is not strictly true; for

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS to CICERO.

I LOOK upon the obligations I have received from you, as nothing inferior even to those which I have conferred upon the republic: but I am not capable, you are well assured, of making you so ill a return as I have experienced from some of my ungrateful countrymen. It might, perhaps, in the present conjuncture, be thought to have somewhat the air of flattery, were I to say, that your single applause outweighs, in my esteem, their whole united approbation. It is certain, however, that you view my actions by the faithful light of dispassionate truth and reason: whereas they, on the contrary, look upon them through the clouds of envy and malevolence. But I am little concerned how much soever they may oppose my honours, provided they do not obstruct me in my services to the republic: the very dangerous situation of which, let me now point out to you, in as few words as possible.

In

for Homer frequently gives that epithet to Achilles. Plancus, however, could not mistake the hint, that any stratagem would be fair and honourable which should for ever remove Antony out of their way.

S 3

In the first place, then, you are sensible what great disturbances the death of the consuls⁷ may create in Rome: as it may give occasion to all the dangerous practices that ambition will suggest to those, who are desirous of succeeding to their office⁸. This is all that prudence will allow me to say in a letter: and all, indeed, that is necessary to be said to a man of your penetration. As to Antony, notwithstanding he made his escape from the field of battle with but a very few troops, and those too entirely disarmed; yet, by setting open the prisons, and by pressing all sorts of men that fell in his way, he has collected no contemptible number of forces. These have likewise been considerably augmented by the accession of the veteran and other troops of Ventidius: who, after a very difficult march over the Apennine mountains, has found means to join Antony in the fens of Sabata⁹. The only possible scheme which the latter can pursue, is, either to have recourse to Lepidus, if that general should be disposed to receive him; or to post himself on the Alps and Apennines, in order to make depredations with

⁷ Hirtius and Pansa.

⁸ This seems plainly to point at Octavius; who, in fact, soon after procured himself to be elected consul, in conjunction with Quintus Pedius.

⁹ Between the Alps and the Apennines, on the coast of Genoa.

with his cavalry (in which he is exceedingly strong) on the neighbouring country; or to march into Etruria¹, where we have no army to oppose him. Had Cæsar, however, passed the Apennine mountains agreeably to my advice², I should have driven Antony into such difficulties, that, perhaps, without striking a single blow, I should have been able to have wasted his whole army by famine. But the misfortune is, that Cæsar will neither be governed by me, nor will his army be governed by him: both which are very unhappy circumstances for our cause. This then being the sad state of public affairs, can I be solicitous, as I said above, what opposition I may meet with in respect to my own personal honours? The particulars I have here mentioned are of so very delicate a nature, that I know not how you will be able to touch upon them in the senate: or if you should, I fear it will be to no purpose.

¹ Tuscany.
² "Octavius, from the beginning, had no thoughts of pursuing Antony. He had already gained what he aimed at; he had reduced Antony's power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in a condition of making his own terms with him in the partition of the empire: whereas, if Antony had been wholly destroyed, the republican party would have probably been too strong for him and Lepidus. When Octavius was pressed, therefore, to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it until it was too late; taking himself to be more usefully employed in securing to his interest the troops of the consuls." *Life of Cic.* iii. 214.

pose. In the mean time, I am in no condition to subsist my troops any longer. When I first took up arms for the deliverance of the commonwealth, I had above four hundred thousand sesteria³ in ready money: but at present I have not only mortgaged every part of my estate, but have borrowed all I could possibly raise on the credit of my friends. I leave you to judge, therefore, with what difficulty I now maintain seven legions at my own expence. The truth is, I should not be equal to so great a charge, were I possessed of all Varro's⁴ immense treasures.

As soon as I shall receive any certain information of Antony's motions, I will give you notice. In the mean time, I will only add, that I desire the continuance of your friendship upon no other terms than as you shall find an equal return of mine. Farewel.

From my camp at Tertona⁵.
May the 5th.

LETTER

³ About 320,000l. sterling.

⁴ Who this man of immense wealth was, is not known. There is no reason to believe that he was the celebrated Terentius Varro, to whom several letters in the preceding part of this collection are addressed.

⁵ Tortona, about thirty miles north from Genoa.

LETTER VII.

[A.U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

I GIVE you a thousand and a thousand thanks for your late favours, which, as long as I live, I shall always most gratefully acknowledge. More than this I dare not venture to promise: for I fear it will never be in my power to acquit such uncommon obligations, unless you should think (what your letter endeavours, indeed, with much serious eloquence to persuade me) that to remember them is to return them. You could not have acted with a more affectionate zeal, if the dignities of your own son had been in question: and I am perfectly sensible of the high honours that were decreed to me in consequence of your first motion for that purpose. I am sensible, too, that all your subsequent votes in my behalf were entirely conformable to the circumstances of the times and the opinion of my friends: as I am informed, likewise, of the advantageous colours in which you are perpetually representing me, as well as of the frequent contests you sustain with my injurious detractors. It is incumbent upon me, therefore, in the first place, to endeavour to convince the republic that I am worthy of the praises you bestow upon me; and, in the next place,

place, to render you sensible that I gratefully bear your friendship in remembrance. I will only add, under this article, that I desire you to protect me in the honours I have thus procured by your influence: but I desire it no otherwise than as my actions shall prove that I am the man you wish to find me.

As soon as I had passed the Rhone, I detached a body of three thousand⁶ horse under the command of my brother, with orders to advance towards Mutina, to which place I intended to follow them with the rest of my army. But, on my march thither, I received advice that an action had happened, and that the siege was raised. Antony, I find, has no other resource left but to retire into these parts with the remains of his broken forces. His only hopes, indeed, are, that he may be able to gain either Lepidus or his army, in which there are some troops no less disaffected to the republic than those which served under Antony himself. I thought proper, therefore, to recal my cavalry, and to halt in the country of the Allobroges⁷, that I may be ready to

⁶ In the second letter of this book, Plancus says this detachment consisted only of a thousand horse; in one or other, therefore, of these passages, the transcribers must have committed some mistake.

⁷ It comprehended the territories of Geneva, with part of Savoy and Dauphiné: and formed a district of the province under the command of Lepidus.

to act as circumstances shall require. If Antony should retire into this country destitute of men, I make no doubt, notwithstanding, that he should be received by the army of Lepidus, to be able to give a good account of him with my present forces. Should he even appear at the head of some troops, and should the tenth veteran legion revolt, which, together with the rest of those regiments, was, by my means, prevailed upon to engage in the service of the republic; yet I shall endeavour, by acting on the defensive, to prevent him from gaining any advantage over us; which I hope to effect, till a reinforcement from Italy shall enable me to exterminate this desperate crew. I will venture, at least, to assure you, my dear Cicero, that neither zeal nor vigilance shall be wanting on my part for that purpose. It is my sincere wish, indeed, that the senate may have no farther fears; but if any should still remain, no man will enter into their cause with greater warmth and spirit, nor be willing to suffer more in the support of it, than myself.

I am endeavouring to engage Lepidus to join with me in the same views: and I have promised him, if he will act with a regard to the interest of the republic, that I shall, upon all occasions, yield him an entire deference. I have employed my brother, together with Furnius

nus and Laterensis², to negotiate this association between us: and no private injury done to myself shall ever prevent me from concurring with my greatest enemy, whenever it may be necessary for the defence of the commonwealth. But should these overtures prove unsuccessful, I shall still persevere with the same zeal (and, perhaps, with more glory) in my endeavours to give satisfaction to the senate. Take care of your health, and allow me an equal return of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul-elect, to CICERO.

I HAVE received a duplicate of the letter you sent me by my couriers; to which I can only say, in return, that my obligations to you rise much higher than I can easily discharge.

I gave you an account, in my last, of the posture of our affairs: since which I have received intelligence, that Antony is on his march towards Lepidus. Among some papers of Antony, which are fallen into my hands, I found a list of the several persons whom he intended to employ

² Furnius, it has already been observed, was lieutenant to Plancus, as Laterensis acted in the same capacity under Lepidus.

ploy as mediators in his behalf with Pollio, Lepidus and Plancus: so that he has not yet, it seems, given up all hopes of gaining the latter. Nevertheless, I did not hesitate to send an immediate express to Plancus, with advice of Antony's march. I expect, within a few days, to receive ambassadors from the Allobroges, and all the other districts of this province: and I doubt not of dismissing them strongly confirmed in their allegiance to the republic. You will be attentive on your part, I dare say, to promote all such necessary measures at Rome as shall be agreeable to your sentiments, and to the interest of the commonwealth. I am equally persuaded that you will prevent, if it be possible to prevent, the malevolent schemes of my enemies. But if you should not succeed in these generous endeavours, you will, at least, have the satisfaction to find, that no indignities they can throw upon me, are capable of deterring me from my purposes. Farewel.

From my camp on the frontiers of the Statiellenses¹.
May the 5th.

LETTER

¹ A territory in Liguria, the principal town of which was *Aqua Statiellorum*, now called *Aqui*, in the district of Montserat.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

SOME occurrences have arisen since I closed my former letter, of which I think it may import the republic that you should be apprised: as both the commonwealth and myself, I hope, have reaped advantage from my assiduity in the affair I am going to mention. I solicited Lepidus by repeated expresses to lay aside all animosities between us, and amicably unite with me in concerting measures for the succour of the republic; conjuring him to prefer the interest of his family and his country to that of a contemptible and desperate rebel; and assuring him, if he did so, that he might entirely command me upon all occasions. Accordingly, by the intervention of Laterensis, I have succeeded in my negotiation: and Lepidus has given me his honour, that if he cannot prevent Antony from entering his province², he will most certainly lead his army against him. He requests, likewise, that I would join him with my forces; and the rather, as Antony is extremely strong in cavalry, whereas, that of

Lepidus

² Narbonensian Gaul: which, together with part of Spain, composed the province of Lepidus.

Lepidus is very inconsiderable: and out of these few, ten of his best men have lately deserted to my camp. As soon as I received this express, I lost no time to forward and assist the good intentions of Lepidus. I clearly saw, indeed, the advantage that would arise from my joining him: as my horse would be of service in pursuing and destroying Antony's cavalry, and, as the presence of my troops in general, would be a restraint upon the disaffected part of those under his command. To this end, having spent a day in throwing a bridge across the Isara³, a very considerable river, that bounds the territories of the Allobroges, I passed it with my whole army on the 12th of May. But having received advice that Lucius Antonius⁴ was advancing towards us with some regiments of horse and foot, and that he was actually arrived at Forum Julii⁴; I ordered, on the 14th, a detachment of four thousand horse to meet him, under the command of my brother: whom I purpose to follow by long marches with four light-armed legions and the remainder of my cavalry. And should that Fortune which presides over the republic, prove in any degree favourable to my arms, I shall

soon

³ It is now called the *Isere*, a river in Dauphiné, which falls into the Rhone.

⁴ A brother of Mark Antony.

⁴ Now called Frejus, a city in Provence.

soon put an end, at once, both to our own fears, and to the hopes of these insolent rebels. But if the infamous Antony, apprised of our approach, should retire towards Italy, it will be the business of Brutus to intercept his march; and Brutus, I am persuaded, will not be wanting either in courage or conduct for that purpose. Nevertheless, I shall, in that case, send my brother with a detachment of horse to harass Antony in his retreat, and to protect Italy from his depredations. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 710.]

CASSIUS, Proconsul, to CICERO.

YOUR letter^s affords me a new proof of your extraordinary friendship. I find, by it, that you are not only a well-wisher to my interest, (as you have, at all times been, indeed, for the sake of the republic as well as for my own) but enter into it with the warmest and most anxious solicitude. I was persuaded, therefore, that as you could not suppose me capable of being inactive at a season when my country laboured under a general oppression, you would be im-

^s This seems to be an answer to the 15th letter of the preceding book. p. 219.

impatient to hear both of my personal welfare, and of the success of my military preparations. For this reason, as soon as Aulus Allienus had resigned those legions into my hands which he brought from Egypt⁶, I wrote to you by different couriers, whom I dispatched to Rome. I sent a letter, at the same time, to the senate; and, if my people obeyed their instructions, it was not delivered till it was first read to you. But, if these expresses should not be arrived, I am persuaded they have been intercepted by Dolabella; who, after having most villanously murdered Trebonius⁷, has made himself master of his province.

All

⁶ See rem. 3. p. 206. of this vol.

⁷ It has already been observed in rem. 4. p. 194. of this vol. that Dolabella left Rome before the expiration of his consulship, in order to possess himself of the government of Syria. In his way thither, he arrived at Smyrna; where Trebonius, proconsul of Asia Minor, resided. Trebonius refused him admittance into the city, but treated him, however, with great civility, and many compliments mutually passed between them. With these, Dolabella appeared satisfied, and pretending to pursue his march, proceeded towards Ephesus; but he returned in the night, and making himself master of the city by surprise, seized Trebonius in his bed. Cicero, in one of his Philippics, expatiates upon the cruelties which Dolabella exercised on this his unfortunate, but illustrious prisoner. He kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of the public money in his custody, insulting him, at the same time, with the most opprobrious language; he then ordered his head to be cut off, and exhibited to the populace on the point of a spear, his body to be dragged through the principal streets of Smyrna, and afterwards to be thrown into the sea. See rem. 8. p. 99. of this vol. Appian. B. C. iii. p. 542. Phil. xi. 2. 3.

All the troops which I found in Syria, have submitted to my authority. However, I have been a little retarded in my preparations, in order to distribute some donatives which I had promised to the soldiers, but I have now discharged my engagements.

If you are sensible that I have refused no labours nor dangers for the service of my country; if it was by your advice and persuasion, that I took up arms against those infamous invaders of our liberties; if I have not only raised an army for the defence of the commonwealth, but have even snatched it from most cruel and oppressive hands; let these considerations recommend my interests to your care and protection. Had Dolabella, indeed, possessed himself of these forces, the expectation of such an additional body of troops, even before they had actually joined Antony, would greatly have confirmed and strengthened his party. If, upon this account, therefore, you think these soldiers deserve highly of the republic, let them experience the benefit of your patronage, nor suffer them to have reason to regret, that they preferred their duty to the commonwealth, to all the powerful temptations of plunder and rapine. I must also recommend it to your care, that due honours be paid to the

the generals, Marcus and Crispus*. As to Bassus, he obstinately refused to deliver up the legion under his command; and had they not, without his consent, deputed some of their officers to treat with me, he would have shut the gates of Apamea, and forced me to have entered the town by assault. I make these requests, then, as well in the name of our friendship, which, I trust, will have much weight with you; as in that of the republic, which has ever, I know, been the object of your warmest affection. Believe me, the army under my command is zealously attached not only to the senate, and to every friend of our country, but particularly to yourself. The frequent accounts, indeed, they hear of your patriot-disposition, have extremely endeared you to them, and should they find their interests to be a part of your concern, they will consider you, in all respects, as their first and greatest benefactor.

Since I wrote the above, I have received intelligence that Dolabella is marched into Cilicia, whither I purpose immediately to follow him. I will give you early notice of the event of this expedition, and may I so prove successful, as I shall endeavour to deserve well of the republic.

* Some account of these persons, as well as of Bassus, mentioned in the next sentence, has been given in the preceding remarks.

republic. Take care of your health, and continue your friendship to me. Farewel.

From my camp, May the 7th.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 710.]

To DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

THE message you commissioned Galba and Volumnius to deliver to the senate, sufficiently intimates the nature of those fears and suspicions which you imagine we have reason to entertain. But I must confess, that the apprehensions you would thus infuse into us, seem, by no means, worthy of that glorious victory you have obtained over the enemies of the commonwealth. Believe me, my dear Brutus, both the senate, and the generals that support its cause, are animated with an undaunted resolution; we were sorry, therefore, that you, whom we esteem the bravest captain that ever the republic employed, should think us capable of any timidity. Is it possible, indeed, after having confidently reposed our hopes on your courage and conduct, when you were invested by Antony in all the fulness of his strength and power, that any of us should harbour the least fear now that the siege is raised, and the ene-

my's army entirely overthrown? Nor have we any thing, surely, to apprehend from Lepidus. For who can imagine him so utterly void of all rational conduct, as to have professed himself an advocate for peace, when we were engaged in a most necessary and important war, and yet to take up arms against the republic the moment that most desirable peace is restored? You are far too sagacious, I doubt not, to entertain such a thought. Nevertheless, the fears you have renewed amongst us, at a time when every temple throughout Rome is resounding with our thanksgivings for your deliverance, have cast a very considerable damp upon our joy. May the fact prove, then, (what, indeed, I am inclined to believe as well as hope) that Antony is completely vanquished. But should he happen to recover some degree of strength, he will most assuredly find that neither the senate is destitute of wisdom, nor the people of courage; I will add, too, nor the republic of a general, so long as you shall be alive to lead forth her armies. Farewel.

May the 19th.

LETTER

² It will appear, in the progress of these letters, that if Cicero was really in earnest in what he here says concerning Lepidus, it was he himself, and not Brutus, who wanted sagacity.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

ANTONY arrived at Forum-Julii, with the van of his army, on the 15th of May, and Ventidius is only two days march behind him. Lepidus writes me word, that he proposes to wait for me at Forum-Voconii¹, where he is at present encamped, a place about four-and-twenty miles distant from Forum-Julii. If he and Fortune do not deceive my expectations, the senate may depend upon my speedily terminating this business to their full satisfaction.

I mentioned to you, in a former letter, that the great fatigues which my brother had undergone, by his continual marches, had extremely impaired his constitution. However, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered to get abroad, he considered his health as an acquisition which he had gained as much for the service of the republic, as for himself; and was the first, therefore, to engage in every hazardous expedition. But I have recommended it to him, and, indeed, insisted, that he should return to Rome, as he would be much more likely to wear himself away by continuing in the camp,

¹ Now called *Le Luc*, in Provence.

camp, than be able to give me any assistance. Besides, I imagined, now that the republic was most unhappily deprived of both the consuls, that the presence of so worthy a magistrate would be absolutely necessary at Rome. But if any of you should think otherwise, let *me* be censured for my imprudent advice; but let not by brother be condemned as failing in his duty.

Lepidus, agreeably to my request, has delivered Apella into my hands, as an hostage for the faithful execution of his engagements to co-operate with me in the defence of the commonwealth. Lucius Gellius, has given me proofs of his zeal, as he has acted also in the affair of the three brothers, to the satisfaction of Sextus Gavianus. I have lately employed the latter in some negociations between Lepidus and myself, and I have found him firmly attached to the interest of the republic. It is with great pleasure I give this testimony in his favour, a tribute which I shall always be ready to pay wherever it is deserved.

Take care of your health, and allow me the same share of your heart which you most assuredly possess of mine. I recommend my dignities, likewise, to your protection; and I hope, if I can plead any merit, you will con-

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tinue

tinue your good offices to me with the same singular affection you have hitherto discovered. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

YOU recommend a friend of my own, when you desire my good offices to Luceius: be assured I shall faithfully support his interest by every mean in my power.

We have lost our colleagues², Hirtius and Pansa: and the death of these excellent consuls, who discharged their office with great advantage to the republic, has happened at a very unseasonable conjuncture. For though we are at present delivered from the oppressions of Antony, we are not wholly free from all apprehensions of danger. But, if I may be permitted, I shall continue my usual endeavours to preserve the commonwealth from ruin; though, I must confess, I am full weary of the work. No lassitude, however, ought to obstruct the duties we owe to our country.---But I forbear to enter farther into this subject, as I had rather you should hear of my actions from others, than from myself. The account I receive of yours is entirely agreeable to my wishes; but it

² In the college of augurs.

it is far otherwise with respect to the reports concerning Minucius. They are, indeed, very unfavourable to his character, notwithstanding all the fine things you said of him in one of your letters. I should be glad to know the truth of the case, and to be informed of every thing else which is transacting in your province. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, consul-elect.

IT is with infinite satisfaction, my dear Brutus, that I find you approve of my conduct in the senate, with respect both to the decemvirs², and to the honours decreed to our young³ man. Yet, after all, what have my labours availed? Believe me, my friend, (and you know I am not apt to boast) the senate was the grand engine of my power: but all those springs which I used so successfully to manage, have utterly lost

² These decemvirs were probably the ten persons whom the senate, in the first transports of their supposed complete victory before the walls of Modena, had appointed to enquire into the conduct of Antony, during his administration of the consular office. *Vid. Appian. B. C. iii. 578.*

³ Octavius. The honours here mentioned were, perhaps, the ovation, (a kind of inferior and less splendid triumph) which, by the influence of Cicero, was decreed to young Caesar, for his services at the siege of Modena. See *Life of Cic. iii. p. 211.*

lost their force, and I can no longer direct its motions. The truth of it is, the news of your glorious sally from the garrison of Mutina, of Antony's flight, and of his army being entirely cut to pieces, had inspired such confident hopes of a complete victory, that the disappointment has cast a general damp upon the spirit I had raised against our enemies; and all my ardent invectives seem at last to have proved just as insignificant as if I had been combating with my own shadow. But to the purpose of your letter.---Those who are acquainted with the dispositions of the fourth and the *martial* legions, assure me, they will never be prevailed on to serve under you. As to the supply of money which you desire, some measures may, and most assuredly shall, be taken in order to raise it. I am wholly in your sentiments with regard to the calling Brutus² out of Greece, and retaining Cæsar here for the protection of Italy. I agree with you, likewise, my dear Brutus, that you have enemies; and though I find it no very difficult matter to sustain their attacks, yet still, however, they somewhat embarrass my schemes in your favour.

The legions from Africa³ are daily expected.

In

² Marcus Brutus.

³ These were some of the veteran legions that had served under Julius Cæsar. See rem. 4. on let. 18. of this book.

In the mean time, the world is greatly astonished to find that the war is broke out again in your province. Nothing, in truth, ever happened so unexpectedly; as we had promised ourselves, from the account of the victory which was brought to us on your birth-day, that the peace of the republic was established for many generations. But now all our fears are revived with as much strength as ever.

You mentioned in your letter, dated the 15th of May, that you were just informed, by an express from Plancus, that Lepidus had refused to receive Antony. Should this prove to be fact, our business will be so much the easier; if not, we shall have a very difficult struggle to maintain; and it depends upon you to ease me of my great apprehensions for the event. As for my own part, I have exhausted all my powers, and I am utterly incapable of doing more than I have already performed. It is far otherwise, however, with my friend; and I not only wish, but expect, to see you the greatest and most distinguished of Romans. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

Nothing, my dear Plancus, could be more glorious to yourself, nor more acceptable to the senate, than the letter you lately addressed to that assembly: I will add too, nothing could be more opportune than the particular juncture in which it was delivered. Cornutus received it in the presence of a very full house, just as he had communicated to us a cold and irresolute letter from Lepidus. Yours was read immediately afterwards, and it was heard with the loudest acclamations of applause. It was highly pleasing, indeed, to the senate, not only from the importance of its contents, and those zealous services to the republic of which it gave us an account, but from that strength and elegance of expression with which it was animated. The senate was extremely urgent that it might immediately be taken into consideration: but Cornutus thought proper to decline their request: However, the whole assembly expressing great indignation at his refusal, the question was put by five of the tribunes of the people. When Servilius was called upon for his opinion, he moved that the debate might

might be adjourned. What my sentiments were (and I was supported in them by the unanimous concurrence of the whole house) you will see by the decree that passed upon this occasion.

I am sensible that your own superior judgment is abundantly sufficient to direct you in all emergencies; yet I cannot forbear advising you not to wait for the sanction of the senate in so critical a conjuncture as the present, and which undoubtedly must often demand immediate action. Be a senate, my friend, to yourself; and, without any other authority, scruple not to pursue such measures as the interest of the republic shall require. In one word, let your actions anticipate our expectations, and give us the pleasure of hearing that you have executed some glorious exploit, ere we are so much as apprised that you even had it in your intention. I will venture to assure you, that the senate will most certainly approve both your zeal and your judgment in whatever you shall thus undertake. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

I AM indebted to you for your short letter by Flaccus Volumnius, as well as for two others more full, one of which was brought by the courier of Titus Vibius, the other was forwarded to me by Lupus; and all of them came to my hands on the same day. I find, by your own account, as well as by that which Græceius has given me, that the war, far from being extinguished, seems to be breaking out again with greater violence. You are sensible, if Antony should gain any strength, that all your illustrious services to the republic will be utterly frustrated. The first accounts we received here, and which, indeed, were universally credited, represented him as having run away in great consternation, attended only with a few frightened and disarmed soldiers. But if the truth, after all, should be (what Græceius assures me) that Antony is, in fact, so strong as to render it unsafe to give him battle, he does not seem so much to have fled from Mutina, as to have changed the seat of war. This unexpected news has given all Rome another countenance, and a general air of disappointment

appointment appears in every face. There are even some amongst us who complain of your not having immediately pursued Antony; for they imagine, if no time had been lost, that he must inevitably have been destroyed. But it is usual with the people in all governments, and especially in ours, to be particularly disposed to abuse their liberty, by licentious reflections on those to whom they are indebted for the enjoyment of it. However, one should be careful not to give them any just cause for their censures.

To say all in one word, whoever destroys Antony will have the glory of terminating the war: a hint which I had rather leave to your own reflections, than enter myself into a more open explanation³. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO.

I WILL no longer attempt to make any formal acknowledgments of the repeated instances I receive of your friendship: mere words are a very inadequate return to those obligations which my best services can but ill repay. If you will look back upon my former letters, you cannot

³ See rem. 6. p. 260. of this vol.

cannot be at a loss to discover the reasons that prevented me from pursuing Antony immediately after the battle of Mutina. The truth, my dear Cicero, is, that I was not only unprovided both with cavalry and baggage-horses, but not having at that time had an interview with Cæsar, I could not depend on his assistance, and I was wholly ignorant, likewise, that Hirtius was killed. This will account for my not having pursued Antony on the day of the engagement. The day following I received an express from Pansa, to attend him at Bononia; but, in my way thither, being informed of his death, I immediately returned back to join my little corps. I may justly call them, so, indeed, as my forces are extremely diminished, and in a very bad condition, from the great hardships they suffered during the siege. It was by these means that Antony got two days' advance of me; and, as he marched in disorder, he could retire much faster than it was in my power to pursue. He increased his forces likewise by pressing the inhabitants, and throwing open the prisons in every town through which he passed: and in this manner he continued his march till he arrived in the fens of Sabata. This is a place with which I must bring you acquainted. It is situated between the Alps and the Apennines, and the roads

roads that lie about it are scarce practicable. When I had reached within thirty miles of Antony, I was informed that he had been joined by Ventidius, and had made a speech at the head of their combined troops, to persuade them to follow him over the Alps; assuring them that Lepidus had agreed to support him. Nevertheless, not only his own soldiers (which, indeed, are a very inconsiderable number) but those likewise of Ventidius, repeatedly and unanimously declared that they were determined either to conquer, or perish in Italy; and at the same time desired that they might be conducted to Pollentia^a. Antony found it in vain to oppose them: however, he deferred his march till the ensuing day. As soon as I received this intelligence, I detached five cohorts to Pollentia; and am now following them with the remainder of my troops. This detachment threw themselves into that city an hour before Trebellius arrived with his cavalry; a circumstance which gives me great satisfaction, as it is a point, I think, upon which our whole success depends. When the enemy found that their designs were thus frustrated, they conceived hopes of crossing the Alps into Gaul; as they supposed the four legions commanded by Plancus would not be

^a Some remains of this city still subsist, under the name of Polenza. It is situated at the confluence of the Stura and the Tanaro, in Piedmont.

be able to withstand their united forces, and that an army from Italy could not overtake them soon enough to prevent their passage.--- However, the Allobroges, together with my detachment, have hitherto been sufficient to prevent their design; which, I trust, they will find still more difficult to effect, when I shall come up with the rest of my forces. But should they happen, in the mean time, to pass the Isara, I shall exert my utmost endeavours that this circumstance may not be attended with any ill consequences to the commonwealth.

Let it raise the spirits and the hopes of the senate, to observe that Plancus and myself, together with our respective armies, act in perfect concert with each other, and are ready to hazard every danger in support of the common cause. However, whilst you thus confidently rely on our zeal and diligence, you will remit nothing, I hope, of your own, but employ your utmost care to send us a reinforcement, as well as every other necessary supply, that may render us in a condition to defend your liberties against those who have infamously conspired their ruin. One cannot, indeed, but look upon these our enemies with so much the greater indignation, as they have acted with the vilest hypocrisy, and suddenly turned those troops against their country, which they long pretended to have raised for its defence. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS to CICERO.

I wish you would peruse the letter I have addressed to the senate, and make what alterations you shall judge proper. You will find by it, that I am under an absolute necessity of thus applying to them. Whilst I imagined that I should be joined by the fourth and martial legions⁴, agreeably to the decree of the senate which passed for that purpose on the motion of Paulus and Drusus, I was less solicitous about the rest; but now that I have only some new-raised regiments, and those too extremely ill accoutred, I cannot but be apprehensive upon your accounts, as well as upon my own.

The citizens of Vicentia⁵ have always distinguished Marcus Brutus and myself by their particular regard. I entreat you, therefore, to endeavour that justice be done them by the senate, in the affair concerning the slaves. They are,

⁴ These were veteran legions which had served under Cæsar. But, notwithstanding that they entered into the army of the late consuls, Hirtius and Pansa; they could by no means be prevailed with to join Decimus Brutus; in resentment, 'tis probable, of the part he bore in the conspiracy against their favourite general. *Vid. Ep. Famil. xi. 14.*

⁵ Vicenza, a maritime city in the territories of the Venetians.

are, indeed, entitled to your favour, both by the equity of their cause, and the fidelity with which they have, upon all occasions, persevered in their allegiance to the republic: whereas their adversaries, on the contrary, are a most seditious and faithless people. Farewel.

Vercellæ^a, May the 21st.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 710.]

MARCUS LEPIDUS^b to CICERO. I

HAVING received advice that Antony was advancing with his troops towards my province, and had sent before him a detachment of his cavalry, under the command of his brother Lucius, I moved with my army from the confluence of the Rhone and the Arar^c, in order to oppose their passage. I continued my march without halting, till I arrived at Forum Voco-
nii, and am now encamped somewhat beyond that town, on the river Argenteus^d, opposite to Antony. Ventidius has joined him with his three legions, and has formed his camp a little above mine. Antony, before this conjunction, had the second legion entire, together with a consider-

^a Vercelli, in the dutchy of Milan.

^b See rem. 4, p. 217. of this vol.

^c The Saone, which falls into the Rhone at Lyons.

^d The Argens, in Provence: it empties itself into the Mediterranean, a few miles below Frejus.

able number of men, though, indeed, wholly unarmed, who escaped from the general slaughter of his other legions: he is extremely strong in cavalry; for, as none of those troops suffered in the late action, he has no less than **** horse. Great numbers of his soldiers, both horse and foot, are continually deserting to my camp; so that his troops diminish every day. Both Silanus^e and Culeo^f have left his army, and are returned to mine. But notwithstanding I was greatly offended by their going to Antony, contrary to my inclination, yet, in regard to the connexions that subsist between us, and in compliance with my usual clemency, I have thought proper to pardon them. However, I do not, upon any occasion, employ their services, nor, indeed, suffer them to remain in my camp.

As to what concerns my conduct in this war, you may depend upon it I shall not be wanting in my duty either to the senate or the republic; and whatever farther measures I shall take to this end, I shall not fail to communicate them to you.

The

^e The number is omitted in all the ancient MSS.

^f See rem. 2. p. 250. of this vol.

^g He had been sent by Lepidus with a body of men, under the pretence of guarding the passes of the Alps; but, most probably, with secret instructions to favour the march of Antony over those mountains, in his way to the camp of Lepidus; for he suffered Antony to pass them without the least obstruction. Appian, B. C. iii. p. 579.

The friendship between us has upon all occasions been inviolably preserved on both sides, and we have mutually vied in our best good offices to each other. But I doubt not that, since this great and sudden commotion has been raised in the commonwealth, some false and injurious reports have been spread of me by my enemies, which, in the zeal of your heart for the interest of the republic, have given you much uneasiness. I have the satisfaction, however, to be informed by my agents at Rome, that you are by no means disposed easily to credit these idle rumours; for which I think myself, as I justly ought, extremely obliged to you. I am so, likewise, for the former instances of your friendship, in promoting my public honours, the grateful remembrance of which, be assured, is indelibly impressed upon my heart.

Let me conjure you, my dear Cicero, if you are sensible that my public conduct has upon all occasions been worthy of the name I bear, to be persuaded that I shall continue to act with equal, or, if possible, even with superior zeal³. Let me hope, too, that the greater the favours are

³ There was so little of truth in these professions, that Lepidus, within a very few days from the date of this letter, openly joined with Antony against the senate. See let. 28. of this book.

are which you have conferred upon me, the more you will think yourself engaged to support my credit and character. Farewell.

From my camp, at Pons Argenteus, May the 22d.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

You have been apprised, no doubt, by Lævus and Nerva, as well as by the letter they delivered to you on my part, of the design I was meditating when they left me; as, indeed, they have constantly borne a share in all my councils and measures of every kind. It has happened, however, to me, what happens not unfrequently, I suppose, to every man who is tender of his reputation, and desirous of approving his conduct to the friends of his country: I have given up a safer scheme, as being liable, perhaps, to some ill-natured exceptions, in exchange for a more dangerous one that may better evince my zeal. I am to inform you, then, that, after the departure of my lieutenants⁴, I received two letters from Lepidus, entreating me to join him. These were seconded by the much stronger solicitations of

Laterensis,

⁴ Lævus and Nerva, the persons mentioned above.

Laterensis, who earnestly represented to me (what, indeed, I am also apprehensive of myself) that there is great reason to fear a mutiny among the disaffected troops under the conduct of Lepidus. I determined immediately, therefore, to march to his assistance, and take an equal share in the dangers with which he was threatened. I was sensible, at the same time, that to wait on the banks of the Isara till Brutus should pass that river with his army, and to meet the enemy in conjunction with my colleague, whose forces, as well as their general, would act in perfect harmony with me and my troops, would be much the most cautious measure with respect to my own personal security. But I reflected, that if any misfortune should attend Lepidus, it would be wholly imputed to me, and I should be condemned either as obstinately suffering my resentment to prevent me from giving succour to my enemy in the cause of the republic, or of timidly avoiding to take part in the danger of a most just and necessary war. As my presence, therefore, might be a mean of protecting Lepidus, and of bringing his army into a better disposition, I resolved to expose myself to all hazards, rather than appear to act with too much circumspection. But never was any man more anxious in an affair for which he was in no sort answerable, than I am
in

in the present; for though I should have no manner of doubt if the army of Lepidus were not concerned, yet, under that circumstance, I am full of apprehensions for the event. Had it been my fortune to have met Antony before my junction with Lepidus, I am sure he would not have been able to have kept the field against me even a single hour; such is the confidence I have in my own troops, and so heartily do I despise his broken forces, as well as those of that paltry muleteer, the contemptible Ventidius. But, as the case is now circumstanced, I dread to think what may be the consequence, should any ill humours be concealed in the army of Lepidus; as they may possibly break out in all their malignity, before they can be remedied, or even discovered. It is certain, however, that Lepidus, together with the well-affected part of his army, would be exposed to great danger, if we should not act in conjunction: besides that, our infamous enemies would gain a very considerable advantage, should they draw off any of his forces. If my presence, therefore, should prove a mean of preventing these evils, I shall think myself much indebted to my courage and good fortune for engaging me to make the experiment. With this design I moved with my army from the banks of the Isara on the 21st of May.

⁵ See rem. 3. p. 256. of this vol.

May, having first erected a fort at each end of the bridge which I had thrown over that river, and placed a strong party to defend it, that when Brutus shall arrive, he may have nothing to retard his passage. I have only to add, that I hope to join Lepidus within eight days from the date of this letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 710.]

From the same, to CICERO.

I SHOULD be ashamed that this letter is so little consistent with my former, if it arose from any instability of my own. But it is much otherwise; and I have steadily pursued every measure in my power to engage Lepidus to act in concert with me, for the defence of the republic, imagining it would render you less apprehensive of my success against our wretched enemies. To this end, I not only complied with all the conditions he proposed, but even engaged for more than he demanded; and I had so much confidence in the sincerity of his intentions, that I ventured to assure you, no longer than two days ago, that he would zealously co-operate with me in carrying on the war upon one common plan. I depended, indeed, upon the promises he had given me under his own hand, together with the assurances

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I had

I had likewise received from Laterensis, who was at that time in my camp, and who earnestly conjured me to forget all resentments against Lepidus, and to rely upon his good faith. But Lepidus has now put it out of my power to entertain these favourable hopes of him any longer: however, I have taken, and shall continue to take, all necessary precautions, that the republic may not be prejudiced by my too easy credulity. I am to inform you, then, that, after I had used the utmost expedition (agreeably to his own earnest request) to transport my army over the Isara, and for that purpose had, in the space of a single day, thrown a bridge across that river, I received a counter-express from him, requiring me to advance no farther, as he should not have occasion, he said, for my assistance. Nevertheless, I will own to you, I was so imprudent as to proceed in my march, believing that the true reason of his thus changing his mind arose from an unwillingness to have a partner with him in his glory. I imagined that, without depriving him of any share of that honour which he seemed so desirous to monopolize, I might post myself at some convenient distance, in order to be ready to support him with my troops, in case he should be pressed by the enemy: an event which, in the simplicity of my heart, I thought not improbable. In the mean time

time I received a letter from the excellent Latrensis, which was conceived in terms full of despair. He complained that he had been greatly deceived, and assured me that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted. He expressly cautioned me, at the same time, to be upon my guard against their artifices; adding, that he had faithfully discharged the engagements he had entered into on his part, and hoped I would act with the same fidelity to the republic on mine. I have sent a copy of this letter to Titius, and purpose to transmit the originals of all the rest relating to this affair, by the hands of Lævus Cispus, who was privy to the whole transaction. I shall insert in this packet the letters of Lepidus, to which I did not give any credit, as well as those to which I did.

I must not forget to add, that when Lepidus harangued his soldiers, these mighty honest fellows were exceedingly clamorous for peace. They protested that, after the loss of both the consuls, after the destruction of so many brave men, who had perished in defence of their country, and after Antony and his adherents had been declared enemies of the commonwealth, and their estates confiscated, they were determined not to draw their swords any more either on the one side or the other. They were prompted to behave thus mutinously, not only
by

by the insolent suggestions of their own hearts, but by the encouragement also of their officers, particularly Canidius, Rufrenus, and others, whose names the senate shall be acquainted with at a proper season. Lepidus was so far from punishing this sedition, that he did not take even a single step to restrain it. I thought, therefore, that it would be the highest temerity to expose my own faithful troops, together with my auxiliaries, which are commanded by some of the most considerable chiefs of Gaul, and in effect, too, my whole province, to their combined armies. I considered, if I should thus lose my life, and involve the republic in my own destruction, I should fall, not only without honour, but without pity. In consequence of these reflections, I have determined to march my forces back again, that our wretched enemies may not have so great an advantage as my advancing any farther might possibly give them. I shall endeavour to post my army so advantageously as to cover the province under my command from being insulted, even supposing the troops of Lepidus should actually revolt. In short, it shall be my care to preserve every thing in its present situation till the senate shall send an army hither, and vindicate the liberties of the republic with the same success in this part of the world, as attended

tended their arms before the walls of Mutina. In the mean time, be assured, that no man will act with more fervent zeal than myself in all the various occurrences of the war: and I shall most readily either encounter the enemy in the field, or sustain the hardships of a siege, or even lay down my life itself, as any of these circumstances shall prove necessary for the service of the senate. Let me exhort you, then, my dear Cicero, to exert your utmost efforts to send a speedy reinforcement to me, ere Antony shall have increased the number of his forces, or our own shall be entirely dispirited. For if dispatch be given to this affair, these infamous banditti will undoubtedly be extirpated, and the republic remain in full possession of her late victory. Take care of your health, and continue your friendship to me.

P. S. I know not whether it may be necessary to make any excuse for the absence of my brother, who was prevented from attending me in this expedition, by a slow fever, occasioned by the great fatigues he has lately undergone. As no man has shewn more zeal or courage in the cause of the republic, he will undoubtedly return to the duties of his post the very first moment his health shall permit.

I recommend my honours to your protection; though I must confess, at the same time,

that

that all my desires ought to be satisfied, since I enjoy the privilege of your friendship, and the satisfaction of seeing you invested with the high credit and authority I have ever wished you. I will leave it, therefore, entirely to yourself, both when and in what manner I shall experience the effect of your good offices; and will only request you to suffer me to succeed Hirtius in your affection, as I certainly do in the respect and esteem he bore you. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO FURNIUS⁷.

IF the interest of the republic requires the continuance of your services, and it be necessary (as all the world, indeed, is of opinion it is) that you should bear a part in those important operations, which must extinguish the remaining flames of the war, you cannot, surely, be engaged in a more worthy, a more laudable, or a more illustrious pursuit. I think, therefore, you should by no means interrupt your applauded efforts in the cause of liberty, for the sake of obtaining the prætorship somewhat earlier than you are regularly entitled to enjoy it. I say your *applauded* efforts: for let not my

⁷ He had been tribune in the year of Rome 703, and was at this time in the army of Plancus, as one of his lieutenants.

my friend be ignorant of the fame which his conduct has acquired. Believe me, it is inferior only to that of Plancus himself, both by his own confession, and in the judgment too of all the world. If there is any farther service then remaining for you to perform to your country, you ought to pursue it with an unbroken application, as an employment, of all others, the most truly honourable: and what, my friend, shall stand in competition with true honour? But should you imagine that you have amply satisfied the duties you owe to the commonwealth, I do not dissuade you from hastening hither when the time of the elections shall approach, provided this ambitious impatience shall nothing diminish from the lustre of that reputation you have so justly obtained. I could name, however, many instances of persons of great distinction, who, during their engagements in the service of the republic abroad, have renounced their legal pretensions of soliciting employments at home; a sacrifice which, in your own case, will be so much the less, as you are not at present strictly qualified to offer yourself as a candidate. Had you already, indeed, passed through the office of ædile, and two years^{*} had intervened since

your

^{*} By the laws of Rome a man could not be chosen prætor

your exercising that function, the self-denial would have been greater: whereas now you will forego nothing of the usual and stated time of petitioning for the post in question. I am very sensible that your interest is much too strong to require the assistance of Plancus: nevertheless, should his arms be attended with the success we wish, your applications would certainly appear with greater advantage were they deferred till the time of his consulate.

Thus much (as I was willing you should know my sentiments) I thought proper to say: but more, I am persuaded, your own good sense and judgment would render unnecessary. The sum of all, then, is shortly this: that I would have you regulate your conduct, upon all occurrences, not by the common standard of popular ambition, but by that of true and solid glory; and look upon a lasting reputation as of more value than the transient honour of enjoying the prætorian office somewhat earlier than usual. I had a consultation the other day at my house upon this subject, with your very good friends Cæcina, Calvisius, and my brother, at which your freedman Dardanus was likewise present: and they every one of them

joined

till two years after he had served the office of ædile; and the same distance of time was likewise required between the prætorship and the consulate.

joined with me in the opinion I have here given you. But after all, you yourself are the best and most competent judge. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO.

FRIENDSHIP and gratitude make me feel, upon your account, what I never felt upon my own; and I will confess, that I am not without fear in regard to a story which has been propagated concerning you. I thought it by no means a matter to be despised when I had only heard of it, as I frequently did, from common report: but it has lately been mentioned to me, likewise, by Segulius. This man tells me (tho' what he says, indeed, is generally of a piece with the rest of his character) that paying a visit at Cæsar's, where you were much the subject of the conversation, Cæsar complained (and it was the only charge, it seems, which he brought against you) of an ambiguous expression⁴ which you had made use of concerning him. I suspect the

⁴ The expression itself is inserted in the original; but as it turns upon an ambiguity that will not hold in our language, it was impossible to preserve it in the translation. *Laudandum adolescentum*, Cicero is charged with having said, *ornandum, tollendum*: the last of which words is capable of a double meaning, and may imply either that Octavius should be advanced to the dignities of the state, or that his life should be

the whole to be a mere fiction of Segulius: or, at least, that it was he himself who reported these words to Cæsar. Segulius endeavoured, at the same time, to persuade me that you are in great danger of falling a victim to the resentment of the veteran legions, who speak of you, he pretends, with much indignation. The principal cause, it seems, of their displeasure is, that both Cæsar and myself are left out of the commission for dividing the lands⁵ among the soldiers, and that every thing is disposed of just as you and your friends at Rome think proper.

Notwithstanding that I was on my march⁶ when I received this account, yet I thought it would not be advisable to pass the Alps till I had informed myself how affairs stand. I am well persuaded, nevertheless, that with respect

to

be taken away. The polite and learned panegyrist of Cicero's conduct, has endeavoured to vindicate his admired hero from a charge so little favourable both to his prudence and his honour: and it is to be wished that his arguments were as convincing as they are plausible. In a point, however, that does not admit of any positive proof, candour will incline on the favourable side; though I cannot but agree with an excellent author, that if the accusation was true, "it very much takes off from the ingratitude of Octavius, in consenting to the death of his benefactor: since such double dealing could hardly deserve the name of an obligation, let the effects of it be ever so advantageous." *Life of Cic. iii. p. 240. Observ. on the Life of Cic. iii. p. 54.*

⁵ These were lands which the senate seem to have promised as an encouragement to their troops, upon the breaking out of the war against Antony. *Vid. Philip. xiv. 13.*

⁶ In order to join Plancus.

to yourself, these reports and menaces of the veterans aim at nothing farther than by alarming your fears, and incensing the young Cæsar against you, to obtain for themselves a more considerable proportion of the rewards decreed by the senate. But I do not intend, by saying this, to dissuade you from standing upon your guard: as nothing, be assured, is more valuable to me than your life. Let me only caution you, not to suffer your fears to run you into greater dangers than those you would avoid. However, I would advise you to obviate the clamours of these veterans, as far as you reasonably may; and to comply with their desires, both in regard to the decemvirs⁷, and to the distribution of their rewards. As to those forfeited estates which belonged to the veterans who served under Antony; I should be glad, if you think proper, that Cæsar and myself may be nominated to assign them to the troops. But in reference to the pecuniary donative which they have been also promised; it will be proper to act with more deliberation, and as the circumstances of the public finances shall require: to which end it may be signified to them, that the senate will take these their claims into consideration.

⁷ The persons appointed to execute the commission for the distribution of the lands above mentioned.

sideration. As to those other four legions to whom the senate has also decreed an allotment of lands, I imagine that the estates in Campania, together with those which were formerly seized by Sylla, will be sufficient for the purpose. I should think too that the best method of division would be, either to parcel out those lands, in equal shares, to the several legions, or to determine their respective proportions by lot. But when I thus give you my opinion, it is by no means as pretending to superior judgment, but merely from the affection of my heart towards you, and from my sincere desire that the public tranquillity may be preserved: which I am very sensible, if any accident should happen to you, cannot possibly be maintained.

I do not purpose to march out of Italy, unless I should find it greatly expedient. Meanwhile I am employed in disciplining my troops, and furnishing them with arms: and I hope to appear with no contemptible body of forces, upon any emergency that shall again call me into the field. But Cæsar, however, has not sent back the legion to me, which served in Pansa's army.

I request your immediate answer to this letter: and if you should have any thing of importance to communicate to me, which requires particular secrecy, I desire you would

convey it by one of your own domestics.
Farewel.

Eporedia³, May the 24th.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 710.]

From the same to CICERO.

ALL things here go on well⁹: and it shall be my endeavour to render them still better. Lepidus seems to be favourably disposed towards me: and, indeed, we have reason to divest ourselves of all our fears, and to act with undaunted freedom in defence of the commonwealth. But had our affairs a far less promising aspect; yet it might justly animate and augment that courage which I know always resides in your breast, to reflect that we have three powerful armies¹ devoted to the service of the republic, and that Fortune has already declared in our favour.

The report which I mentioned in my former letter is evidently calculated to intimidate you. But believe me, if you exert a proper spirit, the whole united party will be unable to withstand your eloquence.

I pur-

³ A town not far from Vercellæ; from whence the last letter from Brutus was dated. See p. 292. of this vol.

⁹ "Brutus having received, most probably, some fresh intelligence concerning Lepidus, wrote this letter to Cicero the day after he had written the former. *Mr. Ross.*

¹ That of Octavius, Plancus, and his own.

I purpose, agreeably to what I told you in my last, to remain in Italy till I shall hear from you. Farewel.

Eporedia, May the 25th.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

THE news from your part of the world is so extremely variable and contradictory, that I am utterly at a loss what to write. Sometimes the accounts we receive of Lepidus are agreeable to our wishes, and at others entirely the reverse. All reports, however, concur in assuring us, that you are superior to every danger, either from fraud or force. If you are, in some degree indebted for the latter to Fortune; it is certain that the former, at least, is owing to your prudence alone.

I am informed, by a letter from your colleague², dated the 15th of May, that you mentioned, in one of your expresses to him, that Lepidus had refused to receive Antony. We should have been more disposed to credit this intelligence, if you had taken notice of it in any of your dispatches to Rome. But, perhaps, you would not venture to communicate to us this

² Decimus Brutus.

this piece of good news, as having been a little premature in an account of the same kind in your last. Every man, indeed, is liable to be deceived by his wishes; but all the world knows that you can never be imposed upon by any other means. In the present instance, however, all possibility of farther error is removed: for *to stumble twice against the same stone*, is a disgrace, you know, even to a proverb. Should the truth prove agreeable then to what you mentioned in your letter to your colleague, all our fears are at an end: nevertheless, we shall not dismiss them, till we receive a confirmation of this account from your own hand.

I have often assured you of my firm persuasion, that the whole credit of delivering the commonwealth from this civil war, will devolve entirely upon that general who shall extinguish these its last surviving flames: an honour which I hope, and believe, is reserved solely for yourself.

It is with great pleasure, though without the least surprise, that I find you entertain such grateful sentiments of my zeal in your service. Higher, indeed, it cannot possibly rise: but you may depend upon my exerting it to more important purposes, if affairs in your part of the world should succeed as we wish. Farewel.

May the 29th.

LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 710.]

LENTULUS² to CICERO.

As I found, when I applied to Brutus in Macedonia, that he would not soon be prepared to march to the assistance of this province³, I determined to return hither, in order to collect what remained of the public money, and to remit it with all possible expedition to Rome. In the interval I received intelligence that Dolabella's fleet appeared upon the coast of Lycia⁴, and that he had procured above an hundred transport-vessels, intending, if he should not succeed in his designs upon Syria⁵, to sail directly with his forces to Italy, and join the Antonys and the rest of those infamous rebels. I was so much alarmed at this account, that I thought proper to postpone all other affairs, and immediately proceed in quest of this fleet. And notwithstanding my ships were unequal both in number and size to those of the enemy,

I should

² He was the son of Publius Lentulus, to whom several letters in the first and second books are addressed. He attended Trebonius into Asia Minor as his quæstor in that province, from whence the present letter was written.

³ In order to quell the commotions which Dolabella had raised. See rem. 7. p. 273 of this vol.

⁴ It formed part of the province of Asia Minor. It is now called Aldinelli.

⁵ See rem. 4. p. 194 of this vol.

I should probably have destroyed their whole fleet, if I had not been obstructed by the Rhodians: however, I have disabled the greatest part of it, and dispersed the rest. I have taken, likewise, every one of their transports, the soldiers and officers on board having quitted them upon the first notice of my approach. In a word, I have succeeded in the main of my design, having defeated a scheme which I greatly dreaded, and prevented Dolabella from strengthening our enemies by transporting his forces into Italy.

I refer you to the letter which I have written to the senate⁶, for an account of the ill treatment I received from the Rhodians; though, indeed, I have by no means represented it in its strongest colours. These people, in consequence of their imagining that the affairs of the commonwealth were utterly desperate, behaved towards me with the most insufferable insolence. But their affronts to my own person are in no sort the foundation of my complaints: I have ever disregarded injuries of this kind, that centred entirely in myself. It is their disaffection to the republic, their attachment to the opposite party, their constant ill offices to all those who distinguish themselves in the support of our liberties, that I thought demanded my

⁶ The following letter.

my resentment. Let me not be understood, however, as passing an indiscriminate censure upon the whole island in general: far am I, indeed, from thinking them all equally infected with the same principles. But I know not by what fatality it happens, that those very magistrates who refused to give protection to my father, to Lucius Lentulus, to Pompey, and to the rest of those illustrious chiefs who fled into this island after the battle of Pharsalia, are all of them, at this juncture, either actually in the administration themselves, or possess an unlimited influence over those who are. Accordingly, they have conducted themselves in this affair with their usual malevolence; and it is not only expedient, but, indeed, absolutely necessary, that the republic should interpose her authority, lest the insolence of this people should rise to still greater heights, by passing any longer unchastised.

Let me hope you will continue, as usual, to take my interests under your protection: and that you will, upon all occasions, both in the senate, and in every other instance, promote my honours with your suffrage. As the province of Asia is decreed to the consuls⁷, with a power

⁷ Hirtius and Pansa: the news of whose death, together with that of the battles in which they fell, had not yet reached the knowledge of Lentulus.

power of appointing whomsoever they shall think proper to administer the government till their arrival; I entreat you to employ your interest with them to confer this dignity upon me. The situation of affairs in this province does by no means require their presence before the expiration of their consular office, or in any sort render it necessary that they should send hither an army; for Dolabella is now in Syria: and, agreeably to what you declared with your usual prophetic discernment, he will certainly be defeated by Cassius ere the consuls can possibly arrive. Accordingly, he has been obliged to abandon the siege of Antiocha, and has retreated to Laodicea, a sea-port town in Syria, as the only city in which he could confide. I hope he will soon meet with the fate he so well deserves; or rather, indeed, I am persuaded it has already attended him, for he has no other place to which he can retreat, and it is impossible he should make any long or effectual resistance against so powerful an army as that which Cassius has led against him⁸. I imagine, therefore, that Pansa and

Hirtius

⁸ This shortly afterwards proved to be the fact; for Cassius having forced the city of Laodicea to surrender, Dolabella, in order to avoid falling into the hands of his enemy, put an end to his own life by the assistance of one of his slaves, whom he commanded to be his executioner. *Vel. Patere.* ii. 69.

Hirtius will be in no haste to come into these provinces, but rather choose to finish their consular year at Rome. For this reason I am inclined to hope that you may prevail with them to appoint me their substitute.

I have received assurances from both of them, as well in person as by letter, that no successor should be elected to my office during their consulate: and Pansa has lately repeated the same promise to my friend Verrius. Believe me, it is not from any ambitious views that I desire to be continued some time longer in this province. But as I have met with many difficulties and disadvantages in the discharge of my functions, I should extremely regret the being obliged to resign my post before I shall have fully reaped the fruit of my labours. If it were in my power to remit to Rome the whole of those assessments I had actually levied, I should be so far from wishing to remain here, that I should desire to be recalled. But I am very solicitous to receive the money I advanced to Cassius; to replace what I lost by the death of Trebonius, and the oppressions of Dolabella; as well as to recover the several sums which are due to me from those who have perfidiously broken the good faith they owed both to myself and to the republic. Now, these are points which I can by no means effect, unless the
time

time of my continuance in this province be prolonged : a privilege which I hope to obtain by the interposition of your usual good offices.

I persuade myself that my services to the commonwealth give me just reason to expect, not the honour only of administering this province, but as high dignities as Cassius and the two Bruti : as I not only shared with them in forming the design and undergoing the hazard of that ever-memorable enterprize against Cæsar⁹, but have exerted myself with equal zeal and spirit in all our present commotions. I was the first, let me boast, that bid defiance to the oppressive laws of Antony. I was the first that brought over the cavalry of Dolabella to the interest of the republic, and delivered them into the hands of Cassius. I was the first who levied troops in defence of our common liberties against the infamous attempts of those who have conspired our destruction : and it is owing entirely to me that Syria, together with the army in that province, joined themselves under Cassius in the support of the republic. The truth is, if I had not very expeditiously contributed

⁹ Plutarch (as Manutius in his remark upon this passage observes) taking notice that several affected to be thought associates in the conspiracy against Cæsar, who, in truth, were in no way concerned in that affair ; particularly mentions Lentulus as one in that number. But he paid dear for his boast ; as it cost him his life when Octavius got into power. *Plut. in vit. Cæsar.*

tributed those large subsidies, both of men and money, with which I supplied Cassius, he would not have ventured to march into Syria : and the name of Dolabella would now have been no less formidable to the republic than that of Antony himself. Yet, at the same time, that I acted thus warmly for the interest of the republic, I had every private bias that could draw me to the opposite party. Dolabella was my friend and companion ; as the Antonys were my nearest relations : and it was by the united good offices of the latter that I obtained the quæstorship of this province. But the love of my country was superior to every other attachment : and I stood forth the first to declare war against the strongest and most endearing connexions both of blood and friendship. Inconsiderable, it must be acknowledged, is the fruit which I have hitherto reaped from these instances of my patriotism. However, I do not despair : and I shall unweariedly persevere, not only in displaying my zeal for our liberties, but in exposing myself to every difficulty and every danger for their support. Nevertheless, I cannot but add, if I were to be encouraged by some of those honours I have merited from the senate and from every friend to our country, they would give me an authority which would

would enable me to act with greater advantage to the common cause.

I did not see your son when I was with Brutus, as he was just gone into winter-quarters with the cavalry¹. But I had the satisfaction of finding that he was in general esteem: which gave me great pleasure, not only on his account and yours, but likewise upon my own. For I cannot but consider a son of yours, that thus copies out his father's virtues, as standing in the relation to me of a brother. Farewel.

Perga², May the 29th.

LETTER

¹ "Brutus, when he first left Italy, sailed directly for Athens, where he spent some time in concerting measures how to make himself master of Greece and Macedonia: which was the great design that he had in view. Here he gathered about him all the young nobility and gentry of Rome, who, for the opportunity of their education, had been sent to this celebrated seat of learning: but of them all, he took the most notice of young Cicero. He made him, therefore, one of his lieutenants, though he was but twenty years old; gave him the command of his horse; and employed him in several commissions of great trust and importance; in all which the young man distinguished both his courage and conduct." *Life of Cic.* iii. 142.

² A city of Pamphylia, in Asia Minor: now called Pirgi.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 710.]

LENTULUS, Proquæstor and Proprætor, to the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the People, the Senate, and the Commons of Rome.

As soon as Dolabella had possessed himself of Asia² by the most infamous and cruel act of treachery³, I applied immediately to the army in Macedonia under the command of the illustrious Marcus Brutus, as the nearest assistance to which I could have recourse, in order to recover this province as soon as possible to the dominion of the commonwealth. But Dolabella being apprehensive of my design, advanced with so much rapidity, that he had got out of these territories before it was possible that the forces I had solicited could arrive. In his march, however, he laid the whole country waste, seized upon the public money, and not only plundered the Roman citizens of their effects, but most inhumanly sold them as slaves. I did not think it necessary, therefore, to defer my departure out of Macedonia, till the troops of Brutus should be ready. It appeared to be

most

² Asia Minor. See rem. 8. p. 309. vol. ii.

³ See rem. 7. p. 273. of this vol.

most for the advantage of the republic, that I should return with all expedition to the duties of my post, in order to levy the remainder of the public taxes, to collect the money I had deposited, to inquire what part of it had been seized, and by whose neglect: in a word, to transmit to you a full and faithful account of the state in which I should find the affairs of this province. With these views, I embarked: but as I was sailing among the Greek islands, I received intelligence that Dolabella's fleet lay off the coast of Lycia, and that the Rhodians had a considerable number of ships of war ready to sail. I resolved, therefore, to put back to Rhodes with the ships that attended me, and which were now joined by those under the command of Patiscus, the proquæstor: a person whom I must mention as most intimately united with me, not only by the ties of friendship, but by the same common sentiments towards the republic. I assured myself that the Rhodians would give me assistance, in the first place, from their regard to the authority of your decree, by which Dolabella is declared an enemy to his country: and, in the next, as they stood engaged by a solemn treaty renewed with us in the consulate of Marcus Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius, to consider the enemies of the

the republic, in all respects, as their own. But I was greatly deceived in my expectation: they were so far from being inclined to strengthen my fleet with any of their own ships, that they would not suffer it to enter their harbour. They even refused to furnish our soldiers with provisions and water: and it was with difficulty I obtained permission myself to sail into their port with two small vessels. However, I did not think proper to resent this insult upon the rights and the majesty of the Roman people: deeming it of more importance, in the present conjuncture, to frustrate the designs of Dolabella. For I had discovered, by some intercepted letters, that it was his purpose, if he failed in his attempt upon Syria and Egypt, (as fail I was sure he must) to proceed directly with his band of robbers and their plunder to Italy. Accordingly, in view to this his scheme, he had pressed, out of the ports of Lycia, a considerable number of transports, none of them less than fifty-six tons burthen³; and these were strongly guarded by his fleet. Being greatly alarmed, therefore, conscript fathers,

³ These vessels were much inferior to those employed for the same purposes in our service; the largest of which are of 300 tons, and the smallest of 100.

⁴ This appellation was at first given as a mark of distinction to those particular senators who were added by Tarquinus

at this dangerous design: I resolved to bear with the injurious treatment of the Rhodians, and to submit to every milder expedient of gaining them over to our interest. For this purpose, I suffered myself to be introduced into their senate in the manner they thought proper: where I represented, in the strongest terms I was capable, the danger to which the republic would be exposed, if that infamous rebel should transport his forces into Italy. But I found them most perversely disposed to imagine, that the friends of the republic were the weaker party; that the general association in favour of our liberties was by no means voluntary; that the senate would still patiently suffer the insolence of Dolabella; and that no man would venture to vote him a public enemy. To be short, they were more inclined to believe the false reports that had been propagated by the disaffected, than to credit my representations, though entirely agreeable to truth. In conformity with this disposition, they had sent, before my arrival in the island, two several embassies to Dolabella, notwithstanding his late

assassi-

quinius Priscus, or by the people at the settling of the commonwealth, to the hundred which originally composed the senate as it was instituted by Romulus. But, in after-times, it became a common title, which was promiscuously made use of in all addresses to that great council of the republic. *Vid. Manut. de senat.*

assassination of Trebonius, and the many other flagitious acts which he committed in this province. And this they did by an unexampled violation of their laws, and contrary to the express prohibitions of the magistrates who were then in office. But whether this conduct was owing to their fears for the territories they possess on the continent, as they themselves alledge; or whether it is to be imputed to the factious influence of a few of their principal magistrates, who formerly treated some of our illustrious countrymen with equal indignity, I know not. This, however, is certain, that I could not prevail with them to take any measures to obviate an evil, which it was very easy for them to prevent: and all the arguments I could use, either with respect to my own personal danger, or in regard to that which threatened the republic, if this traitor, with his banditti, after being driven from Syria, should transport themselves into Italy, proved utterly ineffectual. It was even suspected, that the magistrates themselves amused us with various pretences of delay, till they could send intelligence to Dolabella's fleet of our approach. And, indeed, there were some circumstances that greatly increased this suspicion; particularly, that Sextius Marius, and Caius Titius, the lieutenants of Dolabella, suddenly quitted

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the fleet, and abandoned their transports, which had cost them so much time and pains to collect. Be that as it will, I pursued my voyage from Rhodes towards Lycia, and falling in with the enemy, I took all their transports, and have restored them to their owners. By these means I have obstructed what I so much feared, and have removed all apprehensions of Dolabella's passing into Italy with his rascal crew. I chased the enemy as far as Sida, which is the utmost limit of my province; where I learnt that part of them were separated, and that the rest had steered in company together towards Syra and the island of Cyprus. Having thus dispersed this squadron, and knowing that brave commander and excellent patriot, the illustrious Caius Cassius, had a considerable fleet in those seas, I returned to the duties of my employment: and it shall be my endeavour, conscript fathers, to give both you and the republic full proofs of my indefatigable zeal. To this end, I shall exert my utmost assiduity in collecting the public revenues, which I shall transmit to you, together with all my accounts, as expeditiously as possible. If I should have time, likewise, to make a progress through the province, in order to inquire into the conduct of those with whom I entrusted the care of the finances, I shall not fail to send a list of such who shall appear to
have

have been faithful to their trust, as well as of those who, by voluntarily betraying it, have rendered themselves partners in the guilt of Dolabella. Let me add, that if you shall think proper to chastise these last, according to their demerits, the execution of your justice will greatly strengthen my authority, and enable me, with more facility, to raise and preserve the remainder of the public taxes. In the meanwhile, the better to secure the public revenue, and to protect this province from future insults, I have formed (what, indeed, was extremely wanting) a body of troops composed entirely of volunteers.

Since I wrote the above, about thirty Asiatic soldiers, who deserted from Dolabella in Syria, are arrived in Pamphylia. They relate that Dolabella appeared before the walls of Antiochia, in Syria, and finding that the inhabitants had shut the city gates against him, he made several attempts to enter by force; but was always repulsed with great disadvantage. At length, having lost about an hundred men, he retired in the night, and fled towards Laodicea; leaving all his sick and wounded behind him. They add, that the same night almost the whole of his Asiatic troops deserted; eight hundred of which returned to Antiochia, and surrendered
Y 4 themselves

themselves to the officers of the garrison, which Cassius had left in that town; the rest, (of which number these soldiers are) came down into Cilicia, by mount Amanus: in fine, that Cassius, with his whole army, was reported to have been but four days march from Laodicea when Dolabella retired towards that city. I am persuaded, therefore, that this most infamous villain will meet with the punishment he deserves much sooner than we expected.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 710.]

LEPIDUS, Imperator and sovereign Pontiff²,
to the Senate and People of Rome³.

HEAVEN and earth will bear me witness, conscript fathers, that there is nothing I have at all times more sincerely desired, than the preservation of our common liberties: and I should

SOON

² The function of the Roman pontiffs was to give judgment in all causes relating to religion, and to regulate the festivals, sacrifices, and all other sacred institutions. The sovereign pontiff, or superintendant of these pontifices, was one of the most honourable offices in the commonwealth.

³ This letter was written by Lepidus to the senate, in order to excuse the junction of his forces with those of Antony; which was effected the day before its date. But though he represents himself as merely passive in that transaction, and to have been forced into it by a general revolt of his troops; yet it most evidently appears to have been in consequence of a secret treaty which had been in agitation during some months before, between him and Antony.

soon have convinced you of this truth, if Fortune had not forced me to renounce those measures I purposed to pursue. My whole army, indeed, expressed their usual tenderness towards their fellow countrymen, by a mutinous opposition to my designs; and, to own the truth, they absolutely compelled me not to refuse my protection to such a multitude of Roman citizens. I conjure you then, conscript fathers, to judge of this affair, not by the suggestions of private resentment, but by the interest of the commonwealth: nor let it be imputed as a crime to me and my army, that, amidst our civil dissensions, we yielded to the dictates of compassion and humanity. Be assured, that by acting with an equal regard to the safety and honour of all parties, you will best consult both your own and your country's advantage. Farewel.

From my camp, at Pons Argenteus,
May the 30th.

LETTER

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XV.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

THOUGH I am too well assured of the disposition of your heart, to require any formal declarations of your gratitude, yet I cannot but confess that I received your acknowledgments with great pleasure, as they afforded me the most evident proof of the affection you bear me. I was always, indeed, perfectly sensible

of your friendship; but it never appeared to me in a stronger or more advantageous light.

Your letter to the senate was extremely well received, not only from the important account it brought us of your wise and heroic measures, but as it was greatly admired likewise for the strength and elegance of its composition. Let it be your earnest labour, my dear Plancus, to extinguish the remains of this war, which if you should happily effect, you will acquire the most consummate credit and reputation. I wish all possible prosperity to the republic; yet, believe me, spent as I am with my utmost efforts to preserve it from destruction, I am scarce more solicitous for the liberties of my country, than for the glory of my friend. I hope that the immortal gods have placed within your power a most favourable opportunity of increasing your fame; and let me entreat you to embrace it, my dear Plancus, in the full persuasion that whoever shall destroy Antony, will have the honour of terminating this most execrable and alarming war. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER II.

[A. U. 710.]

ASINIUS POLLIO¹ to CICERO.

IT is owing to Lepidus, who detained my couriers above a week, that I did not receive earlier advice of the several actions near Mutina; though, indeed, I should be glad to have been the last that was informed of this unhappy news, if it were utterly out of my power to be of any assistance in redressing its consequences. I wish the senate had ordered me into Italy, when they sent for Plancus and Lepidus; for if I had been present, the republic would not have received this cruel wound. And though some, perhaps, may rejoice in this event, from the great number of principal officers and veteran soldiers of the Cæsarian party who have perished, yet they will undoubtedly find reason to lament it, when they shall be sensible of the terrible desolation it has brought upon their country. For if what is related, concerning the number of the slain, be in any degree true, the flower and strength of our armies are entirely cut off.

I was well aware of the great advantage it would have proved to the republic, if I could have

¹ See rem. 6. p. 207. and rem. 1. p. 208. of this vol.

have joined Lepidus; as I should have been able, especially with the assistance of Plancus, to have dissipated those doubts which occasioned his delay in declaring for the senate. But the letters which I received from him being written (as you will perceive by the copies I herewith transmit) in the same spirit with those speeches which, it is said, he made to his army at ²Narbo, I found it necessary to act with some sort of artifice towards him, if I hoped to obtain leave to march my troops through his province. I was apprehensive, likewise, if an engagement should happen before I could execute my designs, that the known friendship I had with Antony (though not superior, indeed, to that which Plancus entertained for him) would give my enemies an occasion of misrepresenting my intentions. For these reasons I dispatched two couriers from Gades³, in the month of April, by two different ships, with letters, not only to you, and to Octavius, but to the consuls also, requesting to be informed in what manner my services might most avail the republic. But, if I am right in my calculation, these ships did not sail till the very day on which the battle was fought between Pansa and Antony; as that was the soonest,

² Narbonne, in Provence.

³ Cadiz.

soonest, I think, since the winter, that these seas were navigable. To these reasons for not marching, I must add, that I had so little apprehension of this civil war, that I settled the winter-quarters of my troops in the very remotest parts of Lusitania⁴. Both armies, it should seem, were as eager to come to an action, as if their greatest fears on each side were, lest some less destructive expedient might be found of composing our disturbances. However, if circumstances required so much precipitation, I must do Hirtius the justice to acknowledge, that he conducted himself with all the skill and courage of a consummate general.

I am informed, by my letters from that part of Gaul which is under the command of Lepidus, that Pansa's whole army is cut to pieces, and that he himself is since dead of his wounds. They add, that the *martial* legion is entirely destroyed, and that Lucius Fabatus, Caius Peducæus, and Decimus Carfulenus, are among the number of the slain. My intelligence farther assures me, that, in the subsequent attack by Hirtius, both he and Antony lost all their legions: that the fourth legion, after having taken Antony's camp, was engaged and defeated by the fifth, with terrible slaughter; that Hirtius, together with Pontius Aquila, and,

⁴ Portugal.

and, as it is reported, Octavius likewise, were killed in the action. If this should prove true, (which the gods forbid) I shall be very greatly concerned. My advices farther import, that Antony has, with great disgrace, abandoned the siege of Mutina; however, that he has **** complete regiments of horse still remaining, together with one which belongs to Publius Bagienus, as also a considerable number of disarmed soldiers; that Ventidius has joined him with the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth legions; and that Antony has determined, if there should be no hopes of gaining Lepidus, to have recourse to the last expedient, and arm not only the provincials, but even the slaves; in fine, that Lucius Antonius, after having plundered the city of Parma, has posted himself upon the Alps. If these several particulars are true, there is no time to be lost; and every man who wishes that the republic, or even the name of the Roman people, may subsist, should immediately, without waiting for the express orders of the senate, contribute his utmost assistance to extinguish these dreadful flames. I hear that Decimus Brutus is at the head of only seventeen cohorts, together with two incomplete legions of new-raised troops, which had been levied by Antony. I doubt not, however,

* The number is omitted in the MSS.

however, that the remains of the forces commanded by Hirtius will join him. I hope so at least: as there is little, I think, to be expected from any new recruits that may be raised; especially since nothing can be more dangerous than to give Antony time to recover strength.

My next letters from Italy will determine the plan of my operations: and, as the corn is now cut down, and partly carried in, I shall be more at liberty to execute them without obstruction from the season of the year. In the mean time, let me assure you, that I will neither desert, nor survive^s, the republic. It is a misfortune, however, that my distance from the scene of action is so great, and the roads so infested, that it is often six weeks, and sometimes more, ere I can be informed of any event that has happened. Farewel.

LETTER

^s Notwithstanding Pollio's pious resolutions of expiring with the republic, he was contented to live on, long after its total destruction, and died in a good old age in the court and favour of Augustus. It was not many months, indeed, from the date of this letter, that he united with the enemies of his country, by joining his troops with those of Antony and Lepidus. *Auct. Dial. de Caus. Corrupt. Eloquent.*

VOL. III.

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LETTER

LETTER III.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO.

IT affords me some consolation, in the midst of my great concern⁶, that the world is at length convinced that my fears were not without just foundation^a. I have sent, by this express, a full account of the whole affair to the senate. And now let them deliberate, if they please, whether they shall call home their troops from Africa and Sardinia, whether they shall send for Marcus Brutus, and whether they shall order the payment of my forces. But of this you may be well assured, that unless they act, with regard to these several articles, in the manner I have pointed out in my letter, we shall all of us be exposed to the utmost danger.

I entreat you to be extremely cautious whom the senate shall employ to conduct the troops that are to reinforce me: as it is a trust which requires great fidelity and expedition. Farewel.

From my camp, June 3d.

LETTER

⁶ Occasioned by the treachery of Lepidus, in having deserted the cause of the republic, and joined himself to Antony, this letter appears to have been written a few days after that event; being dated the 3d of June, and the junction between the two armies of Lepidus and Antony having been effected on the 29th of May.

^a See the 11th letter of the preceding book, p. 276. to which this seems to allude.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS.

MAY every god confound that most infamous of all human beings, the execrable Segulius! For do you imagine, my friend, that he has told this idle tale to none but Cæsar, or to you? Be assured he has related it to every mortal that would give him the hearing. I am much obliged to you, however, for informing me of this contemptible report: as it is a very strong instance, my dear Brutus, of the share you allow me in your friendship.

As to what he mentioned concerning the complaints of the veterans, that you and Cæsar are left out of the commission for dividing the lands, I sincerely wish I had, likewise, been excluded from so troublesome an office. But it is by no means to be imputed to me, that you were not both nominated: on the contrary, I moved that all our generals should be included. But the clamours of those who always endeavoured to obstruct your honours, carried it against me: and you were both excepted, in opposition

⁷ This letter is an answer to the 23d of the foregoing book: and was written before any of the letters which give an account of Antony's being received by Lepidus had come to Cicero's hands.

opposition to my warmest efforts. Unheeded then by me, let Segulius propagate his impotent calumnies! For all that the man means is nothing more than to repair his broken fortunes. Not that he can be charged with having dissipated his patrimony: for patrimony he never had. He has only squandered in luxury what he acquired by infamy.

You may be perfectly at ease, my dear and excellent Brutus, with regard to those fears which you so generously entertain upon my account, at the same time that you feel none, you tell me, upon your own. Be assured I shall expose myself to no dangers which prudence can prevent: and, as to those against which no precaution can avail, I am little solicitous. High, indeed, would my presumption be, were I to desire to be privileged beyond the common lot of human nature.

The advice you give me not to suffer my fears to lead me into greater dangers than those they would avoid, supplies me at once with a proof both of your judgment and your friendship: but the caution is altogether unnecessary. The truth of it is, distinguished as you are by a fortitude of mind, which renders you incapable of fear upon any occasion; yet, there is no man who approaches nearer to you in that quality than myself.

myself. Nevertheless, I shall always be upon my guard, though I shall never be afraid. Indeed, if I should have any reason, will it not be wholly owing, my dear Brutus, to yourself? For were I of a disposition apt to take alarm, yet I should be perfectly composed, in the confidence of that protection I shall receive from your approaching consulate: especially as the world is no less sensible than I am of the singular share I enjoy of your affection.

I agree entirely with your opinion concerning the four legions, as also that both you and Cæsar should have the distribution of those estates you mention. This is an office on which some of my colleagues had cast a very wishful eye: however, I have disappointed their longing, by reserving it wholly for you and Cæsar. In the mean time, if any occurrence should arise that requires particular secrecy, I shall observe your directions, and communicate it to you by one of my own domestics. Farewell.

June the 4th.

Z 3

LETTER

LETTER V.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

I SHALL never regret to undergo the greatest dangers in the cause of my country, provided, my dear Cicero, that whatever happens to myself, I may not justly be accused of temerity. But I should not scruple to confess that I had been guilty of an imprudence, if I had ever acted in reliance upon the sincerity of Lepidus. Too easy a disposition to give credit to fair pretences, cannot so properly be called a fault as an error: but an error into which the noblest minds are generally most liable to fall. It was not, however, from a mistake of this nature that I had lately well-nigh been deceived: for the character of Lepidus I perfectly well knew. It was entirely owing to a certain sensibility of what my detractors might say: a quality, I will freely acknowledge, particularly prejudicial in the affair of war. I was apprehensive, if I remained in my camp, that those who are inclined to misconstrue my actions, might represent me as the occasion of the war being protracted, by obstinately indulging my resentment against Lepidus: and therefore I advanced almost within sight of him and Antony: I encamped, indeed, at no greater distance from them than forty miles,

that I might be able, as circumstances should require, either speedily to join the army of Lepidus, or safely to retreat with my own. In marking out my camp, I chose a spot of ground that gave me the advantage of having a large river in my front, which would take up some time in passing, and that lay contiguous, likewise to the country of the Vocontii^s: who, I was sure, would favour my retreat. When Lepidus found himself disappointed of what he so much wished, and that there was no hopes of my approaching nearer, he immediately threw off the mask: and on the 29th of May he joined Antony. The combined armies moved the same day in order to invest my camp: and they had actually advanced within 20 miles, before I received advice of their junction. However, I struck my tents with so much expedition, that, by the favour of the gods, I had the happiness to escape them. My retreat was conducted with so much good order, that no part of my baggage, nor even a single man, was either left behind or intercepted by these incensed villains. On the 4th of this month I repassed the Isara with my whole army: after which I broke down the bridge I had thrown across that river. I took this precaution, that my troops might have

^s A people of Narbonensian Gaul.

have time to refresh themselves, as well as to give my colleague⁹ an opportunity of coming up to me: which I imagine he will be able to effect in three days from the date of this letter.

I must always acknowledge the zeal and fidelity which Laterensis has shewn to the republic, in his negotiations between Lepidus and myself: but it is certain that his great partiality towards Lepidus, prevented him from discerning the dangers into which I have been led. However, as soon as he discovered how grossly he had been imposed upon, he attempted to turn that sword against his own breast, which with much more justice had been plunged in the heart of Lepidus. But he was prevented from completing his purpose: and it is said (though I by no means mention it as a certainty) that the wound he has given himself is not mortal.

My escape from these traitors has proved an extreme mortification to them: as they marched to attack me with the same unrelenting fury which instigates them against their country. Some late circumstances particularly contributed to inflame their resentment. I had frequently and warmly urged Lepidus to extinguish this civil war: I had disapproved of the conferences

⁹ Decimus Brutus.

¹ It proved otherwise: and the senate, in honour of his patriotism, not only decreed him a public funeral, but ordered a statue to be erected to his memory. *Dio. p. 324.*

conferences that were holden with the enemy: I had refused to see the lieutenants whom Antony deputed to me under the passports of Lepidus: and had intercepted Catus Vestinus, whom the former had sent express to the latter. But it is with pleasure I reflect, that the more earnestly they wished to get me into their hands, the more they suffer in the disappointment.

Continue, my dear Cicero, to employ the same vigorous efforts you have hitherto exerted, that we who are in arms, for the defence of the republic, may have suitable honours paid to our services. In the mean time, I wish that Cæsar would join us with those brave troops he commands; or, if his affairs will not permit him, that, at least, they might be sent under the conduct of some other general: for most certainly his own personal interest is at stake². The whole force of the disaffected party is united against our country: and shall we not put forth our utmost strength in its defence? As for what concerns myself, I will venture to assure you, that if you at Rome are not wanting on your parts, I will abundantly perform every thing that can be expected on mine.

The obligations I am continually receiving from

² Octavius was, at this time, secretly carrying on a treaty with Lepidus and Antony, which shortly after ended in an alliance, which every reader is acquainted with, under the name of the *Triumvirate*.

from your hands, endear you to me every day more and more; at the same time that they animate me to act in such a manner as not to forfeit, in any degree, your esteem and affection.

I will only add my wishes, that I were able in person to give you such proofs of my gratitude, as might afford you greater reason to rejoice in the good offices you have conferred upon me. Farewel.

Cularo, on the frontiers of the Allobroges³.

June the 6th.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS.

To tell you the truth⁴, I was once inclined to be somewhat angry at the shortness of your letters: but I am now so well reconciled to your concise manner, that I condemn my own as downright loquacity, and shall make your epistles the models of mine. How short, yet how expressive are you when you tell me, that "all things go well with you, and that you shall endeavour to render them still better; that Lepidus seems favourably disposed; and that we

"have

³ A people of the Narbonensian Gaul, in which Cularo, now called Grenoble, was situated.

⁴ When Cicero wrote this letter, which is an answer to the 24th of the preceding book, p. 310. of this vol. he had not yet received the news of Antony's junction with Lepidus.

"have every thing to expect from our three armies!" Were I ever so full of fears, these significant sentences would banish them all.--- But I exert the spirit you recommend; and, indeed, if, at the time when you were closely blocked up in Mutina, my hopes, nevertheless, were fixed entirely upon you, how much higher, think you, must they be raised now?

I should be glad, my dear Brutus, to resign to you my post of *observation*, if I might do so without incurring the censure of deserting it. As to what you mentioned of continuing in Italy till you should hear from me, I do not disapprove of it, if the motions of the enemy should not call you elsewhere; as there are many points upon the carpet at Rome, which may render it prudent for you not to remove to a farther distance. But, at all events, if your presence here may prove a mean of terminating the war, it is undoubtedly the first and principal scheme you should have in view.

The senate has decreed the first money that could be raised for the payment of your troops. Servius is extremely your friend; and you may always depend upon me. Farewel.

June the 8th.

LETTER

⁵ Those of Decimus Brutus, Plancus, and Octavius.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 710.]

ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO.

BALBUS⁶, my quæstor, has withdrawn from Gades, with very considerable effects in his hands, which he had received of the public taxes⁷, consisting of a large quantity of uncoined gold, a much larger of silver⁸, together with a great sum of ready money; and what adds to his iniquity, is, that he has not discharged even the pay of the troops⁹. In his flight he was detained three days, by contrary winds, at Calpe¹; from whence, however, he sailed on the 1st of this month, and has transported himself, together with his treasure, into the dominions of Bogud, king of Mauritania².---

But

⁶ He was nephew to Lucius Cornelius Balbus, the great friend and favourite of Cæsar, and of whom frequent mention has been made in the preceding letters.

⁷ The quæstor was receiver-general of the provincial taxes.

⁸ The province of Spain abounded in valuable mines of every sort, particularly in those of silver and gold; the proprietors of which paid a certain proportion to the government, of the pure ore which these mines produced. *Strab. iii. Burman. de vectigal. P. R. dissert. p. 107.*

⁹ The payment of the forces was a part of the business belonging to the provincial quæstors.

¹ Gibraltar.

² One of the most considerable kingdoms in ancient Africa, comprehending those of Fez and Morocco, together with part of

But whether the present prevailing reports¹ will bring him back to Gades, or carry him to Rome, I know not; for I hear that his resolutions vary with every different express that arrives. But, besides the robberies and the extortions he has committed in this province, and the cruelties he has exercised towards our allies, he affected, in several instances, to imitate (as he himself used to boast) the actions of Cæsar. Accordingly, on the last day of the games which he exhibited at Gades, he presented Herennius Gallus, a comedian, with the golden ring, and conducted him to one of the 14 benches of the theatre, which he had appropriated to those of the equestrian order. He likewise continued himself in the supreme magistracy of Gades, by his own single authority, and at two immediately successive assemblies of the people, he nominated, for the two next following years, such of his creatures whom he thought proper to succeed him in the government of that city. He also recalled from exile, not, indeed, those unfortunate men who were

banished

of Algiers and Billedulgerid. Bogud, the prince of this country, had, in the late civil wars, favoured and assisted Cæsar, by whom he had been greatly distinguished; as he afterwards supported Antony in the war between him and Octavius. It is probable, therefore, that Balbus withdrew with these treasures, not in order to convert them to his private use, but to employ them in the cause of Antony. *Hirt. de Bel. Alex. 59. de Bel. Afric. 25.*

¹ Concerning the junction of Lepidus with Antony,

banished on account of the present commotions, but those infamous rebels who were concerned in the sedition which was raised in Gades, during the proconsulate of Sextus Varrus⁴, and in which all the members of their council were either assassinated or expelled. Thus far he had Cæsar for his model; but, in the instances I am going to mention, he exceeded even Cæsar himself. He caused a play to be acted at the public games, upon the subject of his embassy to Lucius Lentulus⁵, the proconsul; and the good man was so affected with the remembrance of those transactions which the scenes of this drama recalled to his mind, that he melted into tears. At the gladiatorial games, he gave a specimen of his cruelty with regard to one Fadius, who had served in Pompey's army. This man had twice, it seems, voluntarily entered the lists in combats of

⁴ It does not appear who this person was, nor at what time he presided as governor of Spain.

⁵ He was consul in the year 704, when the civil war broke out, in which he took part with Pompey. He accompanied that general in his retreat to Brundisium, and from thence passed over with him into Greece. But before Lentulus left Italy, Balbus was employed by Cæsar (as Manutius observes) to prevail with him to return to Rome. Balbus afterwards (as appears by a passage which the same commentator cites from Paterculus) executed a much more difficult commission of this kind, at the siege of Dyrrachium, where he undertook to carry some farther overtures from Cæsar to Lentulus, who was in that garrison, and which he executed with equal address and intrepidity. It was this adventure, it is probable, that formed the subject of the play which Pollio here mentions. *Ad Att. viii. 11. Vel. Pat. ii. 51.*

of this kind; but, upon the present occasion, he refused to fight, though peremptorily required by Balbus, and accordingly threw himself upon the protection of the populace. But the mob having pelted Balbus with stones, when he attempted to recover him out of their hands, he let loose upon them a party of his Gallic horse. Balbus having, by these means, got the unfortunate Fadius into his possession, ordered him to be fixed in a pit, which was dug for that purpose, in the place where the games were exhibited, and caused him in this manner to be burnt alive. This was performed soon after Balbus had dined⁶, who was present during the whole execution, walking about bare-footed, with his hands behind him, and his tunic loose, in the most unconcerned and indecent manner; and while the unhappy sufferer cried out that he was a Roman citizen, "Why do you not run

now

⁶ There seems to have been some peculiar indecorum in this circumstance, though it is not very easy to determine wherein it precisely consisted. It may be, that public executions, at this time of the day, were thought indecent: it is certain, at least, that it was deemed improper to hold courts of judicature for the trial of criminal matters in an afternoon. For Plutarch takes notice that the younger Cato was accused of this practice during his prætorship; and thinks it necessary, for the credit of that illustrious Roman, to deny the truth of the charge: or, perhaps, Pollio might point out this circumstance as a mark of uncommon cruelty of disposition in Balbus, who could rise from table with a temper of mind so different from that which pleasures of this sort are naturally apt to inspire, and turn from a cheerful meal to a scene of the utmost horror and barbarity. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Uticen.*

"now (said the insulting and relentless Balbus) to implore the protection of the people?" But this was not the single cruelty he exercised. He exposed, likewise, several Roman citizens to wild beasts; particularly a certain noted auctioneer in the city of Hispalis⁷; and this for no other reason but because the poor man was excessively deformed. Such is the monster with whom I had the misfortune to be connected! But more of him when we meet. In the mean time (to turn to a point of much greater importance) I should be glad the senate would determine in what manner they would have me act. I am at the head of three brave legions, one of which Antony took great pains to draw over to his interest at the commencement of the war. For this purpose he caused it to be signified to them, that the very first day they should enter into his camp, every soldier should receive five hundred ⁹denarii, besides which, he also assured them, that if he obtained the victory, they should receive an equal share of the spoils with his own troops: a reward which all the world knows would have been without end or measure. These promises made a deep impression upon them; and it was with great difficulty I kept them from deserting. I should

⁷ The city of Seville, in Spain.

⁹ About 14l. sterling.

should not, indeed, have been able to have effected this, if I had not cantoned them in distant quarters; as some of the cohorts, notwithstanding they were thus separated, had the insolence to mutiny. Antony endeavoured likewise to gain the rest of the legions, by immense offers. Nor was Lepidus less importunate with me to send him the thirtieth legion; which he solicited both by his own letters, and by those which he caused Antony to write.--- The senate will do me the justice, therefore, to believe, as no advantages could tempt me to sell my troops, nor any dangers which I had reason to apprehend, if Antony and Lepidus should prove conquerors, could prevail with me to diminish their number, that I was thus tenacious of my army for no other purpose but to employ it in the service of the republic⁹. And let the readiness with which I have obeyed all the orders I received from the senate, be a proof that I would have complied in the same manner with every other they should have thought proper to have sent me. I have preserved the tranquillity of this province; I have maintained my authority over the army; and have never once moved beyond the limits of my

⁹ See rem. 5. p. 337. of this vol.

my own jurisdiction. I must add, likewise, that I have never employed any soldier, either of my own troops, or those of my auxiliaries, in carrying any dispatches whatsoever: and I have constantly punished such of my cavalry whom I have found at any time attempting to desert. I shall think these cares sufficiently rewarded, in seeing the peace and security of the republic restored. But if the majority of the senate, and the commonwealth, indeed, in general, had known me for what I am, I should have been able to have rendered them much more important services.

I have sent you a copy of the letter which I wrote to Balbus, just before he left this province; and if you have any curiosity to read his play, which I mentioned above, it is in the hands of my friend Gallus Cornelius, to whom you may apply for it. Farewel.

Corduba, June the 8th.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

ALL our hopes are entirely fixed (and fixed, too, with the approbation of the gods themselves) upon you and your colleague¹. The perfect unanimity, therefore, that appears, by

your

¹ Decimus Brutus.

your several letters to the senate, to subsist between you, affords great satisfaction, not only to that assembly in particular, but to the whole city in general.

As to what you wrote to me concerning the commission for dividing the lands, if that affair had been brought before the senate, I should have been the first to have proposed the most honourable decree in your favour. But the slowness of their deliberations, in the business which was then under their consideration, together with other obstructions which attended their debates, having prevented them from coming to any resolution, both your brother and myself were of opinion, that it was most advisable to proceed upon the former decree; and I take it for granted that he has acquainted you to whom it is owing that it was not drawn up in the manner we proposed. But if, in this instance, or in any other, your inclinations should not be entirely gratified, be well persuaded, however, that you are in such high esteem with all the friends of the republic, that there is no sort of honours they are not disposed to confer upon you. I wait with great impatience for an express from you, as I expect it will bring us the news I most wish. Farewel.

A a 2

LETTER

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CORNIFICIUS².

Is it really so, my friend; and have I never written to you but when I had occasion to recommend the cause of some litigious suitor? I confess I have frequently troubled you with letters of this kind; but must you not thank your own obliging partiality towards me, if the world is persuaded that no recommendation has so much weight with you as mine? Tell me, however, when did I omit writing, if your family gave me notice of an opportunity? In fact, nothing affords me greater satisfaction, now that I cannot converse with you in person, than this intercourse of letters. I only lament that my public occupations prevent me from corresponding with you as frequently as I wish. If I had more leisure, indeed, I should not only provoke you to enter with me into a commerce of this epistolary kind, but I should challenge you with whole volumes of my works; a challenge which I ought to have received from you, as your engagements, I imagine, are not altogether so numerous as mine. But if I

am

² See rem. 6. p. 61. of this vol.

am mistaken in this supposition, how shall I acquit you of being a little unreasonable, in expecting frequent letters on my part, when you have so seldom leisure to send me any on yours? If I have hitherto been engaged in the most important occupations, as holding myself bound to exert all my cares in the defence of the republic, I may still more strongly urge that plea at present. For as a relapse is always more dangerous than a first attack, so the rekindling of this war, after it was almost totally extinguished, demands a double portion of my labour and vigilance. But, not to enter farther into this subject, believe me, my dear Cornificius, I should think myself most inexcusably indolent, not to say ill-mannered, were I capable of suffering you to gain the superiority over me in any instance of friendship. That I enjoy yours, is a point of which I never once had the least doubt: but the conversation I have lately had with Cherippus, has rendered it still more evident. As agreeable as he always was to my taste, I could not but look upon him, in his last visit, with more than ordinary pleasure, as he not only acquainted me with the sentiments of your heart, in the message he delivered to me, but, as he represented, at the same time, a lively image of your very air and countenance.

A a 3

nance. You had no reason then to be apprehensive that I should be displeased at your having sent me the same common letter which you addressed to all your friends in general. If I desired a more particular memorial, it was merely from the affection of my heart, and by no means as a point upon which I insisted.

The loss of both our consuls⁴, together with the incredible scarcity of money in the treasury, puts it out of my power to ease you of your great and continual expence in your military preparations. We are trying all expedients in order to raise supplies for discharging those donatives we promised to the troops that behaved well: and I imagine that we shall at last be obliged to have recourse to a tax⁵.

I am persuaded there is no truth in the report concerning Attius Dionysius: as Stratorius has not mentioned a word to me upon that subject. With regard to Publius Luceius: be well persuaded that his interest is no less my concern than it is yours: for, indeed, he is extremely my friend. I could not, however, prevail with the
managers

⁴ Hirtius and Pansa.

⁵ "This was a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's substance; but had wholly been disused in Rome from the conquest of Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the city ever after of that burthen, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it." *Val. Max.* iv. 3. *Life of Cic.* iii. p. 249.

managers of the auction to adjourn the sale: their engagements and their oath oblige them, they assure me, to the contrary. I would by all means, therefore, advise him to hasten into Italy: and if the summons I sent him some time since had any weight, he will be at Rome when you read this letter. As to the affairs you mention, and particularly the money, I find you were not apprised of Pansa's death when you wrote your letter, by the hopes you express that, through my interest, he would comply with your request. And most undoubtedly he would, had he been living: for he held you in great esteem. But as he is dead, I do not see that any thing can now be done in this matter.

I approve, in general, of your measures with respect to Venullius, Latinus, and Horatius: and particularly, that you have deprived them of their lictors. But I am not altogether so well pleased, that, in order to render this circumstance the less uneasy to them, you have taken away these attendants, likewise, from your own lieutenant. Those who deserve the highest honours ought not to have been thus levelled with a set of men, who certainly merit the utmost disgrace: and if they will not depart from your province, in obedience to the

decree of the senate, I think you should use compulsory methods for that purpose.

I have nothing farther to add in answer to your last letter (of which I received a duplicate) but that I hope you will be persuaded, your credit and reputation are no less sacred to me than my own⁶. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS.

THOUGH I always receive your letters with the highest satisfaction, yet I am much better pleased that you employed your colleague Plancus to make an excuse to me, than if you had interrupted your very important occupations by writing yourself. He has executed your commission very fully: and nothing can render your character more truly amiable to me, than the account he gives of your zeal and diligence.

The junction of your forces with those of Plancus, and the harmony with which you act

⁶ This letter closes the correspondence between Cicero and Cornificius. The latter, not long afterwards, lost his life in bravely defending his province against the troops of Sextus: who claimed it in the name of Octavius, by virtue of the general division of the Roman dominions that had been agreed upon between the triumvirs. *Appian de B. C.* p. 620.

act together, as appears by your common letter to the senate, was extremely agreeable, both to that assembly, and to the people in general. What remains then, my dear Brutus, but to conjure you to persevere in the same unanimity, and to endeavour, I will not say to excel others, but (what is far worthier of your ambition) to rise above yourself. I need add no more: especially as I am writing to one whose epistolary conciseness I purpose to imitate.

I wait, with impatience, for your next dispatches: as I imagine they will bring us such accounts as are agreeable to our wishes. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 710.]

TO FURNIUS⁷.

WHEN your letter assured me that it was absolutely necessary either to slight Narbonensian Gaul⁸, or to attack the enemy with great disadvantage, I was glad to find that the former had been chosen: as I much more dreaded the consequences of coming to an engagement upon unequal terms. What you mentioned,

⁷ See rem. 7. p. 303. of this vol.

⁸ In which province were the combined armies of Antony and Lepidus.

mentioned, likewise, concerning the harmony between Plancus and Brutus, afforded me great pleasure : for it is a circumstance upon which I found my principal hopes of our success.

Notwithstanding you modestly refer it to time to inform me to whom we owe that general zeal which appears in your province⁹; be assured it is a point of which I am already perfectly well apprised. I could not, therefore, but read the latter part of your letter, which, in all other respects, was extremely agreeable to me, with some concern. You there tell me, that if the election for ædiles is fixed for the month of August, you will soon be at Rome ; but if it is already over, you will be there much sooner : “ for wherefore,” you ask, “ should you weakly continue to hazard your life, without the prospect of any recompence ?” O ! my friend, is it possible that you, who judge so well concerning the interests of others, should be thus a stranger to your own ? But, as I am sensible of the strong impulse of your heart towards true glory, I cannot believe that these are its genuine sentiments : at least, if they be, I must condemn my own judgment as well as yours, for being so greatly deceived in
your

⁹ Transalpine Gaul : in which province Furnius was lieutenant to Plancus.

your character. Shall the ambition of anticipating a slight and common honour, (for so I must call the office you have in view, if obtained in the manner by which so many others have risen to it before you) induce you to withdraw from a theatre where you are acting with such universal and well-merited applause ? Shall it be a question with you, whether to offer yourself as a candidate now, or at the next election for prætors : and is it none, how you shall deserve every illustrious distinction which the commonwealth can bestow ? Are you a stranger to the exalted reputation you have acquired ? Or do you consider it as of no value, thus to rise in the esteem of your country ? If you are ignorant, indeed, of the high credit in which you stand with the public, it is an ignorance for which we, who are your friends, are undoubtedly to be blamed. But if you already know it ; tell me, my Furnius, can any prætorship afford you a satisfaction superior to what you feel in discharging the duty you owe to your country, and in reaping immortal glory ? an acquisition which, though few, indeed, endeavour to deserve, yet, every man, most certainly, wishes to enjoy. Calvisius, who is much your friend, and a man of great judgment also, frequently joins with me in complaining of you upon this article.

cle. However, since you are so desirous to attain this office, I shall endeavour that the election may be deferred till the month of January: as this adjournment will, upon many accounts, I think, prove for the advantage, likewise, of the republic. Farewel: and may victory attend you!

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 710.]

To CAIUS CASSIUS.

I IMAGINE you are informed, by the public journals, which, I know, are duly transmitted to you, of the infamous conduct of that most light and inconstant man, your relation Lepidus¹. We are again, therefore, involved in a war, which we flattered ourselves was entirely over: and all our hopes are now placed upon Decimus² and Plancus; or, to speak more truly, indeed, upon Brutus³ and upon you. For it is from you two that we expect, not only a present assistance, in case any misfortune (which the gods avert!) should attend our arms, but a firm and lasting re-establishment of our liberties.

The

¹ Lepidus and Cassius were married to the two sisters of Marcus Brutus.

² Brutus.

³ Marcus.

The reports in regard to Dolabella⁴, are, in all respects, agreeable to our wishes, excepting, only, that they want confirmation. In the mean time, be assured, that the opinion and expectations of the world concerning you, are such as evidently shew that they look upon you as a truly great man. Let this animate you to the noblest achievements: in the full persuasion that there is nothing so considerable which your country does not hope to obtain by your courage and conduct. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 710.]

To the same.

I TAKE example from the conciseness of your letters, to shorten mine: though, to say truth, nothing occurs at present that can tempt me to lengthen them. For, as to *our* transactions, I well know you are acquainted with them by the public journals: and we are perfectly ignorant of every thing that concerns yours. One would imagine, indeed, that all communication were cut off between us and Asia: for we have received no intelligence from thence, excepting only some uncertain, though, indeed, repeated rumours in relation to the defeat of Dolabella.

We

⁴ That he was defeated by Cassius.

We imagined that the flames of this civil war were entirely extinguished: but, in the midst of this pleasing persuasion, we were suddenly and greatly alarmed by the conduct of your relation Lepidus. Be assured, therefore, that the hopes of the republic are wholly fixed upon you and your army. We have, it is true, a very powerful body of troops in this part of the world: nevertheless, your presence here is extremely necessary, to give our affairs all the success we wish. I will not say that we have no hopes of recovering our liberties: but I must say our hopes are small. Such as they are, however, they are entirely founded upon your future consulate⁵. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 710.]

CASSIUS⁶, Quæstor, to CICERO.

THE preservation of the republic, by the victory we have lately obtained, gives me inexpressible joy: as the honours that have been paid

⁵ Cassius and Brutus were prætors the last year: and the laws entitled a man to sue for the consulate two years after he had served the office of prætor.

⁶ It is altogether uncertain whether the author of this letter was Lucius Cassius, the brother of Caius Cassius, or another Cassius, distinguished by the addition of *Parmensis*, from Parma, the place of his nativity. There is nothing, indeed, in the history of these two Cassii, or in the letter itself, that can render it more reasonable to suppose it to have been written by the one, rather than the other: for they

paid my friend⁷, afford me, likewise, a very sensible pleasure. I cannot sufficiently indulge my admiration, when I consider you as thus rising above yourself in glory; and that the consular⁸ should shine forth even with more lustre than the consul. Some uncommon privilege of fate most certainly attends your patriot virtues: as we have often, I am sure, experienced. How else should your single eloquence be of more avail than the arms of all our generals? You have a second time, indeed, rescued the well-nigh vanquished republic from the hands of our enemies; and once more restored her to us again. From this period, therefore, I date the return of our liberties: and I shall now be honoured with the public applause of the most distinguished of patriots. Yes, my friend,

they were both in the number of the conspirators against Cæsar; and both afterwards acted with Brutus and Cassius in Asia. This epistle appears to have been written from the island of Cyprus, soon after the news of Antony's defeat at the battle of Mutina had reached that part of the world. *Casaubon. ad Suet. Jul. 80. Appian. B. C. p. 671.*

⁷ This seems to allude to the honours that were paid to Cicero by the populace, upon the news that Antony had been forced to abandon the siege of Mutina. "The whole body of the people (to give the relation of this fact in the words of Dr. Middleton) assembled about Cicero's house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to the capitol: where, on their return, they placed him in the rostra, to give them an account of the victory: and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations." *Phil. xiv. 5. Life of Cic. iii. 197.*

⁸ Those who had passed through the office of consul, were styled consulars.

friend, you will now declare, (what you promised to conceal till the recovery of our freedom should render it to my advantage to be known) you will now declare to the whole world those instances you received of my tender attachment both to you and to the republic, during the dark and dangerous season of our servitude. I am much less solicitous, however, that you should publish my praises, than that you should be persuaded I deserve them: and I had rather stand approved by your silent judgment, than, without that internal verdict in my favour, to enjoy, by your recommendation, the good opinion of the whole world. It is my great ambition, indeed, that you should esteem my late conduct to have been, not the effect of a sudden and irregular impulse, but the natural result of the same uniform principles of which you have been a witness: in a word, that you should think of me, as of one from whom the republic has so much to expect, as may well justify every honour to which I shall be advanced. I am sensible, my dear Cicero, that your own family, as they are well worthy of the relation they bear to you, deserve your first and most tender regard. But those surely have a right to the next place in your affection, who endeavour to imitate your patriot virtues: and I shall

shall be glad to find that their number is considerable: I imagine, however, that it is not so great as to exclude me from a share in your good offices, and prevent you from procuring any public distinctions in my favour which shall be agreeable to your inclination and your judgment. That I am not unworthy of them, with respect to the disposition of my heart, I have already, perhaps, sufficiently convinced you: and, as to my talents, whatever they may be, the general oppression under which our country so long laboured, would not suffer them to appear in their full advantage.

I drew together, out of the ports of this Asiatic province, and of the neighbouring islands, all the ships of war I could possibly collect: and, considering the great opposition I met with from the several cities, I manned them with tolerable expedition. With this fleet I pursued that of Dolabella, commanded by Lucilius: who, after having frequently made a shew of coming over to me, but still, however, continuing to retreat, sailed, at length, into the port of Corycus⁹; where he blocked himself up. I did not think proper to follow him thither; not only as judging it most advisable to join our land forces, but as Turulius the quæstor lay behind me with a squadron which Tullius Cimper

ber fitted out the last year from Bythinia. I put in, therefore, at Cyprus: from whence I take this first opportunity of acquainting you with the intelligence I have here received. I am to inform you then, that the city of Laodicea, (in pursuance of the example of our faithless allies the Tarsenses¹, though, indeed, with a greater degree of folly) have voluntarily called in Dolabella. From those two cities he has composed an army (as far as numbers can make an army) of Greek soldiers, and is encamped before Laodicea; having thrown down part of the walls, in order to join his camp with the town. On the other hand, Cassius² is encamped about twenty miles distant from him at Paltos. His army consists of ten legions, and twenty auxiliary cohorts, together with four thousand horse. He imagines that he shall be able to oblige the enemy to surrender, without hazarding a battle: as wheat is so scarce in Dolabella's camp, that it is sold for twelve drachmæ. The enemy must necessarily, indeed, be destroyed by famine, if they are not soon supplied by the ships that belong to Laodicea. This, however, we shall with great ease prevent: for, besides the three squadrons under Turulius, Patiscus, and myself, Cassius has a considerable fleet in these seas commanded by Sextilius Rufus. Let me

encourage

¹ The citizens of Tarsus.

² Caius Cassius.

encourage you, then, to hope, that we shall soon vindicate our liberties with the same success³ in this part of the world, as has attended your army in Italy. Farewel.

Cromyacrís, in Cyprus, June the 13th.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS.

I WAS expecting, every day, to hear from you, when our friend Lupus gave me notice that he was just setting out to you, and desired to know if I had any thing to write. But though I have nothing worth communicating, more than what you are furnished with by the public journals, and that you are no friend, I am told, to letters of mere empty form, yet, I cannot forbear following your example, and sending you two or three short words. Be assured, then, that all our hopes rest upon you and your colleague⁴. As to Brutus⁵, I am not able to give you any certain account of him: I can only say, that, in pursuance of your advice, I endeavour to persuade him, in all my letters, to come over into Italy, and to take a part in this general war.

³ See rem. 8. p. 316. of this vol.

⁴ Plancus.

⁵ Marcus Brutus.

war⁶. I much wish he were now here: as his presence would render me less apprehensive of the consequences of these intestine commotions⁷ which prevail in Rome; and which are, by no means, indeed, inconsiderable.—But I forget that I proposed to imitate your laconic brevity, and am running on in a second page. Farewel then, and may success attend your arms⁸!

June 18th.

LETTER

⁶ The conduct of Marcus Brutus, as far as can be judged of it, at this great distance, appears altogether unaccountable. Before the battle of Mutina, he had drawn down all his forces to the coast, in order to embark for Italy, if any accident should make his assistance necessary. But, upon the news of Antony's defeat, he retired to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to oppose the attempts of Dolabella: and from that time (as Dr. Middleton observes) seemed deaf to the call of the senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their relief. But had Brutus and Cassius (as the same ingenious historian remarks) marched with their armies towards Italy, at the time when Cicero first pressed it, before the desertion of Plancus and the death of Decimus; it seems reasonable to believe, that the immediate ruin of the republic might have been prevented. *Life of Cic.* iii. 247.

⁷ The disturbances to which Cicero alludes, were, probably, those that were occasioned by the violent measures of Octavius, in order to obtain the consulate. See rem. 8. p. 381. of this vol.

⁸ Decimus Brutus, soon after the date of this letter, was most treacherously deserted by Plancus: who drew off his troops from those of his colleague, and went over with them to the camp of Antony and Lepidus. "Decimus Brutus being thus abandoned, and left to shift for himself, with a needy mutinous army, eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies, had no other way to save himself than by flying to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. But the distance

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

YOUR relation and my friend, the *worthy* Lepidus, together with all his adherents, were, by an unanimous decree of the senate, which passed on the 30th of June last, declared public enemies to their country: but, at the same time, a full pardon was offered to such as shall return to their allegiance before the first of September. The senate acts with great spirit; but it is the expectation of being supported by your army, that chiefly animates them in their vigorous measures. I fear, indeed, that we shall have occasion for all your assistance; as the war is now become extremely formidable by the villany of Lepidus.

The accounts which daily arrive concerning Dolabella are altogether agreeable to our wishes: but, at present, they are nothing more than mere rumours. However, your letter ad-

dressed

"distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that
"he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being
"taken; till, having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance
"and host, whom he had formerly obliged: where, either
"through treachery, or accident, he was surprised by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned
"with his head to their general. *Vel. Patere.* ii. 64. *App.*
"iii. 588. *Val. Max.* ix. 13." *Life of Cic.* iii. 242.

B b 3

dressed to the senate, dated from the camp on the 9th of May, has raised a general persuasion in Rome, that he is actually defeated. Accordingly, it is imagined, that you are now upon your march into Italy, with a view, on the one hand, of succouring us with your troops, if any of those accidents so common in war should have rendered our arms unsuccessful: or, on the other hand, of assisting us with your counsels and authority, in case we should have proved victorious. You may be assured, in the mean while, that no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to procure the forces under your command all possible honours. However, I must wait a proper season for this purpose, when it shall be known how far they have availed, or are likely to avail, the republic. At present, we have only heard of their endeavours in the cause of liberty: and glorious, it must be acknowledged, their endeavours have been. But still some positive services are expected; and these expectations, I dare be confident, either already are, or soon will be, perfectly answered. No man, indeed, possesses a more patriot or heroic spirit than yourself: and it is for this reason that we wish to see you in Italy as soon as possible. The fact is, if you and Brutus were here, we should look upon the republic as restored.

If

If Lepidus had not received Antony, weak and defenceless as he was, when he fled after the battle of Mutina, we should have obtained a complete victory. This infamous step, therefore, has rendered him far more odious in Rome even than Antony himself ever was: for Antony raised a war at a time when the republic was in the utmost ferment; whereas Lepidus has kindled the flames in the midst of peace and victory. We have the consuls elect⁹ to lead our armies against him; but though we greatly depend upon their courage and conduct, still, however, the uncertain event of war leaves us much to fear. Be assured, therefore, that our principal reliance is upon you and Brutus, whom we hope soon to see in Italy; and Brutus, indeed, we expect every day. Should we have defeated our enemies, as I hope we shall, before your arrival, the authority, nevertheless, of two such illustrious citizens will be of infinite service in raising up the republic, and fixing it upon some tolerable basis. All our business, indeed, will by no means be over, notwithstanding we should be delivered from the infamous designs of our enemies: as there are many other disorders of a different kind, which it will be still necessary to redress. Farewel.

LETTER

⁹ Decimus Brutus and Plancus.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 710.]

To AMPIUS¹.

YOUR family has informed you, I imagine, of my zealous labours to procure your restoration, as I have the pleasure to be assured that they are abundantly satisfied with my services.--- Uncommon, indeed, as the affection is which they every one of them bear towards you, yet I cannot allow that they are more sincerely desirous of your welfare than myself. I am sure, at least, their power of assisting you in this conjuncture is by no means equal to mine. I have employed it, and shall continue to employ it, for your benefit: and I have already gained a very considerable point, which will much contribute to facilitate your return. In the mean while, preserve a firm and manly spirit, and be well persuaded that my good offices shall not be wanting to you upon any occasion. Farewel.

LETTER

¹ In some MSS. the superscription of this letter is to Appius, and in others to Ampius Balbus. The time when this letter was written is no less uncertain than the person to whom it is addressed.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS, Consul-elect, to CICERO.

I CANNOT forbear to express, upon every occasion, the sentiments I entertain of your repeated favours; though, at the same time, it is with some reserve that I indulge myself in this satisfaction. The great intimacy, indeed, which you allow me to enjoy with you, renders all formal acknowledgments of this kind unnecessary; nor would I make so cheap a return to the many important obligations I owe to you, as that of mere empty professions. I had much rather reserve the proofs of my gratitude to some future opportunity of testifying it in person; and, if I live, I will convince you, by the assiduity of my good offices, and by every instance of respect and esteem, that you have not a friend, nor even a relation, who is so warmly attached to you as myself. In the mean time, I am at a loss to determine, whether the daily pleasure I receive, or the lasting honour I shall derive from your affectionate regard, be greater.

I find the interest of my troops has been a part of your care. It was not with any intention

tion of advancing my own power, that I was desirous they should be distinguished by the senate, as I am conscious of having no views but what regard the welfare of the republic. My reasons were, in the first place, because I thought they deserved to be rewarded; and, in the next place, because I was desirous they might, upon all occasions, be still more attached to the commonwealth. I hoped, likewise, by these means, so strongly to fortify them against all solicitations, that I might be answerable for their continuing to act with the same unshaken fidelity which they have hitherto preserved.

I have kept entirely upon the defensive; and, though I am well apprised with how much just impatience the public wishes for a decisive action, yet I persuade myself that the senate will approve my conduct. If any misfortune, indeed, should attend our armies in this part of the world, the republic would not very soon be in a condition to oppose any sudden incursion of these rapacious traitors. As to the state of our forces, I imagine you already know that those under my command consist of three veteran legions, together with one new-raised regiment, which last, however, is composed of far the best disciplined troops I ever saw of this sort. Brutus² is at the head of ten legions,

one

² Decimus.

one of which is veteran, another has been upon the establishment about two years, and all the rest are lately raised. Thus you see, though our army is very numerous, it is not extremely strong. The republic, indeed, has but too often had occasion to be convinced, how little is to be expected from raw and unexperienced forces. However, if we had been joined either by the African legions³, which are composed wholly of veteran troops, or by Cæsar's⁴, we should, without hesitation, have hazarded a general engagement. As the troops of the latter were somewhat nearer than the former, I frequently pressed Cæsar, by letters, to advance; and he accordingly promised to join us with all expedition. But other views, I perceive, have diverted him from these intentions. Nevertheless, I have dispatched my lieutenant, Furnius, with another letter to him, if happily it may any thing avail. You are sensible, my dear Cicero, that I take an equal part with you in the affection you bear to Octavius.--- He has a right to my friendship, not only from

that

³ These legions composed part of that army with which Julius Cæsar defeated Scipio in Africa, from whence they had lately been recalled by the senate. But, soon after their landing, they were corrupted by the other soldiers, and, deserting the senate, they joined themselves to Octavius. *Life of Cic.* iii. 241.

⁴ Octavius.

that intimacy which I enjoyed with his uncle⁵; but, in regard also to his own disposition, which, as far as I could ever discover, is regulated by principles of great moderation and humanity. It would ill, indeed, become that distinguished amity, which subsisted between Julius Cæsar and myself, not to look upon Octavius with all the tenderness which is due to the son of my friend, after he has been adopted as such by Cæsar's will, and that adoption approved by the senate. What I am going to say, therefore, is more the dictates of concern than resentment; but, it must be acknowledged, that if Antony still lives, if he has been joined by Lepidus, if their armies are by no means contemptible; in a word, all their hopes and all their attempts are singly owing to Cæsar⁶. Not to look farther back than to his promise of joining me: had he fulfilled the assurances he gave me for that purpose, the war would, by this time, either have been totally at an end, or driven into Spain, where the enemy could not have carried it on without great disadvantage, as that province is utterly averse to them. I am at a loss to conceive, therefore, with what view, or by whose advice,

Cæsar

⁵ Julius Cæsar.

⁶ See rem 2. p. 263. of this vol.

Cæsar was diverted from a measure so greatly to his interest and his honour, in order to turn his pursuits towards a consulship of a few months duration⁷: much to the terror, at the same time, of the republic⁸, and with pretensions, too, exceedingly ridiculous⁹. The remonstrances of his friends might be extremely serviceable upon this occasion, both to himself and to the commonwealth. But none of them, I am persuaded, would have so much influence over him as yours¹⁰; as there is no man who

is

⁷ To the end of the current year: of which there remained about five or six months unexpired, when Octavius was declared consul.

⁸ Octavius advanced towards Rome at the head of several legions, in order to demand the consulate: which threw the city into the utmost consternation and disorder. *Dio. p. 319. Appian. p. 585, 6.*

⁹ Perhaps, the absurdity to which Plancus here alluded, was, that Octavius, who was but a youth of twenty, and, consequently, who wanted above twenty years of the age prescribed by the laws for being qualified to sue for the consular office, should entertain so extravagant a thought as to aspire to the supreme magistracy.

¹⁰ Plancus chose a very improper man to dissuade Octavius from pursuing his design upon the consulate, when he fixed upon Cicero as the most likely person to prevail with him for that purpose. It appears, indeed, that Octavius had artfully ensnared Cicero to enter into his views, by persuading him that he was desirous of having him for his colleague in the consular office, and promising to leave the sole administration of it to Cicero's superior wisdom and experience. The bait was too well adapted to his vanity and ambition, to be thrown out in vain: and Cicero undertook the management of this affair upon the terms proposed. *Plutarch, Appian,*

and

is so much obliged to you except myself: for I shall ever acknowledge that the favours I have received from you are great and innumerable. I have given instructions to Furnius to solicit Cæsar upon this subject: and if I should have that authority with him, which I am sure I ought, he will hereafter thank me for my advice. In the mean time, we have a very difficult part to sustain here: as, on the one hand, we do not think ourselves altogether strong enough to hazard an engagement: and, on the other,

and Dion Cassius, all concur in giving testimony to the truth of this fact: but, as it is a fact which proves that Cicero was by no means, at this juncture, acting the part of a patriot, the polite apologist of his conduct has endeavoured to discredit the evidence of these historians. To this end, Dr. Middleton produces the following passage from the letters to Brutus, as an incontestible proof, "that no man was more shocked at Octavius's attempt, or took more pains to dissuade it than Cicero." *Cæsarem--improbissimis litteris quidam fallacibusque nunciis impulerunt in spem certissimam consulatus. Quod simulatque sensi, neque ego illum-absentem litteris monere destiti, nec accusare præsentes ejus necessarios, qui ejus cupiditati suffragari videbantur; nec in senatu, sceleratissimorum consiliorum fontes apperire dubitavi. Epist. ad Brut. 10.* Now, there seems to be the strongest reason to question either the authenticity, or the veracity, of this letter: because it is most certain, from one of Cicero's Philippics, that he actually did favour the earliest possible promotion of Octavius to the consulate. *Quid est enim P. C. (says he) cur eam (Octavium) non quam primum amplissimos honores capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandior ætatem ad consulatum constituebant, adolescentiæ temeritatem verebantur. C. Cæsar ineunte ætate docuit ab excellenti eximiaque virtute, progressum ætatis expectari non oportere.* In

other, must take care not to expose the republic to greater dangers by declining one. However, if Cæsar could comply with the dictates of his interest and his honour: or if the African legions should speedily join us: you may depend upon having nothing to fear from this quarter.—Let me entreat you to continue your friendship

In hoc spes libertatis posita est; ab hoc accepta jam salus, huic summi honores et exquiruntur et parati sunt, Phil. v. 17, 18. Could Cicero, after this, without being guilty of the wildest and the weakest inconsistency, "admonish Octavius, by letter, against his designs upon the consulship; reproach those to their face who encouraged him in that ambitious view; and lay open the source of these traitorous counsels in the senate;" (all which the epistle in question affirms that he did;) when he had, himself, in the speech and in the passage above cited, said every thing that his wit and eloquence could suggest in favour of Octavius's premature advancement to the consular office? Either the letters, then, to Brutus are not genuine; or Cicero, to serve a present purpose, pretended that he had acted a part which he did not. The former of these suppositions is maintained by some very learned and judicious critics: and the latter will by no means be thought improbable, if there is any weight in the several instances of the same kind which have been occasionally produced in the course of these remarks. But whichever of these alternatives be the fact, it equally concludes in support of that historical evidence for which I have been contending. In farther confirmation of which, it may be observed, that Plutarch cites the authority of Octavius himself, for what he affirms concerning the private agreement between Octavius and Cicero in regard to the consulate. And it is probable he took this piece of secret history from those memoirs which Octavius wrote of his own life: as it is certain, that both Plutarch and Appian made great use of them in compiling their histories. *Plut. in vit. Cic. Appian. p. 578, 9. 385. Dio. p. 519. Middleton on the epist. to Brut. p. 134. rem. 8. Tunstall's observ. on the epist. to Brut. p. 222. et Suet. in Aug. 85.*

friendship to me, and to be assured that I am entirely yours". Farewel.

From my camp, July the 28th.

AN

" Plancus, soon after the date of this letter, abandoned his colleague Decimus Brutus, and went over with his troops to Antony and Lepidus. See rem. 8. on letter 15. of this book. About four months, likewise, from the time when this letter was written, the celebrated coalition was formed between Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus; in consequence of which, Cicero, it is well known, was sacrificed to Antony's resentment. In the last moments of his life he behaved with great composure: and it is the only circumstance in all his misfortunes that he bore with a becoming fortitude. He had, indeed, so much the less reason to complain of his fate, as it is certain that he suffered nothing more than he would have inflicted, had Fortune put Antony into his power. *Omnium adversorum*, says Livy, *nihil ut viro dignum erat, tulit. præter mortem: quæ, vere æstimanti, minus indigne videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nihil crudelius passurus erat, quàm quod ejusdem fortunæ compos ipse fecisset.* Liv. *fragm. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.* This is the judgment which the noblest and most impartial of the Roman historians has passed upon Cicero: and the truth of it is abundantly confirmed by the foregoing letters.

AN

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